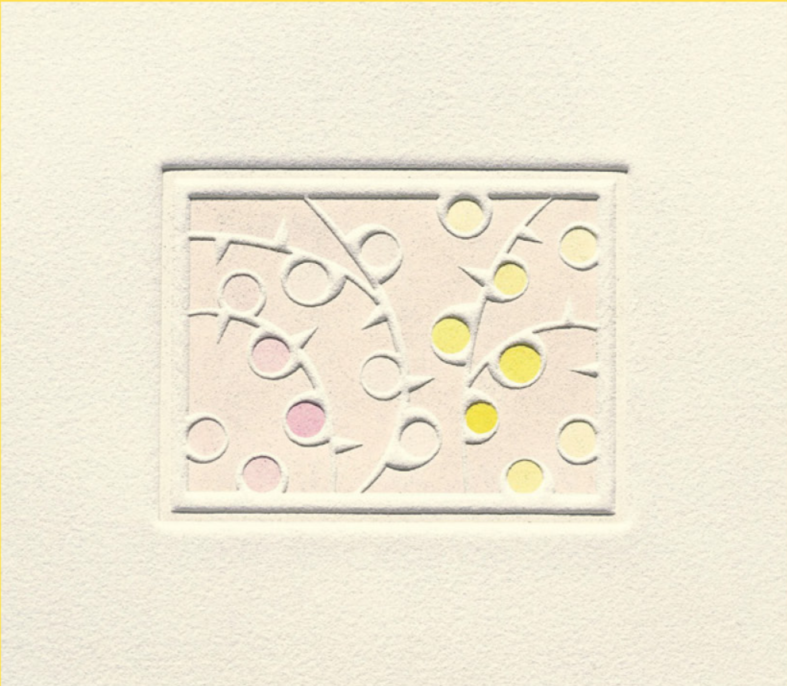
English Language Overseas Perspectives and Enquiries



Vol. 18, No. 1 (2021)

TRANSLATING IN THEORY AND ACTION: CONTEMPORARY CONTEXTS IN TRANSLATION

Editors of ELOPE Vol. 18, No. 1:
Nataša HIRCI, Agnes PISANSKI PETERLIN and Simon ZUPAN

Journal Editors: Smiljana KOMAR and Mojca KREVEL

Ljubljana University Press, Faculty of Arts
Znanstvena založba Filozofske fakultete Univerze v Ljubljani

Ljubljana, 2021
ISSN 1581-8918

English **L**anguage **O**verseas **P**erspectives and **E**nquiries

Vol. 18, No. 1 (2021)

TRANSLATING IN THEORY AND ACTION: CONTEMPORARY CONTEXTS IN TRANSLATION

Editors of ELOPE Vol. 18, No. 1:
Nataša HIRCI, Agnes PISANSKI PETERLIN and Simon ZUPAN

Journal Editors: Smiljana KOMAR and Mojca KREVEL

University *of Ljubljana*
FACULTY OF ARTS

Ljubljana University Press, Faculty of Arts
Znanstvena založba Filozofske fakultete Univerze v Ljubljani

Ljubljana, 2021

CIP - Kataložni zapis o publikaciji
Narodna in univerzitetna knjižnica, Ljubljana

81'25(082)

TRANSLATING in theory and action : contemporary contexts in translation / editors Nataša Hirci, Agnes Pisanski Peterlin and Simon Zupan. - Ljubljana : University Press, Faculty of Arts = Znanstvena založba Filozofske fakultete, 2021. - (ELOPE : English language overseas perspectives and enquiries, ISSN 1581-8918 ; vol. 18, no. 1)

ISBN 978-961-06-0489-1
COBISS.SI-ID 67223555

Contents

PART I: INTRODUCTION

Nataša Hirci, Agnes Pisanski Peterlin, Simon Zupan **9**

Translating in Theory and Action: Contemporary Contexts in Translation

PART II: ARTICLES

Tamara Mikolič Južnič, Nike K. Pokorn **15**

In Search of the Essential Competences for Overcoming Language Barriers in Public Services

Iskanje ključnih kompetenc za premagovanje jezikovnih ovir v javnih službah

Aleksandra Nuč, Sonja Pöllabauer **37**

In the Limelight? Interpreters' Visibility in Transborder Interpreting

V središču pozornosti? Vidnost tolmačev in tolmačk pri čezmejnem tolmačenju

Giuseppe Palumbo **55**

"Visible" at Last? Some Notes on English as a Target Language and Translated Books in the US

Končno "vidni"? Angleščina kot ciljni jezik in prevedene knjige v ZDA

Astrid Schmidhofer, Enrique Cerezo Herrero, Melita Koletnik **71**

Why We Need TI-Oriented Language Learning and Teaching (TILLT)

Zakaj naj bo poučevanje L2 prilagojeno potrebam bodočih prevajalcev in tolmačev

Martina Paradiž **91**

CoLecTer KIN: Mobile Application for Collaborative Bilingual Glossary Compilation in the ESP Classroom

CoLecTer KIN: Mobilna aplikacija za kolaborativno izdelavo dvojezičnega glosarja pri pouku angleščine kot strokovnega jezika

Csilla Szabó **107**

Revisiting Consecutive Note-Taking: What to Note, How to Note, and in What Language?

Ponoven premislek o zapiskih pri konsekutivnem tolmačenju: Kaj zapisati, kako zapisati in v katerem jeziku zapisati?

Tjaša Mohar, Tomaž Onič **125**

Margaret Atwood's Poetry in Slovene Translation

Poezija Margaret Atwood v slovenskem prevodu

Jean Boase-Beier **139**

Translating Patterns of Style in 'Hour of the Wolves'

Prevajanje slogovnih vzorcev v »Uri volkov«

Snježana Veselica Majhut **151**

Did You Try Our Good Smoked Ham? Assessing the Quality of Translation as Cross-Cultural Mediation on Croatian Tourist Board Websites

Ste poskusili našo okusno prekajeno šunko? Ocenjevanje kakovosti prevoda kot medkulturnega posredovanja na spletnih mestih Hrvaške turistične skupnosti

Tadej Pahor, Martina Smodiš, Agnes Pisanski Peterlin **169**

Reshaping Authorial Presence in Translations of Research Article Abstracts
Preoblikovanje avtorjeve prisotnosti v prevodih izvlečkov znanstvenih člankov

Primož Jurko **187**

Semantic Prosody in Translation: Slovene and English ADV-V Combinations
Semantična prozodija in prevajanje slovenskih in angleških parov prislov-glagol

PART III: BOOK REVIEW

Anamarija Šporčič **213**

Book Review: *Words, Music and Gender* (Michelle Gadpaille and Victor Kennedy, eds.)

Part I

Introduction

Translating in Theory and Action: Contemporary Contexts in Translation

One of the challenges of Translation Studies is to shed light on the elusive figure of the translator, carefully hidden from the view of the audience. Since Lawrence Venuti's seminal work on translator invisibility (1995), an increasing number of studies have attempted to explore the role of the translator from various angles (e.g., Wilson 2009; McAuliffe 2016; Kadiu 2019). It is not surprising that the image of the translator or interpreter is gradually shifting from that of an inconspicuous assistant to an indispensable participant in communication, bridging linguistic as well as cultural barriers. In turn, Translation Studies as a scholarly discipline must keep abreast of the developments in translation as a profession, reflect on and respond to them from a theoretical and methodological standpoint.

Some of the deliberations ultimately resulted in the present special issue of *ELOPE*. When compiling the Call for Papers, our main objective was to open up a space for researchers to reflect on and rethink the role of different categories of translation and interpreting in contemporary contexts, engaging with both theory and practice. In addition, given the prominent and occasionally almost exclusive position of English in international communication and the scope of *ELOPE* as primarily an English Studies journal, the idea was to examine in particular the complex, dynamic and rapidly changing relationship between translation and English as the global *lingua franca*, an intriguing academic subject for many years (cf. Anderman and Rogers 2005; Taviano 2010, House 2013; Palumbo 2013; Pisanski Peterlin 2013; Taviano 2018). Although it may seem that cross-cultural communication is increasingly reduced to monolingual exchanges in English, research into diverse forms of translation and interpreting reaffirms their presence and place in the globalized world.

As the Table of Contents indicates, the submissions not only matched but even exceeded the projected scope of the special issue. Several papers re-examine the visibility of translators and interpreters from different angles, ranging from the recognition of their professional status to their physical visibility and function in re-voicing the text when rendering it in other languages. Another dimension, explored from the point of view of visibility, is the practice of translation itself, particularly in terms of its presence in the traditionally monolingual settings of the English-speaking world. Methodologically, the authors used a variety of qualitative and quantitative approaches, including interdisciplinary ones, reflecting the current state of the field.

Although thematic lines were not always clear-cut, revealing the interdisciplinarity that has permeated Translation Studies for some time (cf., Zupan and Nuč 2017; Ehrensberger-Dow et al. 2018; Kocijančič Pokorn and Mikolič Južnič 2020), we decided to divide the articles into four sections. The first addresses the theme of the visibility of translation and interpreting from three different perspectives. **Tamara Mikolič Južnič** and **Nike Kocijančič Pokorn** explore the profile of the community interpreter, juxtaposing it with that of the intercultural mediator, to underscore the visibility of the interpreter's profession. Their comparison of the competences of the two profiles facilitates a clearer insight into the role of the community interpreter, highlighting the importance of having interpreting services in high-risk situations provided by trained professionals. **Aleksandra Nuč** and **Sonja Pöllabauer** examine the physical visibility of interpreters in transborder humanitarian interpreting. Using photographs taken along the Slovene and Austrian border during the mass displacement of refugees from the Middle East between 2015 and 2018, the authors study these images as ethnographic records of interpreting, which reveal a high degree of interactional agency and physical visibility, but less social visibility. In the third article of this section, **Giuseppe Palumbo** addresses the issue of visibility of translation in the Anglo-American cultural and publishing settings, investigating the position of English as the "hyper-central" language in the international system of translations. The paper examines the significance of translated titles in the publishing markets of English-speaking countries, and the increasingly prominent role ascribed to translation. His exploratory analysis of records on book translation in the US spanning from 2008 to the present indicates the renewed attention given to translation in the US market.

The second section turns to translator and interpreter training, a field that is increasingly focusing on establishing interdisciplinary links with related research areas. **Astrid Schmidhofer, Enrique Cerezo Herrero** and **Melita Koletnik** explore foreign language teaching in Translation and Interpreting programmes, proposing that Translation and Interpreting-oriented Language Learning and Teaching be established as a separate category of Language for Specific Purposes. Such foreign language teaching would focus on both enhancing communicative competence and developing the initial competences relevant for translation and interpreting. Their survey engaging students from Austria, Slovenia and Spain helped identify areas to which the students attribute particular importance, and should thus be considered in the TI-oriented curricula design. **Martina Paradiž** presents a smartphone application that can be used in bilingual glossary compilation, exploring another angle of using translation in language learning. The author presents the results of a student survey on the usability, perceived benefits and feedback on the features of an Android mobile application built by the author. The section closes with a paper on consecutive note-taking by **Csilla Szabó**. Although note-taking is taught at all interpreter training institutions, opinions still vary on questions such as what and how much to note down or what language and notation system to use in the notes. By first revisiting prescriptive views, followed by insights based on empirical research, the author proposes her own recommendations on how to teach note-taking today.

The literary translation section comprises two articles on the translation of poetry, a domain of translation where the "licence for creative agency is perhaps most evident" (Summers 2020, 36). In the first, **Tjaša Mohar** and **Tomaž Onič** provide an overview of Margaret Atwood's poetry in Slovene translation. Although the Canadian author has published as many poetry collections as novels, her poetry remains relatively unknown among Slovene readers in their native language, given that only around thirty poems have been translated into Slovene and published sporadically in various literary magazines. The authors provide a stylistic analysis of a few selected poems, particularly those that are challenging for translation. In the second article on poetry translation, **Jean Boase-Beier** examines the stylistic aspects of the translation of a German poem, 'Stunde der Wölfe' by Volker von Torne, into English. As the author points out, the original poem features a number of metaphors based on wolves, birds, paths or journeys, which serve as images of curtailment, intervention and impediment caused by natural agents such as wolves, hawks, wind and snow. As shown in the article, the translator must consider the interaction of all these elements in order to preserve the central images and stylistic patterns.

The last section investigates the relationship between translation and language through discourse, genre and semantic prosody. **Snježana Veselica Majhut's** study of multilingual websites created by Croatian tourist boards centres on a quality assessment of the English translations. Her analysis considers different aspects of the text, ranging from linguistic categories, such as spelling, grammar and idiomaticity, translation-based categories, such as pragmatic equivalence and translation of culture-bound lexical items, to genre-related questions concerning web readability. **Tadej Pahor, Martina Smodiš** and **Agnes Pisanski Peterlin** take genre as the starting point in their analysis of translations of research article abstracts from Slovene into English by focusing on authorial presence. Pahor et al. consider the effect of translation on the interplay between personal and impersonal rhetorical patterns in academic writing. The section closes with **Primož Jurko's** analysis of cross-linguistic data for Slovene and English, focusing on ADV-V patterns. The study relies on a top-down corpus-driven approach, attempting to shed light on the meaning-forming process in some of the most frequent lexical items in Slovene and English, revealing the potential of this approach for further studies of semantic prosody.

The present volume would not have been possible without the support of a number of individuals. We wish to thank the journal editors, Dr Smiljana Komar and Dr Mojca Krevel, who kindly accommodated our proposal for a special issue of *ELOPE* on translation; the contributors for the timely submissions of their revised papers; and the many anonymous colleagues for their thorough peer reviews. Last but not least, we would like to thank Dr Andrej Stopar, the journal's Technical Editor, for his continuous support in the editing process. All of the above deserve credit for the scholarly merits of the volume, while the pleasure shall remain ours.

Nataša Hirci, University of Ljubljana, Slovenia

Agnes Pisanski Peterlin, University of Ljubljana, Slovenia

Simon Zupan, University of Maribor, Slovenia

Guest editors of *ELOPE*, Vol. 18, No. 1 (2021)

References

Anderman, Gunilla M., and Margaret Rogers. 2005. *In and Out of English: For Better, for Worse?* Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Ehrensberger-Dow, Maureen, Susanne Göpferich, and Sharon O'Brien, eds. 2018. *Interdisciplinarity in Translation and Interpreting Process Research*. Benjamins Current Topics. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

House, Juliane. 2013. "English as a Lingua Franca and Translation." *The Interpreter and Translator Trainer* 7 (2): 279–98. https://doi.org/10.1080/13556509.2013.10798855.

Kadiu, Silvia. 2019. *Reflexive Translation Studies: Translation as Critical Reflection*. London: UCL Press. https://doi.org/10.14324/111.9781787352513.
Kocijančič-Pokorn, Nike, and Tamara Mikolič Južnič. 2020. "Community Interpreters versus Intercultural Mediators: Is It Really All about Ethics?" *Translation and Interpreting Studies* 15 (1): 80–107. https://doi.org/10.1075/tis.20027.koc.
McAuliffe, Karen. 2016. "Hidden Translators: The Invisibility of Translators and the Influence of Lawyer-Linguists on the Case Law of the Court of Justice of the European Union." *Language and Law / Linguagem e Direito* 3 (1): 5–29. https://ler.letras.up.pt/uploads/ficheiros/14339.pdf.
Palumbo, Giuseppe. 2013. "Divided Loyalties? Some Notes on Translating University Websites into English." *Cultus* 6: 95–108.
Pisanski Peterlin, Agnes. 2013. "Attitudes towards English as an Academic *Lingua Franca* in Translation." *The Interpreter and Translator Trainer* 7 (2): 195–216. https://doi.org/10.1080/13556509.2013.10798851.
Stewart, Dominic. 2013. "From Pro Loco to Pro Globo: Translating into English for an International Readership." *The Interpreter and Translator Trainer* 7 (2): 217–34. https://doi.org/10.1080/13556509.2013.10798852.
Summers, Caroline. 2020. "Authorship." In *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*, edited by Mona Baker and Gabriela Saldanha, 35–39. Abingdon: Routledge.
Taviano, Stefania. 2010. *Translating English as a Lingua Franca*. Florence: Le Monnier Università.
—. 2018. "ELF as a Translational Lingua Franca: Reciprocal Influences between ELF and Translation." *The Translator* 24 (3): 249–62. https://doi.org/10.1080/13556509.2018.1504271.
Venuti, Lawrence. 1995. *Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation*. London: Routledge.
Wilson, Andrew. 2009. *Translators on Translating: Inside the Invisible Art*. Vancouver: CCSP Press.
Zupan, Simon, and Aleksandra Nuč, eds. 2017. *Interpreting Studies at the Crossroads of Disciplines*. Berlin: Frank & Timme.

Part II

Articles

Tamara Mikolič Južnič,
Nike K. Pokorn
University of Ljubljana, Slovenia

2021, Vol. 18 (1), 15-35(222)
revije.ff.uni-lj.si/elope
https://doi.org/10.4312/elope.18.1.15-35
UDC: 81'253

In Search of the Essential Competences for Overcoming Language Barriers in Public Services

ABSTRACT

It is argued in the article that despite the relatively strong presence of English in Slovenia, the use of English as a lingua franca (ELF) alone does not guarantee access to quality public services. To supplement the use of ELF interpreting support is needed, in particular in high-risk situations. A step in this direction was the certification of a national vocational qualification for community interpreters for Albanian in 2020. Since at the same time a new vocational profile for intercultural mediators was created, which also aims to assist the inclusion of migrants in the Slovene society, we investigated the differences between these two profiles by comparing the competences defined in both. The results show that despite some overlaps Slovene vocational standards for both professions differ significantly: while transfer and linguistic competences are central to community interpreter's profile, conflict resolution and mediation competence figure more prominently in the intercultural mediator's profile.

Keywords: linguistic inclusion, national vocational qualification, community interpreting, intercultural mediation, competences

Iskanje ključnih kompetenc za premagovanje jezikovnih ovir v javnih službah

IZVLEČEK

Članek prikazuje, kako kljub razmeroma močni prisotnosti angleščine v Sloveniji raba angleščine kot lingue france sama po sebi ne omogoča jezikovne vključenosti in ne zagotavlja dostopa do kakovostnih javnih storitev. Ob angleščini kot lingui franci je potrebna še tolmaška podpora, zlasti v visokorizičnih situacijah. Korak v to smer predstavlja nacionalna poklicna kvalifikacija za skupnostne tolmače za albanski jezik, sprejeta leta 2020. Ker je hkrati nastala tudi nacionalna poklicna kvalifikacija za medkulturne mediatorje, ki je prav tako namenjena podpori vključevanja migrantov v slovensko družbo, v članku s primerjavo poklicnih kompetenc raziščeva razlike med tema dvema profiloma. Rezultati nakazujejo, da se, kljub nekaterim podobnostim, slovenska poklicna standarda izrazito razlikujeta: medtem ko sta prevodna in jezikovna kompetenca osrednji v profilu skupnostnega tolmača, osrednje mesto v profilu medkulturnega mediatorja zavzemata kompetenci razreševanja konfliktov in mediacije.

Ključne besede: jezikovno vključevanje, nacionalna poklicna kvalifikacija, skupnostno tolmačenje, medkulturna mediacija, kompetence

1 Introduction

The English language is the most widespread and only true global *lingua franca* in the contemporary world (see e.g., Mauranen 2014). Moreover, the attitude towards English, at least in the EU, seems to be overwhelmingly positive (see Henry 2016): according to European Commission's survey of 26.751 respondents in 2012, two thirds of Europeans (67%) considered English as one of the two most useful languages in the EU. Although Slovenia was one of the eight EU member states where English was not the first foreign language of the population (Croatian was reported as the foreign language most commonly spoken in Slovenia (61%)), a very high percentage of surveyed Slovenes (59%) stated that English is a language that they know well enough in order to be able to have a conversation (European Commission 2012, 21).

Despite these results, it will be argued in this article that in Slovenia the use of English as a *lingua franca* (ELF) does not enable linguistic inclusion, in particular to the most vulnerable groups of migrants, and that it does not guarantee access to quality public services. The use of English as a *lingua franca* needs to be supplemented by community interpreting, in particular in high-risk situations. However, in order to provide support that leads to quality services, the profession of community interpreting needs to be defined and the individuals practicing it need to undergo a certification process.

This article presents the new vocational certifications for community interpreters and intercultural mediators in Slovenia, and compares the list of competences indicated in three documents defining the profession of community interpreter to three documents defining the profile of intercultural mediator, and highlights the main differences.

The article starts with an overview of the existing research reporting on cases and situations in Slovenia in which ELF did not enable the establishment of successful communication. Next the introduction of community interpreting is proposed as a more suitable communication strategy in high-risk situations, such as healthcare settings, allowing equal access to public services to users who do not speak or understand Slovene. Subsequently, the ongoing discussion on the difference between community interpreters and intercultural mediators is addressed. This is followed by a description of the Slovene vocational qualification for community interpreters for Albanian, which also envisages a certification exam for the candidates. Then an analysis of selected documents comparing community interpreters and intercultural mediators in terms of competences is presented, and the implications of the results are discussed.

2 When the Use of English is Not the Solution – Review of the Literature

Although the results of the European Commission's survey show that in Europe the attitude towards the use of English was overwhelmingly positive in 2012, the status of English in Europe is changing and some researchers argue that it is no longer seen only as the language that enhances opportunities to take part in the global market, but is sometimes also viewed as a threat to the national languages in Europe (Linn, Bermel, and Ferguson 2015). In addition to that, Michele Gazzola and Francois Grin in their article "Is ELF more effective and fair than translation? An evaluation of the EU's multilingual regime" (2013) argue that "the use of translation and interpreting, though not free, remains more effective (and at a reasonable cost) than a monolingual regime based on English alone; it also more fair than a monolingual regime which unavoidably privileges native speakers" (2013, 93).

Taking Slovenia as the case in point, we argue here that not only are translation and interpretation fairer than the imposition of the use of English, particularly considering that interpreting is also envisaged by the Slovene Administrative Procedure Act (ZUP; PISG Legal Information System 2013),[1] but that very often the complexity of interlingual and intercultural encounters in the contemporary western world and the varieties of different linguistic and cultural backgrounds of the speakers attempting to establish linguistic contact make translation and interpretation the only means of enabling successful communication.

In 2016 a survey of linguistic profiles of migrants in Slovenia applying for international protection was made, in an attempt to define the preferred mediation strategy of this group of migrants (Pokorn and Čibej 2018a). They were asked if they prefer to use interpreters or machine translation tools, practice intercomprehension, use a *lingua franca* or learn the dominant language of the receiving culture. With the help of a questionnaire, data were gathered on linguistic profiles of 127 residents of asylum seeker centres in Slovenia, and interviews were conducted with a representative group of 38 asylum seekers speaking ten different mother tongues (Arabic, Farsi, Dari, Russian, Kurdish, Albanian, Bosnian, French, Ibo and English).

In the questionnaire the asylum seekers were asked to indicate the level of proficiency in any foreign languages they believed they had knowledge of (shown in Figure 1). The results indicated that English was by far as the most widespread foreign language among this population.

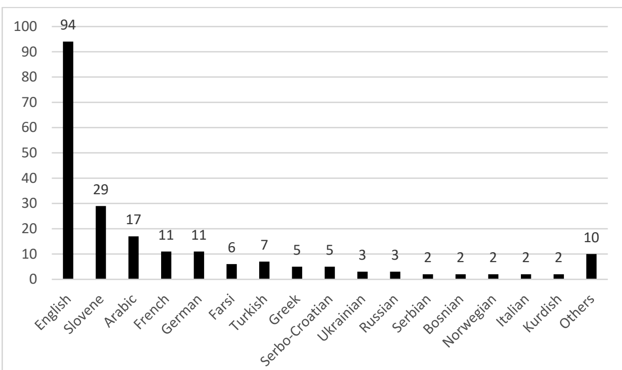


Figure 1. Foreign languages indicated by the residents of the Slovene asylum seeker centres in October 2016 (Pokorn and Čibej 2018a).

[1] ZUP provides legal grounds for the provision of interpreting services. In article 62 (7), inter alia, it stipulates the following: "Parties and other participants to the procedure who do not speak the language in which the procedure is conducted, or who are unable to use it because of disability, shall have the right to follow the course of the procedure through an interpreter. The authority shall be obliged to instruct such persons of such possibility." (ZUP, 36).

Further results showed that English is also used in a variety of settings in Slovenia: in the representative group of 38 interviewees, 25 migrants indicated that they spoke English, and that they use this language always (n=24) or often (n=1) in their everyday contacts with other people in Slovenia. We asked them to rate their proficiency in listening, reading, speaking and writing on a scale of 1 (poor) to 5 (excellent), and the results are shown in Figure 2.

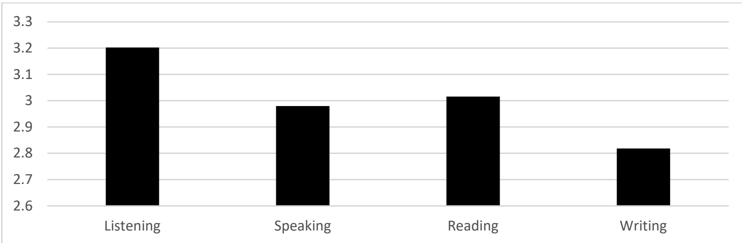


Figure 2. Interviewees' self-reported proficiency in English.

Two thirds of the interviewees thus stated that they use English for communication in Slovenia and indicated that their knowledge of the language in all four skills is good (average grade was 3). However, in the interviews they also pointed out that English was not useful in all settings and environments: for example, the refugees and asylum seekers noticed that in Slovenia the older generations do not speak English, and that English is also rarely spoken in rural areas. Similar results were obtained by Fiedler and Wohlfarth (2018), who interviewed twenty migrants in Germany with English in their language repertoires. The migrants reported a major discrepancy in English-language proficiency between young and old people, and between different urban centres. Similarly to the migrants in Slovenia, migrants interviewed by Fiedler and Wohlfarth did not see English as a reliable or viable option for communication in Germany.

Another study (Pokorn and Čibej 2018b) examined the mediation strategies of foreign teachers at two international schools working in Slovenia. The results showed that although the interviewees found English to be the most useful foreign language in Slovenia, the use of English failed in healthcare settings, where they would often encounter providers, in particular nurses, who did not speak English. This observation was corroborated by another nation-wide survey among healthcare workers in Slovenia in 2016, which gathered responses of 564 healthcare providers (Milavec Kapun and Pokorn 2019). The survey responses of 331 nurses showed that, regardless of the level of education attained, nurses rated their foreign-language competence considerably lower than doctors or dentists,[2] and in fact as many as 101 nurses (36%) indicated that their knowledge of English was elementary.

Thus, in the Slovene healthcare system the use of English as a *lingua franca* does not guarantee successful communication, due to the lack of knowledge of this language among healthcare providers. Moreover, it has been observed that some patients reject the use of ELF in high-risk healthcare situations. Pokorn, Matičič and Pokorn (2009) describe such a case: in 2008,

[2] Only 3% of doctors and 16% of dentists indicated an elementary knowledge of English (see Milavec Kapun and Pokorn 2019, 51).

a 15-year-old refugee from Afghanistan, whose parents were killed in Afghanistan, was admitted to the Department of Infectious Diseases, University Clinical Centre Ljubljana. He had a knowledge of some basic English and was accompanied by a female Slovene guardian, assigned to him by the detention centre, who spoke English with him. He was diagnosed with a life-threatening disease, but the patient refused all medical procedures and did not want to communicate with healthcare providers who tried to speak to him in English. The treating physician was convinced that the patient would need someone to explain the risks to him but was unable to communicate with him effectively. Because no support was provided to medical doctors in such cases, the physician contacted an Afghan interpreter working for the Slovene mission at the NATO base in Afghanistan. The interpreter had a long telephone conversation with the patient in his native language – and was eventually able to change his mind. The patient started to take the prescribed medications, and in the following days his mood picked up and his medical condition improved significantly. There is no doubt that the treatment of the patient was successful largely because communication in his native language was enabled.

Research thus shows that in high-risk situations, in particular in healthcare settings, the support of interpreters is sometimes vital. Since in Slovenia there is no training for community interpreters for the languages of newly arrived migrants, interpreting in different public-service settings is sometimes provided by relatives or friends of patients (i.e., the so-called *ad hoc* interpreters), or by individuals who support themselves by interpreting but who have no training for the profession of interpreters. Some of them, with the help of intensive self-study, practice interpreting according to the international standards for community interpreters, others do not. In order to raise the level of service, the national vocational certification for community interpreters was formed.

3 Competing Profiles

The need for bridging linguistic and cultural differences has become ever more pressing in Europe in recent years, which have been marked by an increase in migration. Countries whose populations have been more prone to emigration until recently (such as Italy or Greece; see Schuster 2005, Apostolou 2012) or that have only faced immigration from certain countries in the neighbourhood (such as Slovenia in relation to the former Yugoslav republics and territories, see Gorjanc and Pokorn 2013), suddenly encountered in their midst a multitude of immigrants, coming from different cultures and speaking different languages, which became quite a challenge, especially in official or high-risk situations such as healthcare. This often called for *ad hoc* solutions that resulted in a rather confusing state of affairs in the EU countries in terms of legislation and definitions of the names and roles of the professionals (and non-professionals) who were employed to overcome emerging language barriers. As a result, two profiles started to compete in the same field, i.e., the community interpreter and the intercultural mediator.

The apparent confusion regards both the name of the profession and the nature of the work performed: on the one hand, the terms community interpreter and intercultural mediator (and their various more or less synonymous forms[3]) are used in different ways by different people; on the other hand, their work and competences are also understood differently. An in-depth discussion of the problem is outside the scope of this article: here we refer to just a few selected articles made by some scholars who attempted to distinguish the two profiles, and pay a particular attention to two intrinsically divergent points of view. Proponents of both sides recognize the need in the market and society for professionals whose job would be to help migrants access services which are offered in the languages of the host country and in which they are not proficient. But while proponents of intercultural mediators (Theodosiou and Aspioti 2015, Verrept 2019) largely reject community interpreters – claiming that they only transpose linguistic elements from one language into another, separating language from the cultural content of the communication, which, according to them, is the domain of the intercultural mediator – others, such as Pöchhacker (2008), Martín and Phelan (2010) and Pokorn and Mikolič Južnič (2020), for instance, reject such oversimplifications of the competences of community interpreters, but nevertheless acknowledge the need for both profiles. They argue that interpreting services should be offered by trained professionals (i.e., community interpreters), while other tasks, such as informing and assisting the migrants in accessing services and integrating in the host society, which involve mainly dyadic, not triadic (i.e., interpreted) communication, should be carried out by intercultural mediators.

Furthermore, Pöchhacker (2008) and Martín and Phelan (2010) argue that terminological indeterminacy reflects negatively on the professionalization of the two profiles. We believe that the difference between intercultural mediators and community interpreters should also not be boiled down just to a question of ethical positioning (Pokorn and Mikolič Južnič 2020).

As a consequence of this indeterminacy, as Martín and Phelan (2010) observe, in France, Italy, parts of Belgium and Germany, the two terms are often used interchangeably, without a real distinction of their roles. In Italy, the situation is particularly complex, as the term intercultural mediator is used as the name of at least three very different profiles, i.e., the term is used as a synonym of community interpreters; it may define specialists in conflict prevention and resolution, or it may be used for community integration facilitators and non-professional interpreters (see Pokorn and Mikolič Južnič 2020: 86–88). In Belgium, according to Cox (2015), both profiles coexist and intercultural mediators and community interpreters often work in the same hospitals, though abiding by different codes of ethics, especially in terms of advocacy.

Additionally, it should be specified that community interpreting is a certified profession in a number of countries and defined within the international standard "Interpreting – Guidelines for community interpreting" (ISO 13611:2014) as "oral and signed communication that enables access to services for people who have limited proficiency in the language of such services".

[3] Community interpreters are also called public service interpreters, interpreters in institutional discourse, dialogue interpreters, or liaison interpreters. Intercultural mediators have been named also linguistic mediators, linkworkers, ethnic minority health counsellors, bridgepersons, intercultural interpreters, and so on (see Pokorn and Mikolič Južnič (2020) for further details).

3.1 Situation in Slovenia

In Slovenia, the need for a profile of an interpreter who would be able to respond to the challenges of a new linguistic landscape in the country was recognized in the mid 2000s (see Pokorn and Mikolič Južnič 2021). Already at that time, the translation studies community defined a community interpreter ("skupnostni tolmač") as a trained or an untrained individual who performs oral or signed translational activity from and into the societal language, and thus assists individuals who are not proficient in the societal language to access the services provided by public institutions (see also Pokorn, Viezzi, and Radanović Feldberg 2020, 10). Efforts for the professionalization of community interpreting began as early as in 2007, when the University of Ljubljana joined an EU-funded project with the aim of creating a curriculum for medical interpreting, which culminated in the preparation of a one-year community interpreter training programme (Gorjanc 2013). Unfortunately, lack of funding and qualified teachers prevented the programme from being launched (Gorjanc and Pokorn 2013).

In an effort to overcome such deficiencies, a short specialization course for sworn interpreters was introduced in 2018/19 by the University of Ljubljana (Maček and Schlamberger Brezar 2019). Furthermore, another project was undertaken in 2019 by four universities from Italy, Norway, Greece and Slovenia, in order to train teachers for community interpreting, especially for languages that are traditionally not taught in Slovene universities: in Slovenia, the TRAMIG project (*Training newly arrived migrants for community interpreting and intercultural mediation*, see Pokorn, Viezzi, and Radanović Feldberg 2020) trained community interpreter teachers for Albanian, Arabic and Persian to work in tandems with local interpreting teachers with the purpose of harnessing both the expertise of the interpreter trainers of the University of Ljubljana, and the language expertise in Albanian, Arabic and Persian of the volunteers with a migration background.

Intercultural mediators appeared in Slovenia in the last decade in connection with several projects mainly carried out by non-academic institutions and organizations (see Lipovec Čebron and Škraban 2020), which resulted in the absence of systematic training. With the exception of a few short courses organized by the International Organization for Migration in Slovenia and the National Institute of Public Health in Slovenia, no plans to establish training of intercultural mediators seem to be currently under way. At present in Slovenia there seem to be two understandings of the profile of intercultural mediator. One is defined in the National Vocational Qualification (described below), and the other in some of the publications of National Institute of Public Health. The publications of the National Institute of Public Health, such as Bofulin et al. (2016), promote intercultural mediators at the expense of interpreters, claiming that "interpreting transfers the language, while mediation transfers the cultural meaning" (Bofulin et al. 2016, 233[4]), despite the fact the research leaves no doubt that language and culture are inseparable and that linguistic and cultural mediation are intrinsic to interpreting (see, e.g., Falbo 2013).

[4] All translations are our own unless otherwise indicated. It should be noted that next to the quoted part, the authors refer to Bowen (2001, 8), misinterpreting her words: Bowen does not speak of *intercultural mediators*, but rather discusses how the roles and tasks of *interpreters* can be understood and expanded in different contexts by different users of their service.

The understanding of the profile of an intercultural mediator found in Bofulin et al. (2016) is modelled after the definition of the tasks of intercultural mediators as presented recently by Verrept (2019), which is translated into Slovene in Huber and Lipovec Čebron (2020). Verrept reduces "linguistic interpreting ('interpreting' in the strict sense)" to a 'translation machine model', and places it to the bottom step of his "ladder model" in which higher functions of intercultural mediation include resolving misunderstandings, cultural brokerage, helping provider/patient take up their roles and advocacy. Similarly, Lipovec Čebron and Škraban (2020, 38) argue that the aim of intercultural mediators is "to assure equity and reduce language and cultural barriers in access to public services for people who do not master societal language", supporting the notion that the characteristic that distinguishes them from community interpreters is their ethical positioning, in which advocacy has a central position. As discussed in Pokorn and Mikolič Južnič (2020), however, the reasons for the emergence of this kind of understanding of a new profile of intercultural mediators seem to be much more complex, including the lack of trained interpreters for the languages of newly arrived migrants, the fight for dominance in the training of migrants' languages specialists and the sometimes unreasonable expectations of healthcare providers. However, there exists also an alternative understanding of the role and profile of intercultural mediators, where intercultural mediators are defined as integration facilitators, i.e., individuals who assist migrants when they lack cultural awareness and understanding of the system and, consequently, cannot access and benefit from quality basic social services, education, primary health care, fair trial and political participation in the host country (Martín and Phelan 2010; Pokorn, Viezzi, and Radanović Feldberg 2020, 11).

4 The Certification

Apart from training, an important milestone was achieved in 2020 with the development of two occupational standards: the National Vocational Qualification for Intercultural Mediator and the National Vocational Qualification for Community Interpreter for Albanian.

Within the European Qualification Framework and the Slovene Qualification Framework, the National Vocational qualification (NVQ) "is a formally recognised work-related, competence-based qualification, which reflects the skills and knowledge needed to do a job effectively" (RIC – National Examination Centre). If they pass the exam, the certificate a candidate gets "shows that a candidate is competent in an area of work or individual segments of work, within an area at a certain level of achievement" (RIC – National Examination Centre). NVQs are based on national occupational standards, documents that serve as the basis for designing different pathways to achieve professional qualifications. Occupational standards determine the content of NVQs by defining the knowledge, skills and professional competence necessary to practice a profession. Catalogues of professional knowledge (CPKS), which are always prepared parallel to the NVQs, further define the procedures, requirements, and examinations, as well as repeating the competences listed in the relative NVQs (Pokorn, Viezzi, and Radanović Feldberg 2020, 52–57). One of the most important advantages of NVQs is that they give individuals a possibility to validate their skills and knowledge obtained through the pursuit of their occupation, volunteer work, leisure activities, participation in non-formal training programs, self-learning etc., i.e., they do not normally entail any obligatory formal education. The standards and the catalogues are formulated by a group of invited experts led by a senior officer of National Institute for Vocational Education and Training, usually taking into account similar qualifications abroad. For example, the NVQ for community interpreters includes in its reference list, among others, the international standard *ISO 13611: 2014 Guidelines for Community interpreting* (2014), the document developed by the European Network for Public Service Interpreters and Translators *Public Service Interpreting: minimally required competence in terms of knowledge, skills and attitudes*, *California Standards for Healthcare Interpreters* (2002), the US *National Standards of Practice for Interpreters in Healthcare* (2005), and the Canadian *National Standard Guide for Community Interpreting Services* (HIN 2007). The NVQ for intercultural mediators, however, does not refer to any international standards or international literature (with the notable exception of *Ethnicity and Globalization* (Castles 2000) and *Guide for intercultural mediation in health care* (Verrept and Coune 2016)) and includes in its reference list either works by members of the expert committee responsible for the formation of NVQ for intercultural mediators (for example, the monograph *Integracija kot človekova pravica* [*Integration as a human right*] (Vrečer 2007)) or verified educational programs for learning Slovene or the integration of migrants, applicants for international protection and refugees into Slovene society.

In the next section we highlight the differences in competences between the two profiles as defined in the Slovene CPKSs, and the main characteristics of the two profiles are summarized. The text used for the analysis is the English translation of CPKSs by Nataša Hirci, published in Pokorn, Viezzi, and Radanović Feldberg (2020).

4.1 Slovene National Vocational Qualification 'Community Interpreter for Albanian'

The Slovene NVQ 'Community Interpreter for Albanian' is included in the KLASIUS[5] classification system within the wider category of *Language Acquisition (other, foreign, sign language, translation studies)*. In the Standards for Professional Knowledge and Skills and in the Catalogue of Professional Knowledge and Skills, we find a list of the key tasks and knowledge and skills necessary to obtain the certification, presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Knowledge and skills of the NVQ 'Community interpreter for Albanian'.

Key tasks	**Knowledge and skills**
Consecutive interpreting, chuchotage and sight translation plus translation of short texts relevant for interpreting	• interpret and translate texts connected to the interpreting task from Albanian to Slovene and vice versa • interpret and translate texts connected to the interpreting task (e.g., medical examination report, instructions for follow-up treatment) as accurately as possible with no unnecessary addition or omission • listen carefully, use various memory techniques

[5] KLASIUS (https://www.stat.si/Klasius/Default.aspx?id=1) is the obligatory standard used in Slovenia for classifying activities in education and training (including the field of national vocational qualifications).

	• adhere to basic features of interpreting, i.e., initial introduction of all participants, positioning, turn-taking • select and provide interpreting suitable in the given circumstances: consecutive interpreting for a dialogue or a lengthy exchange supported by note-taking, chuchotage (for lectures) or sight interpreting • use different techniques of note-taking • recognize situations when a primary-speaker position has to be assumed and communication interrupted (e.g., asking for clarification, pointing out cultural misunderstanding) • respect different roles of participants (distinguish between the role of an interpreter and that of a healthcare provider, etc.) • invest into additional (self)training and their own professional development
Interpreting and translation of discourse in different registers and from different fields	• use Albanian for different language users and adapt it to their age, gender, regional background as well as socio-economic status • understand different language varieties of Albanian (e.g., different dialects, idiomatic expressions, etc.) and different registers (e.g., less formal spoken discourse, formal standard language, etc.) • use register appropriate for the given situation and the type of discourse • use terminology typical of the interpreted field, i.e., terminology used in healthcare or educational settings, administrative procedures or police proceedings • know the field they interpret (e.g., know the basics of healthcare, asylum procedures, educational system in Slovenia, administrative and police proceedings, etc.) • respect cultural differences and respond properly • understand specific behaviour, gestures, tone of verbal and non-verbal communication • show awareness of different culture-specific roles of professionals and identities in different cultures
Use suitable tools and technologies for translation and interpreting	• use technical equipment for remote interpreting (telephone, web applications) • understand the prospects and limitations of machine translation and interpreting • work with word processing software • efficiently use different computer-assisted programmes for documents, word processing and terminology management

Acquire additional information for the field they interpret	• recognize their own information and documentation needs • seek reliable information required for interpreting • obtain additional information for the interpreted field • seek additional information on language use and specific terminology for the interpreted field • make efficient use of document and terminology sources (e.g., terminology databases, language corpora, etc.) • properly assess reliable documents and sources available online and in other media • create their own terminology databases needed for the interpreted field
Communicate and establish contacts with colleagues, professionals and end-users	• are polite, respectful and tactful • recognize their own cultural, political, religious and other prejudices and refrain from them in interpreting and communication with their clients • work efficiently with people from different cultures, respect other cultures and recognize cultural differences • respect the rules of collaboration with other participants of interpreting (e.g., in healthcare settings) • know how to obtain information on the nature of the meeting/ conversation to be interpreted, and know how to agree with other participants on the behaviour protocol and positioning of all the participants

4.2 National Vocational Qualification 'Intercultural Mediator'

Unlike the above NVQ, the NVQ 'Intercultural Mediator' belongs to the wider category of *Social work and counselling* in KLASIUS, which is reflected in the catalogue of standards on professional knowledge and skills for the NVQ 'Intercultural mediator' (translated into English in Pokorn, Viezzi, and Radanović Feldberg 2020, 61-75) and in the specific key tasks and skills, given in Table 2.

Table 2. Knowledge and skills of the NVQ 'Intercultural Mediator'.

Key tasks	**Knowledge and skills**
Establish and facilitate intercultural communication within and outside of institutions related to the integration of migrants	• provide intercultural and language mediation in Slovene and the language of migrants in education and vocational training, employment, healthcare and social security, housing, public administration, etc. • use different modes of language mediation • understand most common barriers to the integration of migrants in Slovenia • use and adapt terminology on intercultural mediation

	• show awareness of social, cultural and economic characteristics (including linguistic, religious, political and other) of at least one foreign country/territory and constantly strive to improve their knowledge through lifelong learning • understand how public services work • understand different beliefs and practices of the migrants in need of intercultural mediation, and understand culture-specific beliefs and practices present within and outside of institutions in Slovenia
Provide information to target groups/ migrants on their rights and duties in Slovenia	• understand the structure and activities of state and public administration and other organizations in Slovenia, and the migrants' territories/countries of origin for whom intercultural mediation is provided • know categories or statuses of migrants and understand the rights and duties of migrants in Slovenia • assist migrants to get acquainted with the structure and activities of state and public administration and other organizations in Slovenia • assist migrants to exercise their rights and duties in Slovenia related to education, employment, healthcare, administrative procedures, social security, etc. • understand social, cultural and economic characteristics (including linguistic, religious, political and other) of at least one foreign country/territory of origin of the migrants and improve their knowledge in the process of lifelong learning
Promote intercultural dialogue between migrants and other members of the Slovene society	• understand the importance of integration as a two-way process and show an ability to convey this to the target group and other residents of Slovenia in the process of intercultural mediation • promote social networking • understand the importance of intercultural dialogue in various fields: cultural, social, economic, etc. • respect and promote gender equality • understand migration processes and the importance of migrant integration • make workers in various organizations and other citizens aware of the cultures of migrants and facilitate them in developing an appropriate attitude towards the cultural habits, practices and beliefs of the migrants

5 The Study

The aim of the empirical part of this study was first to identify which competences in the above-presented NVQs are considered more central for each of the two profiles, and second, if the core competences of each profile can be found in the documents defining the two profiles in other countries. We first hypothesize that while the core competences for both profiles are similar, the importance of each competence for one or the other profile differs. Second, we argue that while the competences of community interpreters as defined in the Slovene NVQ are in line with those listed in international standards for community interpreting, the competences of intercultural mediators defined in the Slovene NVQ differ from those found in the lists of competences in documents on intercultural mediators understood as culturally enhanced interpreters/advocates, and are more aligned with the profiles of intercultural mediators understood as integration advisors for the migrants.

5.1 Corpus

To gain insight into the differences between the two profiles, i.e., the profile of community interpreters and that of intercultural mediators, we have compared the two Slovene Catalogues of Professional Knowledge and Skills (CPKS) with each other as well as with two sets of documents concentrating on the two profiles issued by public bodies or professional associations. The English translations of the CPKS for community interpreters and intercultural mediators are available in Pokorn, Viezzi, and Radanović Feldberg (2020, Appendix 6). For comparison we have selected four international documents: two competence profile documents for community interpreters, and two competence profile documents for intercultural mediators, all of which were issued recently in the EU. We are aware of the existence of competence documents for community interpreters, such as the Canadian *National Standard Guide for Community Interpreting Services* or of the US competence models for healthcare interpreters, one of the largest subgroups of community interpreters, such as, for example, *Core competencies for health care interpreters* (Refki, Avery and Dalton 2008). Our focus on the EU is intentional, as the situation in the USA and other countries like Canada and Australia with a long history of receiving migrants with no knowledge of the dominant or official language of the state and assisting them to access public services differs from that in the EU, where some of the Member States are encountering problems associated with mass migration for the first time. In addition to this, in order to minimize the subjectivity bias we did not select the competence documents that were the reflection of the views of an individual or a pair of scholars (e.g., Martín and Phelan 2010 or Verrept and Coune 2016), but focused only on those documents that were an expression of an association, NGO or international project.

The documents in the corpus are thus the following:

a) two catalogues of standards on professional knowledge and skills:
   - *A Catalogue of Professional Knowledge and Skills for Community Interpreters for Albanian* (henceforth CPKS CI)*;*
   - *A Catalogue of Professional Knowledge and Skills for Intercultural Mediators* (henceforth CPKS IM);

b) two competence profile documents for community interpreters:
   - *Public Service Interpreting: minimally required competence in terms of knowledge, skills and attitudes* by the European Network for Public Service Interpreting & Translation (henceforth ENPSIT);

– *ISO Standard 13611/2014:* Interpreting – Guidelines for community interpreting (henceforth ISO 13611/2014);

c) two competence profile documents for intercultural mediators:
   – *Intercultural Mediator Profile and Related Learning Outcomes*, Erasmus+ project TIME (Train Intercultural Mediators for a Multicultural Europe, 2015) (henceforth TIME);
   – *Criteria for Approving Programs to Qualify Mediators for IMI Inter-Cultural Certification* by the International Mediation Institute (henceforth IMI ICC).

5.2 Method

The selected texts were analysed in terms of competences with the computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software NVivo. Five competences identified as the most relevant in previous research (Pokorn and Mikolič Južnič 2020) were used as nodes. Items (sentences, phrases) were analysed so that each coded instance represents a specific type of knowledge or skill associated with a competence, while taking into account the amount of detail and the length of description. If a type of knowledge and/or skill is associated with different types of competences, such items were coded with multiple nodes. The analysed competences are the following:

- Transfer competence
- Linguistic competence
- Thematic competence
- Cultural competence
- Conflict resolution and mediation competence

Finally, the aggregated qualitative data for each competence was analysed to determine its relative importance.

6 Comparison of Competences

The qualitative analysis of the texts yielded the results summarized in Table 3, which shows a comparison of the number of coded items for each category in every text for each of the analysed competences. Below we concentrate on a detailed comparison of the way competences are represented in the analysed texts.

In Table 3 we notice that overall there are considerable differences in the number of coded instances for each competence in each document. Cultural, thematic and linguistic competence are present in all documents, while transfer competence is not mentioned in IMI ICC, and conflict resolution and mediation competence is not present in ENPSIT. The most frequently coded competence by far is the cultural competence (with a sum of 90 instances), followed by the transfer competence, which refers to interpreting, translation, etc. (N=59), and the thematic competence (i.e., factual knowledge about the institutions and fields in which community interpreters/intercultural mediators work; N=57). Similarly to thematic competence, linguistic competence, is also present in all documents (N=50), albeit

Table 3. Comparison of the coded competences in the analysed documents.

	Conflict resolution and mediation competence	Cultural competence	Thematic competence	Linguistic competence	Transfer competence
CPKS CI	1	11	8	11	21
ENPSIT	0	5	2	9	11
ISO 13611/2014	3	10	2	9	9
IMI ICC	13	28	4	2	0
TIME	14	13	19	11	14
CPKS IM	13	23	22	8	4

with varying frequency and consequent weight. The least present is conflict resolution and mediation competence (N=48), which is not present in ENPSIT and barely present in CPKS CI. In fact, it is only given relevance in the documents devoted to intercultural mediators.

6.1 Comparing the Two Slovene CPKSs

Firstly, focusing on the two Slovene CPKSs, there is a noticeable difference between them in terms of the number of instances coded for each of the analysed competences. While all the competences are present in both texts with at least one mention, it is evident in Figure 3 that in CPKS CI, for Community Interpreters, the core competence is the transfer competence, which includes different kinds of interpreting as well as translation skills. This is followed by the linguistic competence, i.e., excellent knowledge of at least two languages (in this case Slovene and Albanian), and cultural competence. Thematic competence seems only slightly less present, although it is insisted in the CPKS that it is important for community interpreters to have enough knowledge of the topics they are asked to interpret. The conflict resolution and mediation competence is mentioned only once.

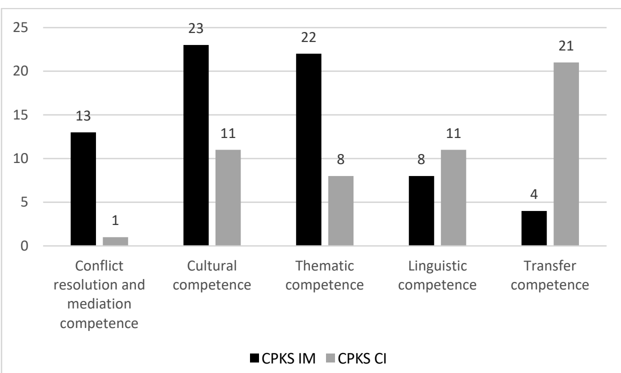


Figure 3. Comparison of CPKS IM and CPKS CI.

In CPKS IM, the two most prominently featured are cultural and thematic competences, followed by the conflict resolution and mediation competence, which is far more present in CPKS IM (N=13) compared to CPKS CI (N=1). Linguistic and transfer competences are the least present, with the latter being mentioned rather marginally. Such an attitude towards these two competences, which, in contrast, are considered crucial for community interpreters, seems to reflect the notion that in the Slovene standard intercultural mediators are primarily facilitators of integration and are expected to share factual knowledge about the host country with public service users. The results of the comparison thus show that there indeed is a considerable difference between the two profiles and the different tasks and activities toward which the two are oriented.

6.2 Comparing the Slovene CPKSs with the Other Sets of Texts

Secondly, comparing the two CPKSs with the two sets of international documents, pronounced similarities are revealed between CPKS CI and the set of competence profile documents for community interpreters (ENPSIT and ISO 13611/2014): both devote considerable attention to the transfer and linguistic competences, while the conflict resolution and mediation competence is virtually absent in these documents (mentioned only as connected to advocacy, which, according to ENPSIT and ISO 13611/2014, should be avoided). Unlike the two international documents, however, in CPKS CI cultural competence is mentioned as much as linguistic competence.

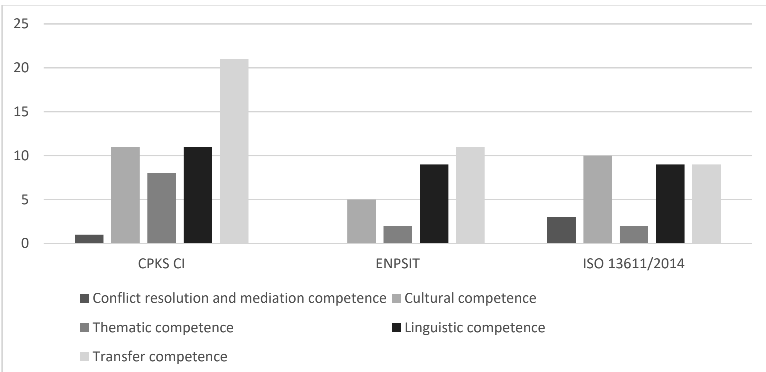


Figure 4. Comparison of CPKS CI with the set of profile competence documents for community interpreters.

In contrast, CPKS IM is more similar to the two documents on intercultural mediators (TIME and IMI ICC; Figure 5), especially in terms of the conflict resolution and mediation competence, which is given a prominent position in all three documents, and cultural competence, which is the most frequently mentioned competence in CPKS IM and IMI ICC. But leaving aside thematic competence, which is given the least prominence in IMI ICC, the competences in the Slovene CPKS IM seem to be much more similar to IMI ICC than to TIME. Considering that IMI ICC is a document defining intercultural mediators as professionals who perform mediation understood as "negotiation facilitated by a trusted neutral person" (International Mediation Institute 2021), while TIME defines intercultural mediation as "the facilitation of the integration process through the removal of both linguistic and cultural barriers", it is not surprising that in the former transfer competence is completely absent and linguistic competence is barely mentioned (N=2), while in the latter the two competences are much more present (N=14 for transfer competence and N=11 for linguistic competence). Unlike in TIME and similarly to IMI ICC, in CPKS IM transfer competence is rarely mentioned (N=4), while linguistic competence is slightly more present (N=8); both are, however, much less prominent than the other competences.

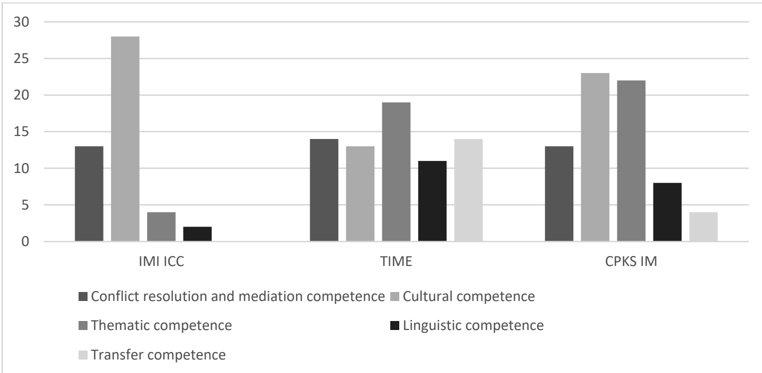


Figure 5. Comparison of CPKS IM with the set of profile competence documents for intercultural mediators.

6.3 Discussion

Today we see in several European countries a competition between two professions, both aiming to assist migrants and facilitate integration into the receiving society: the profession of a community interpreter and that of an intercultural mediator. In different European countries the profiles of these professions are defined differently, and in some environments the boundaries between the two professions are blurred. The comparison of the two Slovene and four international definitions of the profiles show that the differences in competences between the two Slovene CPKSs reflect their different positioning in the Slovene KLASIUS framework. While the main tasks of community interpreters – to enable communication between people with different languages in order to ensure proper administration/use of public services – require primarily excellent linguistic and transfer competences, for intercultural mediators it is essential to acquire a well-developed thematic competence and a cultural competence, so as to inform the public service providers and users of the particularities of the host country and/or the country of origin.

The comparisons of the Slovene definitions of the two profiles and the four international documents, defining the competences of both professions, provided an additional insight into the positioning of the Slovene standards. While the Slovene definition of a community interpreter demonstrates the essential adherence to the international standards, the comparison of Slovene standards with the two documents defining the competences of intercultural mediators proved less straightforward. The international documents defining the competences of an intercultural mediator reflect the current confusion about this profession in the labour market: IMI ICC thus defines an intercultural mediator primarily as a person who mediates and uses an interpreter when needed, while TIME merges the profession of an interpreter with that of a mediator. The comparison of the Slovene CPKS IM with the two international documents defining the profile of intercultural mediator shows that the Slovene standards do contain transfer competence, but to a lesser degree than the TIME competence document. In fact, the Slovene standards give the most prominent role to the cultural competence, similarly to IMI ICC competence document.

7 Conclusion

Despite the fact that Slovenia is a country with an exceptionally high percentage of inhabitants who can use English as a *lingua franca*, and the fact that numerous migrants who come to Slovenia, including those who apply for international protection, claim that they can communicate in English, various research has shown that ELF cannot be effectively used in high risk situations, such as healthcare. In such cases, high-quality language support is essential. As a response to this need, two national vocational qualifications were registered in Slovenia in 2020: that of a community interpreter for Albanian, and that of an intercultural mediator. Moreover, two additional NVQs – Community Interpreter for Arabic and Persian – are currently in preparation.

In this article, apart from examining the limitations of English as a *lingua franca* in public services, we have focused on the competences expressed in the two CPKSs, with the aim to establish the relative importance of the competences for each profile. We have confirmed the hypothesis that the competences are similar: in fact, the same competences are mentioned in both documents. The weight given to each competence, however, differs considerably. The greatest dissimilarities were found in the mentions of transfer and linguistic competence, which are very important for community interpreters, and conflict resolution and mediation competence, which is much more prominent with intercultural mediators. The comparison further revealed that the professional qualification for community interpreters closely followed the definitions of the profile by European associations and by the international ISO standard. The comparison of the Slovene standards for an intercultural mediator, however, showed that the Slovene vocational qualification did not follow the models where the profession of an interpreter is merged with that of a mediator, but opted for a description that defines the intercultural mediator as primarily an integration facilitator. This is also reflected in the testing procedure envisaged in both profiles: while the candidates for the national certificate of community interpreters will be tested in interpreting from and into Slovene, the candidates for the national certificate of intercultural mediators will be tested only in Slovene on their knowledge of the Slovene public institutions.

Since the CPKSs came into being in 2020 and no certification exams have taken place as of the beginning of 2021, a limitation of this study is that currently the descriptors have not been tested in practice. This will be carried out as soon as examinations start.

Finally, we hope that the establishment of the two National Vocational Qualifications is a step towards greater clarity and more clear-cut definitions of the two profiles on the labour market, which will have potential benefits both for the public service providers and users, who will be able to choose, for each task, the most appropriate professional, and will know what to expect from each of them.

References

Primary Sources

International Mediation Institute. 2012. *Criteria for Approving Programs to Qualify Mediators for IMI Inter-Cultural Certification*. https://imimediation.org/.

International Organization for Standardization (ISO). 2015. *ISO 13611:2014 Interpreting – Guidelines for Community Interpreting*. https://www.iso.org/standard/54082.html.

Remael, Aline, Jan Cambridge, Ulrike Fuhrer, Heidi Salaets, and Carmen Valero-Garcés. n.d. *Public Service Interpreting: Minimally Required Competence in Terms of Knowledge, Skills and Attitudes.* http://www.enpsit.org/uploads/1/1/3/8/113822115/t_a-document_1-competences_skills.pdf.

TIME. Train Intercultural Mediators for a Multicultural Europe. 2015. *Intercultural Mediator Profile and Related Learning Outcomes*. http://www.mediation-time.eu/images/TIME_O3_intercultural_mediator_profile.pdf.

Velkov Rozman, Barbara, Nike K. Pokorn, Jana Zidar Forte, Mira Grabanica, Ina Ferbežar, Katarina Bervar Strnad, Amalija Maček, Barbara Rovan, Sonja Gole Ašanin, Franci Zlatar, maja Murn, Robert Modrijan, Alida Šuligoj, and Riikka Peltonen Quijano. 2020. "A Catalogue of Professional Knowledge and Skills. Community Interpreter for Albanian 8048327011." Translated by Nataša Hirci. In *Teacher Education for Community Interpreting and Intercultural Mediation. Selected Chapters.*, edited by Nike K. Pokorn, Maurizio Viezzi, and Tatjana Radanović Felberg, 46–61. Ljubljana: Ljubljana University Press, Faculty of Arts and National Institute for Public Health.

Velkov Rozman, Barbara, Franci Jazbec, Sonja Gole Ašanin, Robert Modrijan, Uršula Lipovec Čebron, Alida Šuligoj, Mira Grabanica, Vera Haliti, Maja Murn, Juš Škraban, Iva Perhavec, Sonja Šarac, Vera Klopčič, and Riikka Peltonen Quijano. 2020. "A Catalogue of Professional Knowledge and Skills. Intercultural Mediator 2087115 011." Translated by Nataša Hirci. In *Teacher Education for Community Interpreting and Intercultural Mediation. Selected Chapters.*, edited by Nike K. Pokorn, Maurizio Viezzi, and Tatjana Radanović Felberg, 62–78. Ljubljana: Ljubljana University Press, Faculty of Arts and National Institute for Public Health.

Secondary Sources

Apostolou, Fotini. 2012. "Interpreting Services for Immigrants: A New Reality in Greece." *The Interpreters' Newsletter* 17: 213–22. http://hdl.handle.net/10077/8632.

Bofulin, Martina, Jerneja Farkaš Lainščak, Karmen Gosenica, Ajda Jelenc, Amarjeta Keršič Svetel, Uršula Lipovec Čebron, and Juš Škraban. 2016. "Komuniciranje." In *Kulturne competence in zdravstvena oskrba. Priročnik za razvijanje kulturnih kompetenc zdravstvenih delavcev,* edited by Uršula Lipovec Čebron, 197–252. Ljubljana: National Institute for Public Health.

Bowen, Sarah. 2001. *Language Barriers in Access to Health Care.* Ottawa: Health Canada.

California Healthcare Interpreters Association. 2002. *California Standards for Healthcare Interpreters: Ethical Principles, Protocols, and Guidance on Roles & Intervention.* http://www.chiaonline.org/resources/Pictures/CHIA_standards_manual_%20March%202017.pdf.

Castles, Stephen. 2000. *Ethnicity and Globalization*. London: Sage Publications.

Cox, Antoon. 2015. "Do You Get the Message? Defining the Interpreters' Role in Medical Interpreting in Belgium." *MonTI. Special Issue* 2: 161–84. https://doi.org/10.6035/MonTI.2015.ne2.6.

European Commission. 2012. *Special Eurobarometer 386: Europeans and Their Languages.* Brussels: European Commission. https://ec.europa.eu/commfrontoffice/publicopinion/archives/ebs/ebs_386_en.pdf.

Falbo, Caterina. 2013. *La comunicazione interlinguistica in ambito giuridico. Temi, problemi e prospettive di ricerca.* Trieste: Edizioni Università di Trieste.

Fiedler, Sabine, and Agnes Wohlfarth. 2018. "Language Choices and Practices of Migrants in Germany: An Interview Study." *Language Problems and Language Planning* 42 (3): 267–87. https://doi.org/10.1075/lplp.00023.fie.

Gazzola, Michele, and François Grin. 2013. "Is ELF More Effective and Fair than Translation? An Evaluation of the EU's Multilingual Regime." *International Journal of Applied Linguistics* 23 (1): 93–107. https://doi.org/10.1111/ijal.12014.

Gorjanc, Vojko, and Nike K. Pokorn. 2013. "We Are Not Giving Up: Training Public-Service Translators and Interpreters in the Economic Crisis." *mTm – A Translation Journal* 5: 18–39. http://www.mtmjournal.gr/download.asp?id=457.

Gorjanc, Vojko. 2013. "Tolmačenje za skupnost in vprašanje nadnacionalne odgovornosti." In *Slovensko tolmačeslovje*, edited by Vojko Gorjanc, 120–32. Ljubljana: Ljubljana University Press, Faculty of Arts. https://doi.org/10.4312/slovensko_tolmaceslovje.

Henry, Alastair. 2016. "Enablements and Constraints: Inventorying Affordances Associated with Lingua Franca English." *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* 19 (5): 488–510. https://doi.org/10.1080/13670050.2015.1014465.

HIN. 2007. *National Standard Guide for Community Interpreting Services.* http://www.saludycultura.uji.es/archivos/HIN_National_Standard_Guide_for_CI_(Canada).pdf.

Huber, Ivanka, and Uršula Lipovec Čebron, eds. 2020. *Standardi medkulturne mediacije v zdravstvu*. Ljubljana: National Institute for Public Health.

International Mediation Institute. 2021. https://imimediation.org/.

International Organization for Standardization (ISO). 2015. *ISO 13611:2014 Interpreting — Guidelines for community interpreting*. https://www.iso.org/standard/54082.html.

KLASIUS. n.d. https://www.stat.si/Klasius/Default.aspx?id=13.

Linn, Andrew, Neil Bermel, and Gibson Ferguson. 2015. *Attitudes Towards English in Europe: English in Europe*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.

Lipovec Čebron, Uršula, and Juš Škraban. 2020. "Intercultural Mediator." In *Teacher Education for Community Interpreting and Intercultural Mediation: Selected Chapters,* edited by Nike K. Pokorn, Maurizio Viezzi, and Tatjana Radanović Feldberg, 38–41. Ljubljana: Ljubljana University Press, Faculty of Arts, and National institute of Public Health.

Maček, Amalija, and Mojca Schlamberger Brezar. 2019. "Oddelek za prevajalstvo na Filozofski fakulteti UL." In *Bela knjiga o prevajanju 2018: premiki na področju prevajanja, tolmačenja, podnaslavljanja in lektoriranja v Sloveniji*, edited by Barbara Pregelj, 52–54. Ljubljana: Društvo slovenskih književnih prevajalcev. https://www.belaknjigaoprevajanju.si/files/2019/03/Bela_knjiga_cela.pdf.

Martín, Mayte, and Mary Phelan. 2010. "Interpreters and Cultural Mediators – Different but Complementary Roles." *Translocations: Migration and Social Change* 6 (1): 1–20. https://doras.dcu.ie/16481/1/Martin_and_Phelan_Translocations.pdf.

Mauranen, Anna. 2014. "*Lingua Franca Discourse in Academic Contexts: Shaped by Complexity.*" In *Discourse in Context. Contemporary Applied Linguistics Volume* 3, edited by John Flowerdew, 225–46. London: Bloomsbury.

Milavec Kapun, Marija, and Nike K. Pokorn. 2019. "Jezikovne kompetence zdravstvenih delavcev." In *Večjezično zdravje: Komunikacijske strategije in večkulturni stiki s tujejezičnimi bolniki v slovenskem zdravstvenem sistemu*, edited by Nike K. Pokorn and Uršula Lipovec Čebron, 48–65. Ljubljana: Ljubljana University Press, Faculty of Arts.

PISG Legal Information System. 2013. *Administrative Procedure Act (ZUP). Zakon o splošnem upravnem postopku (ZUP).* http://www.pisrs.si/Pis.web/npbDocPdf?idPredpisa=ZAKO6643&idPredpisaChng=ZAKO1603&type=doc&lang=EN.

Pöchhacker, Franz. 2008. "Interpreting as Mediation." In *Crossing Borders in Community Interpreting: Definitions and Dilemmas,* edited by Carmen Valero-Garcés and Anne Martin, 9–26. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Pokorn, Nike K., and Jaka Čibej. 2018a. "'It's So Vital to Learn Slovene': Mediation Choices by Asylum Seekers in Slovenia." *Language Problems and Language Planning* 42 (3): 265–84. https://doi.org/10.1075/lplp.00024.pok.

—. 2018b. "'Do I Want to Learn a Language Spoken by Two Million People?': Mediation Choices by Mid-Term and Long-Term Migrants." *Language Problems and Language Planning* 42 (3): 285–304. https://doi.org/10.1075/lplp.00025.pok.

Pokorn, Nike K., and Tamara Mikolič Južnič. 2020. "Community Interpreters versus Intercultural Mediators. Is It Really All about the Ethics?" *Translation and Interpreting Studies* 15 (1): 80–107. https://doi.org/10.1075/tis.20027.koc.

—. 2021. "From Conference to Community Interpreter Education: The Transformation of Interpreter Education in Slovenia." In *Changing Paradigms and Approaches in Interpreter Training: Perspectives from Central Europe,* edited by Pavol Šveda. New York: Routledge.

Pokorn, Nike K., Maurizio Viezzi, and Tatjana Radanović Feldberg, eds. 2020. *Teacher Education for Community Interpreting and Intercultural Mediation. Selected Chapters.* Ljubljana: Ljubljana University Press, Faculty of Arts, and National institute of Public Health.

Pokorn, Nike K., Mojca Matičič, and Marko Pokorn. 2009. "Medical Interpreting in a New Member State: A Plea for a Proactive Approach." In *Spürst du, wie der Bauch rauf-runter? Fachdolmetschen im Gesundheitsbereich / Is Everything All Topsy-Turvy in Your Tummy? Health Care Interpreting,* edited by Sonja Pöllabauer and Dörte Andres, 171–80. München: Meidenbauer.

Refki, Dina. H., Maria-Paz B. Avery, and Angela C. Dalton. 2008. *Core Competencies for Health Care Interpreters: Research Report*. https://www.albany.edu/womeningov/publications/core_competency.pdf.

RIC – National Examination Centre. n.d. "General Information" https://www.ric.si/national_vocational_qualifications/general_information/.

Schuster, Chiara. 2005. "Role and Status of Public Service Interpreters in Italy Today: A Perspective from Regional and National Policies." In *Traducción como mediación entre lenguas y culturas,* edited by Carmen Valero-Garcés, 17–26. Madrid: Universidad de Alcalá.

Theodosiou, Aspasia, and Maria Aspioti, eds. 2015. *Research Report on Intercultural Mediation for Immigrants in Europe.* TIME Project Partnership. http://mediation-time.eu/images/TIME_O1_Research_Report_v.2016.pdf.

TIME. Train Intercultural Mediators for a Multicultural Europe. 2015. *Intercultural Mediator Profile and Related Learning Outcomes*. TIME Project Partnership. http://www.mediation-time.eu/images/TIME_O3_intercultural_mediator_profile.pdf.

Verrept, Hans, and Isabelle Coune. 2016. *Guide for Intercultural Mediation in Health Care*. Brussels: FPS Health, Safety of the Food Chain and Environment. https://www.health.belgium.be/sites/default/files/uploads/fields/fpshealth_theme_file/2017_11_14_guide_english_0.pdf.

Verrept, Hans. 2019. *Health Evidence Network Synthesis Report 64. What are the roles of intercultural mediators in health care and what is the evidence on their contributions and effectiveness in improving accessibility and quality of care for refugees and migrants in the WHO European Region?* World Health Organization Regional Office for Europe. http://www.euro.who.int/_data/assets/pdf_file/0014/406004/WHO-HEN-Report-64-Summary-Web.pdf?ua=1.

Vrečer, Natalija. 2007. *Integracija kot človekova pravica. Prisilni priseljenci iz Bosne in Hercegovine v Sloveniji.* Ljubljana: Založba ZRC, ZRC SAZU, Andragoški center Republike Slovenije.

ELOPE

Aleksandra Nuč
University of Maribor, Slovenia
Sonja Pöllabauer
University of Vienna, Austria

2021, Vol. 18 (1), 37-54(222)
revije.ff.uni-lj.si/elope
https://doi.org/10.4312/elope.18.1.37-54
UDC: 81'253:341.43

In the Limelight? Interpreters' Visibility in Transborder Interpreting

ABSTRACT

This paper explores photographs that were taken along the Austrian and Slovene border between 2015 and 2018 as ethnographic records of a specific field of interpreting. The photographs show interpreters who helped bridge communication barriers in situations when the mass displacement of refugees from the Middle East resulted in an increased demand for interpreters for a range of languages that had previously not been as sought after. The photographs come from a corpus of pictures and accompanying texts that were compiled through a picture search in digital media. Drawing on the constructs of (in)visibility and bodily semiotics, a set of chosen examples is analysed qualitatively, using a visually oriented approach to examine interpreters' positionality and agency in transborder humanitarian interpreting. The results suggest a high degree of interactional agency and visibility, but less social visibility.

Keywords: public service interpreting, humanitarian interpreting, visual analysis, interpreter agency, visibility

V središču pozornosti? Vidnost tolmačev in tolmačk pri čezmejnem tolmačenju

IZVLEČEK

V prispevku analiziramo fotografije, posnete vzdolž avstrijske in slovenske meje v letih od 2015 do 2018, ki predstavljajo etnografski posnetek specifičnega tolmaškega okolja v zelo raznolikem kontekstu institucionalne in humanitarne interakcije. Na posnetkih so prikazani tolmači in tolmačke, ki so pomagali premagovati komunikacijske ovire v času, ko se je zaradi obsežnejših begunskih migracij iz Srednjega Vzhoda povečalo povpraševanje po tolmačenju v različnih situacijah ob in na nacionalnih mejah za najrazličnejše jezike, po katerih pred tem ni bilo povpraševanja. Fotografije izvirajo iz korpusa fotografij in pripadajočih besedil, ki smo ga sestavili z iskanjem fotografij v digitalnih medijih. Na podlagi koncepta (ne)vidnosti in semiotike telesa v prispevku kvalitativno analiziramo nekaj izbranih fotografij z uporabo vizualno-naravnanega pristopa, kar omogoča proučitev pozicionalnosti in angažiranosti tolmačev in tolmačk v okolju čezmejnega humanitarnega tolmačenja. Rezultati pričajo o visoki stopnji angažiranosti in vidnosti v interakciji ter o nižji stopnji socialne vidnosti.

Ključne besede: tolmačenje za potrebe skupnosti, humanitarno tolmačenje, vizualna analiza, tolmaška angažiranost, vidnost

1 Introduction

A UNHCR handbook on training interpreters in asylum proceedings (UNHRC 2015, 2018) includes a quotation from a non-trained interpreter on its title page: “It is a fiction that I am neutral and invisible.” This remark addresses two multi-faceted concepts that are much present in interpreting (and translation) literature, and, as confirmed by the quotation, also among practitioners: neutrality and (in)visibility. The concept of visibility, which holds a prominent position in the extract, also forms the starting point for this contribution, which explores photographs that were taken along the Austrian and Slovene border between 2015 and 2018 as ethnographic records of a specific field of interpreting in the context of institutional and humanitarian interaction. The photographs show individuals who supposedly helped bridge communication barriers. In the wake of the mass displacement of refugees from the Middle East, who made their way by various routes across Europe in the mid-2010s, the demand for interpreters increased, especially for rarer[1] non-European languages which had not been in high demand before. The term interpreter as we use it in this contribution refers to what are called community interpreters (public services interpreters, dialogue interpreters, liaison interpreters), who may be either trained or untrained interpreters. The profile of interpreter should be distinguished from that of intercultural mediator (also mother-tongue mediator, cultural mediator or integration assistant), whose task is to assist and support migrants (see Pokorn 2020, 10–11, Pokorn et al. 2020, and Pokorn and Mikolič Južnič 2020 for a more detailed outline of these occupational profiles).

Our countries, Austria and Slovenia, which have one joint border that lies along the Western Balkans route, also had to cope with increased demand for interpreting. It was our impression in the wake of these developments that it was not only language barriers (see Federici 2020) and the often-urgent need for interpreters that were more present in the media than before, but that interpreters were also more often shown in photographs and thus were literally more visible. It is not our intent to quantify this impression, and neither would our corpus allow for such an assessment, but we take Fernández-Ocampo and Wolf’s (2014a, 72) suggestion that photographs are an “ethnographic record” of a field, as a starting point to discuss interpreters’ visual and visible positionality in the specific field of transborder interpreting.[2] We use the concept of visibility to analyse photographs of interpreters in action in close vicinity to the Austrian-Slovene border between 2015 and 2018 (border control stations, reception centres) to take a glimpse into interpreting practice. Our overarching research question is what photographs such as those chosen for this contribution may tell us about the tangible physical visibility, positionality and agency of interpreters/mediators in such specific situations. Based on what can be gleaned from a

---

1 In interpreting literature, languages that are not much sought-after in terms of the market are often referred to as languages of limited diffusion, or, in a less neutral register, as exotic or migrant/refugee languages. This labelling, however, depends on the user’s perspective: in an interpreting context, a language that is rare in one country may have a large number of speakers in other environments, which also holds true for some of the languages that were in high demand in the situations shown in the photographic examples we use (e.g., Dari, Farsi and Arabic).

2 The “pictorial turn”, as it was coined by Mitchell (1992), brought about a reorientation towards visual analysis. A number of authors have adopted such approaches in interpreting studies, but there does not yet seem to exist an agreed analytical or methodological framework for conducting such visually oriented analyses (see for instance Fernández-Ocampo and Wolf 2014b; Zimányi 2015; Baigorri-Jalón 2016; Torresi 2017).

review of the public service interpreting (PSI) literature, we hypothesize that interpreters are physically visible in many of the photographs and that the photographs will show instances of open agency and involvement.

Photographs can play an important role in addressing dimensions of visibility because they generate meaning "on a non-linguistic level" (Breckner 2010, 107; our translation[3]) and "add something to the world, a visible object of a view which would not exist without this picture or these kinds of pictures" (Breckner 2010, 107). Photographs, as objects of study, allow for a specific perspective, which can only be consciously perceived after close and "reflexive attention" (Breckner 2010, 94). This conscious perception results in social visibility and, theoretically, increased social recognition. Following Brighenti, recognition is a form of social visibility that may also have important consequences for the relationship between a minority group and a majority (2007, 329), which seems particularly relevant for a field like PSI, where one party in an interpreter-mediated encounter belongs to a marginalized clientele, often the "losers of globalisation" (Prunč 2017, 25), with low social, economic and cultural status, while the other (institutional) party often has a higher status as a member of the majority group, and where interpreters, who may also have a minority background, may "fall prey to this powerlessness" (Prunč 2017, 25).

Visibility is also an important social category that is shaped by information and communication technologies:

> [...] As communication technologies enlarge the field of the socially visible, visibility becomes a supply and demand market. At any enlargement of the field, the question arises of what is worth being seen at which price – along with the normative question of what should and what should not be seen. These questions are never simply a technical matter: they are inherently practical and political. (Brighenti 2007, 327)

This practical and political dimension of visibility is also closely linked, though not in a linear fashion, with various dimensions of social recognition: "[t]hresholds of visibility come into play here: there is a minimum and a maximum of what we may call 'fair visibility' – regardless of the fairness criteria we want to adopt. Below the lower threshold, you are socially excluded" (Brighenti 2007, 329–30). Once an individual enters the upper zone of fair visibility, however, they are in a zone of "supra-visibility, or super-visibility, where everything you do becomes gigantic" (Brighenti 2007, 331). The social visibility of an individual or a group of people can thus be lowered or increased through visual addressing, which makes photographs an interesting tool for studying a specific field.

We will outline the geopolitical background of the context in which the photographs we analyse were taken, before discussing various dimensions of interpreter visibility, which will be used for our analysis of a sample of four photographs from our corpus. Corpus compilation and our methodological approach are described in section 4, which is followed by our analysis of the chosen set of photographs.

[3] All quotations from German-language publications are the authors' translations unless otherwise specified.

2 Geopolitical Context and Research Coverage

What has negatively been portrayed as the European refugee crisis in the mass media is a situation that started around 2013 and peaked in 2015/2016, where large groups of refugees of varied origin travelled by many routes and across various states in the Near East and Europe to reach destination countries in Europe, a movement which tested European reception and asylum systems (UNHCR 2016, 34). The major source countries for arrivals in the Mediterranean in 2015 were Syria, Afghanistan and Iraq (UNHCR 2016, 35). In peak times, the groups of people on their way towards the north were so numerous that many countries no longer saw fit to impose any kind of border controls, and large groups crossed the borders between countries unimpeded. After governments tried to regain control by stepping up border controls and setting up fences and temporary camps to steer these movements and restrict access, the situation often still remained challenging for some time, with transit camps and fenced-off areas, for instance at the major border crossing between Austria and Slovenia, Spielfeld/Šentilj. Management was often sustained only through the help of volunteers and humanitarian organizations (Mokre 2015), and communication barriers were also often bridged through the help of volunteer translators/interpreters. Studies on the role of interpreters in these contexts are scarce[4]. From what little is known, many of these volunteer interpreters were highly committed and driven by the need to help (see, for instance, Wagner 2017), though media reports also indicated cases of mismanagement where interpreters were given considerable leeway (Mokre 2015, 29–44; Pišek and Šučur 2016). Since then, many countries have closed off their borders and established stronger control, and refugees have become stranded in camps in different countries with often inhumane conditions.

On an international level, the literature on the positionality of interpreters in such transnational transit zones also remains scarce. Only a small number of contributions seem to have addressed issues of interpreting in relation to these more recent European developments in more depth (Todorova 2017; Cemerin 2019; Rudvin and Carfagnini 2020; Todorova 2020; also see Declercq and Federici 2019).[5] Besides, organizations such as Translators without Borders (2017 a, b) have also addressed the topic and prepared "field guides" for "humanitarian interpreting and cultural mediation" (for a critical review of volunteerism and activism in this context, see Piróth and Baker 2019). The kind of interpreting that takes place in such transnational conflict situations has produced a number of new labels, such as "interpreting in conflict zones" (Ruiz 2020), "humanitarian interpreting" (Delgado-Luchner and Kherbiche 2018), or "shuttle interpreting" (Todorova 2017); the demarcation lines between these still seem to be hazy, however, and, depending on the concrete situation, the field shows parallels to fields of extra-court legal interpreting, such as asylum interpreting.

[4] There are a small number of studies dealing with communication problems arising from the mass displacement of refugees from a Slovene perspective, focusing, e.g., on mediation strategies used by migrants (Pokorn and Čibej 2018a, 308–27), commonly used communication strategies of asylum seekers (Pokorn and Čibej 2018b, 288–307) and community interpreting in various settings (Morel and Gorjanc 2016).

[5] For studies on an extra-European context, see for instance, Delgado-Luchner and Kherbiche (2018) on Kenya, or Wallace and Hernandez (2017) on the situation along the Texan border.

3 Dimensions of Interpreter Visibility

We will study interpreters' visibility on three levels. Our first dimension of visibility will be interpreters' tangible physical visibility, and how this category is discernible in the photographs we use as examples. Secondly, we will address visibility as an interaction-related category to take a look at what the photographs in our corpus may tell us about the degree of interpreter "agency" (Kinnunen and Koskinen 2010). For this, we will make use of Kalverkämper's (2008) observations on bodily semiotics and his typology of different types of bodily communication and posture used by interpreters. Our third dimension will address interpreters' social visibility and recognition.

3.1 Physical Visibility

A first dimension of visibility is interpreters' concrete physical visibility, which is particularly tangible in the field of PSI, where there is often little distance, at least in face-to-face interpreting,[6] between interactants. When taking a first look at interpreters in photographs, the initial step will be to ascertain who is who: who of those framed in a photograph are interpreters, what are their relations to other individuals shown, and how is their supposed function signalled to users? We assume that in spite, or perhaps because, of the chaotic situations in which interpreters had to work in the examples we use, they will have made use of or been given some kind of external signage (vests, badges or signs) to make them distinguishable from others.

3.2 Interactional Visibility

The introductory quotation is multi-faceted in that it mixes two complex concepts, and it may remind readers of Metzger's (1999) deconstruction of the "myth of neutrality": It links the concept of neutrality, as a central tenet of codes of ethics and a maxim that is also conveyed in interpreter education, to the concept of visibility. Neutrality, in its literal sense, means that interpreters should not take sides but should be impartial, although as Harrington holds (2004, 110), from a more linguistic perspective, "it can be used to describe the extent to which an interpreter might remain faithful to the content and form of each utterance" and can thus be linked to the old debate about faithful or free translation and the bon mot of "*traduttore – traditore*". Recently, the construct of impartiality has been expanded to concepts such as "multipartiality" (Kadrić in print), which seek to underline that interpreters have an equal responsibility towards all primary participants, even though, as convincing as this may seem, examples from the field of PSI suggest that this will not always be feasible for moral/ethical reasons (Pöllabauer and Topolovec 2020). (In)visibility, with a focus on interpreting, has been linked to the role and the degree of agency interpreters have and perform in a given situation. As a metaphor, invisibility has been used if interpreters are viewed as mere "conduits" (Roy 1993) and mechanistic language converters, a view that has been particularly prominent, and sometimes vociferously supported, in conference interpreting (Angelelli 2004b, 20), where interpreters are viewed as invisible as long as they produce "fluent", elegant renditions and become visible only if they intervene (Torikai 2009,

[6] The situation is different in distance interpreting, yet issues of physical visibility are equally important.

158). The fact that, for instance in monological situations such a simultaneous conference interpreting, interpreters in their booths are indeed invisible (or minimally visible) to their audience, can explain why such metaphors have come into use (Torikai 2009, 158) and are still popular among some representatives of this faction (Angelelli 2004b, 79), though more recent studies have shown that conference interpreters also view themselves more broadly as "facilitators of communication" or "intermediaries" (Zwischenberger 2009, 247; see also Diriker 2004). With an increased focus on dialogical situations in court and in different fields of PSI, the invisibility metaphor has lost its persuasiveness, since interpreters are physically visible in dialogical face-to-face situations through their sheer presence in close proximity to the primary interactants, and occasionally heavily involved in situations. Starting with ground-breaking studies such as those by Wadensjö (1998) or Metzger (1999), many studies have since shown that interpreters in such fields adopt a more visible participatory role (Angelelli 2004a, 16) in explicitly and implicitly coordinating talk (Wadensjö 1998, 108–10). As Martínez-Gómez claims, the maxim of invisibility "has […] started to be deconstructed in favour of the image of interpreters as active third parties who exert their agency in order to help to achieve interactional goals, be it through the organization of talk or by participating with their own voices" (2015, 189). Here the aforementioned agency concept comes into play, defined as the "the willingness and ability to act" (Kinunen and Koskinen 2010, 165). Angelelli (2004a) views interpreters' agency along a "visibility continuum", with "minor visibility" if interpreters are "co-owners" of texts and "major visibility" if they are original authors and "owners of texts" (see also Zhan and Zeng 2017). If visibility is limited to coordinating talk (Wadensjö 1998), interpreters may still be impartial in that they are equally aligned with all parties. If, however, visibility means taking sides or advocating (Barsky 1996) on behalf of one party, interpreters are no longer in a position to serve as neutral intermediaries. And in more extreme situations, where interpreters feel morally obliged to become involved (Camayd-Freixas 2013), visibility may even entail the conscious decision to forfeit impartiality to protect the interests of the weaker party, as advocated by some. To what degree such an advocacy position, where the lines between interpreting and mediation seem blurred, is accepted, has however, been subject to controversy (Pöllabauer 2015).

We aim to analyse how interactional visibility is reflected in examples from our corpus and will use three categories of Kalverkämper's typology of interpreters' bodily agency and types of posture (2008, 107–48). Kalverkämper underlines the primacy of the "communicative body" by deconstructing one of the most famous biblical sentences: "In the beginning, there was the body" (2008, 78). Based on the assumption that nonverbal communication plays a central role in communication, he links aspects of visibility with "types of posture". His category of the "political body", where interpreters represent specific interests, is related to the view that interpreters have the power to intervene, interfere, or correct (2008, 114). Interpreting may be viewed as a political act if interpreters side with one party (2008, 130). The category of the "functional body", where in his view interpreter "co-act" (2008, 131) relates to the serving role of interpreters, not in the sense of submissive service, but in the sense of functioning as professional intermediaries in a given situation between other interactants. The prefix con- is used to account for the more traditional view of the role of interpreters outlined above, which, according to Kalverkämper, is still upheld particularly by conference interpreters, who tend to view themselves and their bodily communication as instruments (con-actants) in a situation (2008, 134). Interactivity is linked with Kalverkämper's third category of the "engaged body", where interpreters engage as helping agents (2008, 146–48); in such a function, interpreters truly inter-act with others but may sometimes also serve as helpers and highly committed active agents.

3.3 Social Visibility

(In)visibility, as a concept, has also been used to indicate that in translation the influence of translators on text design has often been ignored or underestimated, especially if target texts are aligned to the target cultural conventions ("domesticated") and are fluent translations, to be read as if they were originals (Venuti 2008). If translators produce translations that are domesticating, they are less visible, and their work, according to Venuti, also often finds little recognition (e.g., translators are often not even mentioned).[7] In this sense, (in) visibility is linked with the social recognition of translators. This dimension of visibility has become a central topic in critical media studies, which address the links between visibility and recognition and how these processes shape the granting and gaining of access to economic, social, and cultural resources (Thomas et al. 2017, 11). With respect to interpreting, visibility can also be linked to recognition: for Takeda, social recognition is an important facet of interpreters' visibility and involves "seeing" the interpreter in a metaphoric sense: "[…] the 'seeing' is performed by all parties, whether present or not, and visibility is determined by whether these parties note the action or existence of interpreters, either positively or negatively" (Takeda 2014, 151). Wolf and Fernández-Ocampo (2014, 4) also link the study of pictures from a range of war contexts with the social recognition of interpreters in their approach to a visual perspective: "Being produced and consumed by agents external to the interpreting profession, visual documents and representations of interpreters cast light on the visibility of the translator. However, they also show how interpreting overlaps with other professional and symbolic activities". PSI is one of those fields of interpreting where interpreters have little social recognition in the form of symbolic capital (Prunč 2017). It is thus interesting to study what kinds of social visibility can be read into the examples that are studied in this contribution under section 5. In section 4, below, we will outline our corpus and methodological approach.

4 Corpus Compilation and Methodology

Following Brighenti's assumption that mass media can be viewed as "high-visibility places endowed with the quality of conferring visibility to the people who join them" (Brighenti 2007, 332), we decided to use the Internet as a reservoir of digital mass media to compile our corpus. We conducted an online search via the Google web browser[8] in November 2020, with the picture search function to narrow results (only hits from the first results page

[7] Venuti relates to Schleiermacher's view of foreignizing vs. domesticating translation strategies, though his views differ from Schleiermacher in that he sees foreignizing as a dissident practice that could help translators to be more visible, while Schleiermacher sees it as a form of enriching the target cultural codes (Prunč 2012, 311).

[8] The surprisingly high number of results that were yielded through a search via a widely used commercial browser such as Google, made us change our initial plans to subsequently expand our search to browsers that are less commercial and more specific picture search engines. This, however, might be a suggestion for similar projects with a broader scope.

were included). The results included hits from different digital media (newspapers, blogs, forums, journals and website text). A previously agreed set of German and Slovene search words (incl. truncation and Boolean operators) was used.[9]

The following exclusion criteria were used to narrow the hits: 1) material dated before 2013, 2) situations that are most probably not interpreting situations, and 3) material addressing the situation in countries other than Austria or Slovenia. Criteria to assess the eligibility of those records that passed the first screening were that at least one of the individuals shown in the photograph could be assumed to be an interpreter because of 1) visible signs (badges, vests), 2) picture captions, 3) accompanying text, or 4) picture content (the "situation"). Following the exclusion of records based on these exclusion criteria, the final corpus included a total of 43 photographs, four of which were analysed in more detail in this contribution. Two were chosen from the German records and two from the Slovene. Our criterion for selection of this sample was that the situations shown be as diverse as possible. The flowchart[10] in Figure 1 documents the search process and inclusion/exclusion criteria.

Our analysis of four examples from our corpus comprises two steps: 1) description of the factual context, if available at all, for the chosen photographs (date of publication, medium, photographer, captions and any additional information available); 2) description of the interpreters' agency and alignment to other interactants as visible from what is shown in these photographs based on the dimensions of visibility outlined above. Our interpretations are complemented, if available, by information and comments from the co-texts in which the photographs are embedded. Formal written permission for the reproduction of all the photographs was obtained from the copyright holders.

---

[9] German search phrases: "Dolmetschen/Dolmetscher + Grenze" [interpreting/interpreter + border]; "Übersetzen/Übersetzer + Grenze" [translation/translator + border]; "Dolmetschen/Dolmetscher + Flucht" [interpreting/interpreter + displacement]; "Übersetzen/Übersetzer + Flucht" [translation/translator + displacement]; "Dolmetschen/Dolmetscher + Flüchtling(e)" [interpreter + refugee(s)]; "Übersetzen/Übersetzer + Flüchtling(e)" [translation/translator + refugee(s)]; "Dolmetschen/Dolmetscher + Asylwerber" [interpreting/interpreter + asylum seekers]; Slovene search phrases: "tolmačenje/tolmač + meja" [interpreting/interpreter + border]; "prevajanje/prevajalec + meja" [translation/translator + border]; "tolmačenje/tolmač + mejni prehod" [interpreting/interpreter + border crossing]; "prevajanje/prevajalec + mejni prehod" [translation/translator + border crossing]; "tolmačenje/tolmač + beg" [interpreting/interpreter + displacement]; "prevajanje/prevajalec + beg" [translation/translator + displacement]; "tolmačenje/tolmač + begunec/begunci" [interpreting/interpreter + refugee(s)]; "prevajanje/prevajalec + begunec/begunci" [translation/translator + refugee(s)]; "tolmačenje/tolmač + migrant/migranti" [interpreting/interpreter + migrant(s)]; "prevajanje/prevajalec + migrant/migranti" [translation/translator + migrant(s)]; "tolmačenje/tolmač + prebežnik/prebežniki" [interpreting/interpreter + fugitive(s)]; "prevajanje/prevajalec + prebežnik/prebežniki" [translation/translator + fugitive(s)]; "tolmačenje/tolmač + prosilec za azil/prosilci za azil" [interpreting/interpreter + applicant(s) for asylum]; "prevajanje/prevajalec + prosilec za azil/prosilci za azil" [translation/translator + applicant(s) for asylum]; "tolmačenje/tolmač + iskalec azila/iskalci azila" [interpreting/interpreter + asylum seeker(s)]; "prevajanje/prevajalec + iskalec azila/iskalci azila" [translation/translator + interpreter + asylum seeker(s)]. (Owing to wording and the availability/frequency of synonyms, the Slovene list of terms is longer than the German.)

[10] The flowchart (Moher et al. 2009) is an adapted version of the PRISMA (Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses) flow diagram that, apart from reviews and meta-analyses, may also be used for other types of research.

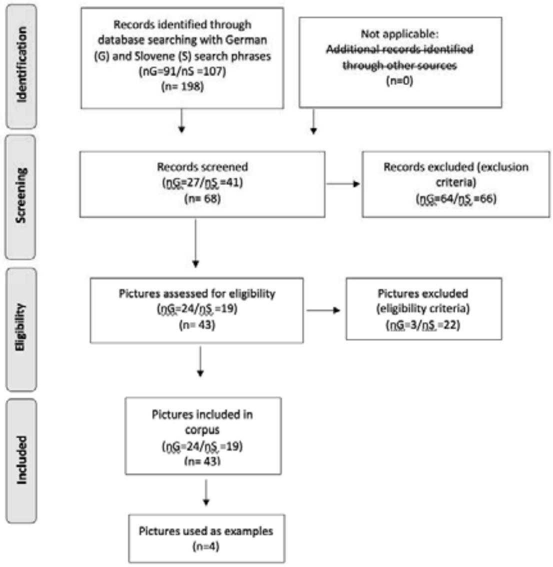


Figure 1. Search criteria and results.

5 Analysis: In the Limelight?

As outlined above, the focus of this analysis will lie on the physical visibility, positionality and agency of the individuals serving as interpreters/mediators in these photographs.

Figure 2. Helping with registration. (© Pomurec.com)

This photograph was published on the online portal Pomurec.com on 17 October 2015 (N.N. 2015). It appeared as part of a series of photographs that were taken in the border town of Petišovci and at the Dolga vas border crossing; the photographer is not credited. The article describes the registration of refugees, and in connection with this the interpreter (the man with glasses in the black jacket and brown trousers) is briefly mentioned. His role in the registration process is also clear from the photograph, in which a migrant shows his document to the interpreter.

The *physical visibility* of the interpreter for the migrants and other people at the location was based solely on his positioning; other photos published in the article indicate that officials were sitting on the other side of the table. It can thus be concluded that the man functioned as an interpreter between the officials and the refugees during the registration process. It is evident from the photograph that the interpreter was not wearing a vest with the label "interpreter". The angle from which the photograph was taken does not allow viewers to determine whether he wore any other kind of visible external designation (e.g., a badge) indicating his function. The photograph was not given a caption or further commented upon; therefore, the interpreter was not clearly identifiable as such for readers of the online portal.

Unlike in conference interpreting at high-level political meetings, for example, where the primary interlocutors often exclusively maintain eye contact with one another (Kalverkämper 2008, 145), here the refugee holding the documents explicitly turns physically towards the interpreter. The police officer or border official, for whom the refugee's statement is being interpreted, is not shown in the photograph. The aforementioned eye contact suggests that at this point the official was not directly involved in the conversation. Instead, it can be presumed that the interpreter was clarifying a specific matter with the refugee, which he then (possibly) rendered for the official, perhaps in a summarized form. Thus, in the framework of *interactional visibility*, the interpreter in the photograph appears to adopt an active, engaged role, possibly also seeking to help the man with whom he speaks. In the photographed moment, the interpreter and the migrant have eye contact exclusively with each other and are disregarding the official. Perhaps the interpreter also served as "principal" (Wadensjö 1998, 88), asking the refugee for clarification without having been asked to do so by the official. Thus, the act of interpreting may also have a political dimension, which is further emphasized by the fact that the interpreter works while standing; a certain position of power can thus be ascribed to him also. The interpreter's *social visibility* in this case is low. The photograph was not provided with any further detailed commentary, nor was it captioned.

The photograph in Figure 3 published on the Slovene online news portal 24ur.com on 21 October 2015 (S.S., K.H. and STA 2015). It was taken at the railway station in Središče ob

Figure 3. Being friendly. (© Slovenska policija)

Dravi, and the Slovene police are credited as the author of the photograph. The photograph appears in an article along with 16 other photographs, all of which are provided with the caption *Police officers in Središče ob Dravi*.

The man in the black jacket with "Interpreter" written in white letters on it can easily be identified as the interpreter. This ensured the interpreter's *physical visibility* for both the migrants and other people at the location, as well as for readers of the article.

With respect to the degree of *interactional agency* adopted by the interpreter, the interpreter is very present and very visible in the centre of this photograph. He seems to be friendly or joking, although it is unclear whether with the police officer or the other man who stands smiling between the police officer and the interpreter, though clearly not with the family standing to the left of the interpreter. The hand gestures used by the interpreter and the man in the middle of the photograph suggest that they might be the main interactants at this precise moment. From the interpreter's positioning, which is a triangular, equidistant arrangement between interpreter, police official, and the interlocutor to the interpreter's right, and the direction he faces, one can speculatively deduce that he is not primarily focused on mediating between the family to his left, who are more in the role of passive bystanders, and the official. From the interpreter's posture, it is evident that he is turned solely to the police officer and the other man at the centre of the interactional triangle, thereby adopting the role of a "positioned interpreter" (Kalverkämper 2008, 118) to the communication partners. The man with the two children at his left is standing aside, at a distance from the conversation zone, as if he were not part of the conversation. It can also be presumed that in this conversation with the police officer, the interpreter is trying to clarify something for the man with the two children, but his proxemic posture possibly indicates a hierarchical relationship and thus suggests that the interpreter is clarifying a specific matter with the police officer without directly involving the migrant and his children (see also Tryuk 2017, 191, who suggests that it is unrealistic to expect that interpreters will not align with officials if they are positioned near them when interpreting). It could also be assumed that the interpreter is an official police interpreter, which might again have an influence on his loyalty towards his employer (police) and his other client(s). The interpreter in this photograph is not socially recognized in his function as interpreter at all: he is not mentioned, either in the text or in the caption.

The photograph in Figure 4 was published on 04 April 2017 in the online version of the Austrian daily *Kurier*, under the heading "Asylum and Police: 24.6 million euro for interpreters" (Wammerl 2017). The caption reads: "With the refugee crisis, costs for interpreters increased"; the photographer's name is available if one clicks on a separate information button. The article itself addresses the high overall costs for interpreters in the wake of the refugee crisis, and very negatively links it with "crime rates among foreigners" and a "communication problem". The first sentences set the tone for the remainder of the article: "The refugee crisis and a crime rate of almost 40% among foreigners confronts Austrian authorities with a massive communication problem". The photograph was also used some time after it was presumably taken at the Austrian/Slovene border to illustrate what is said in this article.

The interpreter is clearly *physically visible* by the bright orange vest he wears, showing the word Translator and its Arabic translation. He is shown in interaction with a group of male

Figure 4. The translator. (© Sebastian Kahnert/dpa/picturedesk.com)

persons who, for the average reader, will most probably be identifiable as foreigners through their physical appearance. And though the photograph does not explicitly say so, a reader so-inclined will most probably link the individuals shown in the photograph with the biased portrayal of foreign nationals that dominates the entire article. The interpreter himself is shown only from behind, and his physical posture is one of attentive listening. The fact that he seems to bury his hands in the pockets of his vest may be interpreted either as a touch of reserve or simply as a strategy to protect himself from the cold, since the others' posture also suggests that this was a cold spring day. It appears that one man in this group of men, which is a small sub-group within a larger group of people that is faintly visible in the background of the photograph, is the main speaker, with a hand gesture that could be negatively interpreted as imperious. And though the interpreter does not seem to be overly active at this given moment, his *interactional visibility* is still distinct: he is shown in a group of individuals, possibly his fellow nationals, although this cannot be proven through the accompanying text, nor assumed based on his appearance, as he is shown only from behind, and he is at the centre of the group and attention. There is no other party visible for whom he interprets, so he seems to act in a production role as the principal, providing information on his own. The interpreter's *social visibility* and recognition are very low in this case, owing to the tone of the article. At the end of the text he is indirectly outed as a "lay interpreter" – which will most probably be the case, since there was hardly any training available for interpreters for languages such as Arabic or Dari/Farsi, which were much needed in the period when the photographs were taken. The text uses a quotation from a representative of the Austrian Court Interpreters Association to negatively juxtapose the use of lay interpreters with the use of court interpreters: "The police often use lay interpreters. These are for instance taxi drivers with good language skills. But the responsibility is extremely high". And while the use of lay interpreters is indeed problematic, the way this quotation is used in the text seems to reflect a certain degree of reservation on the part of established groups of interpreters towards newcomers, even if they are needed for specific languages when no trained interpreters are available for certain language combinations.

Figure 5. Moni. (© Dieter Schmidt)

The photograph in Figure 5 was was published on 23 October 2015 in both the print and online version of an article in the Austrian daily *Der Standard*, together with two other photographs (Schmidt 2015). Both the author's name and the photographer's name are given.

In the photograph that was chosen as an example, the interpreter is referred to by her first name (Moni). She does not wear a vest or any other visible sign but is identified through the photograph's caption, which says, "Interpreter Moni explains in Farsi what will happen". This caption clearly identifies the woman standing in front of a group of refugees in a gym as the interpreter. Her role as interpreter as identifiable through this photograph is again a very active one: She is the one providing information to an entire group of people, who seem to listen attentively to what she says. Moni, who is introduced in the article as a senior citizen with a Farsi background, who has been living in Austria for a long time, again seems to be the original author of what she says; there is no other party visible whose utterances she might render. Her work is portrayed in a very positive manner, making her also *socially visible*. Translation is viewed as a means of preventing "panic": "Retiree Moni knows how important translation is because 'the people then know what happens to them and this prevents them from panicking'". The article lends voice to Moni's view of interpreting, where cultural explanations are described as an integral part of her task: "We explained that people here are friendly, that they don't need to be afraid and that they will be taken to Vienna in buses[.]"

6 Conclusion

The analysis we present in this contribution is an attempt at describing interpreters' physical visibility, agency and positionality in transborder humanitarian interpreting, based on a visual approach that is complemented by integrating information gleaned from accompanying co-text(s). This approach could be expanded by extending the overall corpus (alternative search strings, search machines), including more examples in the analysis, and integrating additional interdisciplinary perspectives for visual analysis. It might also be interesting to pay closer attention to the differences in the portrayal of interpreters in Austrian and Slovene media against a background of different political and sociocultural parameters.

The situational and interactional context shown in the photographs we chose underlines the established fact that this was not an ordinary context, but that the overall circumstances were extraordinary and offered specific challenges for anyone involved in these situations, interpreters and others. Physically, interpreters were more visible in a greater number of photographs than we had originally expected. In this respect, it might be interesting to see whether their media visibility has indeed changed in view of these circumstances: just as many refugees were only paid attention and only obtained real visibility when they arrived in Europe in larger numbers, interpreters only seem to have obtained greater visibility because of this situation and because they were suddenly needed in larger numbers.

Their positionality as interpreters, often wrongly but typically for media reports labelled as translators, was indicated in the photographs by visible signs such as badges or vests, but also by their presence and posture in a specific interactional space. What could also be deduced, not unexpectedly, from the situations shown in the photographs under review, was that the other interactants accepted, or perhaps even expected, a high(er) degree of interactional agency (visibility) which seems to support our initial hypothesis. What we cannot deduce for sure from the photographs is whether the interpreters offered their services as volunteers or were officially appointed, though, as far as we can tell from the accompanying texts, some of them will not have received prior training in interpreting, though some seem to have had long-term experience. This volunteering perspective and interpreters' positionality as volunteer-interpreters are visible in the active attempt by many of the interpreters in these photographs to help, assist and even comfort and reassure, as explained in some of the co-texts. And even though the mediators shown in these photographs are presented as translators, as a common umbrella term for translation and interpreting, the situations in which they were precipitated would most probably not always have involved interpreting proper but rather a form of explaining matters to (larger) groups of individuals; if institutional representatives are shown, they are mostly shown in a less active, waiting position, while the interpreters are at the centre of the photographs and apparently the attention. Yet, even though interpreters may have been in the limelight, at least in some of these situations, for some moments and in this set of photographs, their agency and positionality are not comprehensively recognized, in the sense of social recognition and visibility, at least not in the small sample of photographs that was chosen for this analysis. While some of the accompanying texts positively, and sometimes quite warmly, recognize their important position as mediators amidst a challenging and chaotic situation, others fail to acknowledge their presence or function at all, even though large sums of money were invested in paying for interpreting services (Bergunde and Pöllabauer 2019, 1–2).

There are also limitations to our approach that we would like to address: We drew assumptions on a visual basis and on additional co-texts only, and cannot corroborate our suppositions about the interpreters' agency or the assumed relations in the photographs, since we lack information on their background and biography, and on whether they are interpreters or intercultural mediators, except for what is stated in the accompanying co-texts. In some cases, additional research and sleuthing might turn up additional personal information; in other cases, it might not be possible to identify the persons in the photographs and get in touch with them. It might, however, be a valuable additional perspective for similar research, or even a follow-up study, to have interpreters retrospectively analyse their positioning and the associated challenges.

In spite of these limitations, and while the corpus we have chosen for this contribution allows only a small glimpse into interpreting in action in a particular interactional space, we nonetheless think that working with pictures may help to shed light on the interactional agency of interpreters, and it is hoped that other studies will also attempt to address issues of interpreters' positionality through a visual approach. This leaves us to conclude this contribution with a question that might be addressed in more depth in the future: If, as Brighenti holds (2007, 330), "[d]istortions in visibility lead to distortions in social representations", what does this mean for the agency and positionality of interpreters?

References

Angelelli, Claudia. 2004a. *Medical Interpreting and Cross-cultural Communication.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

—. 2004b. *Revisiting the Interpreter's Role: A Study of Conference, Court, and Medical Interpreters in Canada, Mexico, and the United States*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Baigorri-Jalón, Jesús. 2016. "The Use of Photographs as Historical Sources, a Case Study. Early Simultaneous Interpreting at the United Nations." In *New Insights in the History of Interpreting*, edited by Kayoko Takeda and Jesús Baigorri-Jalón, 167–92. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Barsky, Robert F. 1996. "The Interpreter as Intercultural Agent in Convention Refugee Hearings." *The Translator* 2 (1): 45–63. https://doi.org/10.1080/13556509.1996.10798963.

Bergunde, Annika, and Sonja Pöllabauer. 2019. "Curricular Design and Implementation of a Training Course for Interpreters in an Asylum Context." *Translation and Interpreting* 11 (1): 1–21.

Breckner, Roswitha. 2010. *Sozialtheorie des Bildes. Zur interpretativen Analyse von Bildern und Fotografien*. Bielefeld: Transcript.

Brighenti, Andrea. 2007. "Visibility. A Category for the Social Sciences." *Current Sociology* 55 (3): 323–42. https://doi.org/10.1177/0011392107076079.

Camayd-Freixas, Erik. 2013. "Court Interpreter Ethics and the Role of Professional Organizations." In *Interpreting in a Changing Landscape. Selected Papers from Critical Link 6*, edited by Christina Schäffner, Kredens Krzysztof, and Yvonne Fowler, 15–30. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Cemerin, Vedrana. 2019. "Language Mediation in Emergency Migration Contexts: A Case Study of the Migrant Crisis 2015 in Croatia." In *Intercultural Crisis Communication. Translation, Interpreting and Languages in Local Crises,* edited by Christophe Declercq and Federico M. Federici, 39–62. London: Bloomsbury.

Declercq, Christophe, and Federico M. Federici, eds. 2019. *Intercultural Crisis Communication. Translation, Interpreting and Languages in Local Crises*. London: Bloomsbury.

Delgado Luchner, Carmen, and Leïla Kherbiche. 2018. "Without Fear or Favour? The Positionality of ICRC and UNHCR Interpreters in the Humanitarian Field." *Target* 30 (3): 415–38. https://doi.org/10.1075/target.17108.del.

Diriker, Ebru. 2004. *De-/Re-contextualizing Conference Interpreting: Interpreters in the Ivory Tower?* Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Federici, Federico. 2020. "'Language barrier' in UK newspapers 2010–2020: Figurative Meaning, Migration and Language Needs." *Cultus* 13: 194–219.

Fernández-Ocampo, Anxo, and Michaela Wolf. 2014a. "Framing the Interpreter's Wife." In *Framing the Interpreter. Towards a Visual Perspective*, edited by Anxo Fernández-Ocampo and Michaela Wolf, 72–82. London: Routledge.

Fernández-Ocampo, Anxo, and Michaela Wolf, eds. 2014b. *Framing the Interpreter. Towards a Visual Perspective*. London: Routledge.

Harrington, Frank J. 2004. "Book Rreviews. Melanie Metzger. Sign Language Interpreting: Deconstructing the Myth of Neutrality." *Interpreting* 6 (1): 109–16.

Kadrić, Mira. [in print]. "Formung einer Translationskultur im DACH-Raum." In *Entwicklungslinien des Dolmetschens im soziokulturellen Kontext. Translationskultur(en) im DACH-Raum*, edited by Sonja Pöllabauer and Mira Kadrić. Tübingen: Narr Francke Attempto.

Kalverkämper, Hartwig. 2008. "Der kommunikative Körper in Dolmetschprozessen." In *Translationskultur- ein innovatives und produktives Konzept*, edited by Larisa Schippel, 71–165. Berlin: Frank & Timme.

Kinnunen, Tuija, and Kaisa Koskinen, eds. 2010. *Translators' Agency*. Tampere: Tampere University Press.

Martínez-Gómez, Aída. 2015. "Invisible, Visible or Everywhere in Between? Perceptions and Actual Behaviours of Non-Professional Interpreters and Interpreting Users." *The Interpreters' Newsletter* 20: 179–94.

Metzger, Melanie. 1999. *Sign Language Interpreting. Deconstructing the Myth of Neutrality*. Washington, DC: Gallaudet University Press.

Mitchell, W.J. Thomas. 1992. "The Pictorial Turn." *Art Forum* (March): 89–95.

Moher, David, Alessandro Liberati, Jennifer Tetzlaff, and Douglas G. Altman for the PRISMA Group. 2009. "*P*referred *R*eporting *I*tems for *S*ystematic Reviews and *M*eta-*A*nalyses: The PRISMA Statement." *PLoS Med* 6 (7): e1000097. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pmed1000097.

Mokre, Monika. 2015. *Solidarität als Übersetzung*: Wien: Transversal Texts.

Morel, Alenka, and Vojko Gorjanc. 2016. *Skupnostno tolmačenje: slovenščina v medkulturni komunikaciji*. Ljubljana: Znanstvena založba Filozofske fakultete.

N. N. 2015. "Prvi begunci iz Petisovec in Dolge vasi že na poti proti Šentilju." *Pomurec.com*, October 17, 2015. https://www.pomurec.com/vsebina/35537/FOTO__Prvi_begunci_iz_Petisovec_in_Dolge_vasi_ze_na_poti_proti_Sentilju#1.

Piróth, Attila, and Mona Baker. 2019. *The Ethics of Volunteerism in Translation. Translators Without Borders and the Platform Economy*. Accessed January 25, 2021. http://www.pirothattila.com/Piroth-Baker_The_Ethics_of_Volunteerism_in_Translation.pdf.

Pišek, Mojca, and Maja Šučur. 2016. "Prevajalci med begunsko krizo: so prestopili mejo pristojnosti?" *Dnevnik*, March 17, 2016. https://www.dnevnik.si/1042732054.

Pokorn, Nike K. 2020. "Introduction: Why This Book and How to Use It." In *Teacher Education for Community Interpreting and Intercultural Mediation: Selected Chapters*, edited by Nike K. Pokorn, Maurizio Viezzi, and Tatjana Radanović Felberg, 6–16. Ljubljana: Ljubljana University Press.

Pokorn, Nike K., and Tamara Mikolič Južnič. 2020. "Community Interpreters versus Intercultural Mediators. Is It Really All about Ethics?" In *Ethics of Non-Professional Translation and Interpreting*. [Special Issue of *Translation and Interpreting Studies* 15, no. 1], edited by Esther Monzó-Nebot and Melissa Wallace, 80–107. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Pokorn, Nike K., Simos Grammenidis, Anthi Wiedenmayer, Maurizio Viezzi, Caterina Falbo, Antonio Chiarenza, Anna Ciannameo, Tatjana Radanović Felberg, Hanne Skaaden, Uršula Lipovec Čebron, Juš Škraban, and Nataša Hirci. 2020. "The Profiles of a Community Interpreter and of an Intercultural Mediator in Greece, Italy, Norway and Slovenia." In *Teacher Education for Community Interpreting and Intercultural Mediation: Selected Chapters*, edited by Nike K. Pokorn, Maurizio Viezzi, and Tatjana Radanović Felberg, 18–45. Ljubljana: Ljubljana University Press.

Pokorn, Nike K., and Jaka Čibej. 2018a. "'Do I Want to Learn a Language Spoken by Two Million People?' Mediation Choices by Mid-Term and Long-Term Migrants." *Language Problems and Language Planning* 42 (3): 288–307. https://doi.org/10.1075/lplp.00025.pok.

—. 2018b. "'It's So Vital to Learn Slovene.' Mediation Choices by Asylum Seekers in Slovenia." *Language Problems and Language Planning* 42 (3): 307–27. https://doi.org/10.1075/lplp.00024.pok.

Pöllabauer, Sonja, and Iris Topolovec. 2020. "Ethics in Public Service Interpreting." In *The Routledge Handbook of Translation and Ethics*, edited by Kaisa Koskinen and Nike K. Pokorn, 211–26. London: Routledge.

Pöllabauer, Sonja. 2015. "Role." In *Routledge Encyclopedia of Interpreting Studies*, edited by Franz Pöchhacker, with Nadja Grbić, Peter Mead, and Robin Setton, 355–60. London: Routledge.

Prunč, Erich. 2012. *Entwicklungslinien der Translationswissenschaft*. Berlin: Frank & Timme.

—. 2017. "Auf der Suche nach Aschenbrödels Schuh. Ethische Perspektiven des Kommunaldolmetschens." In *Interpreting Studies at the Crossroads of Disciplines*, edited by Simon Zupan and Aleksandra Nuč, 21–42. Berlin: Frank & Timme.

Roy, Cynthia. 1993. "The Problem with Definitions, Descriptions, and the Role Metaphors of Interpreters." *Journal of Interpretation* 6 (1): 127–54.

Rudvin, Mette, and Astrid Carfagnini. 2020. "Interpreting Distress Narratives in Italian Reception Centres: The Need for Caution when Negotiating Empathy." *Cultus* 13: 123–44.

Ruiz Rosendo, Lucía. 2020. "Translation and Interpreting in Conflict." In *The Oxford Handbook of Translation and Social Practices*, edited by Meng Ji and Sara Laviosa. https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780190067205.013.24.

S.S., K.H. and STA. 2015. "Ena od begunk pri Župelevcu rodila kar na poti. V Brežicah in Dobovi okoli 3000 novih beguncev." *24ur.com*, October 21, 2015. https://www.24ur.com/novice/slovenija/video-begunci-izcrpani-kljub-mrazu-zaspali-na-tleh-pod-milim-nebom.html.

Schmidt, Colette M. 2015. "Schreckensbilder kann ich keine teilen." *Der Standard*, October 23, 2015. https://www.derstandard.at/story/2000024428331/stadtchef-von-wagna-schreckensbilder-kann-ich-keine-teilen.

Takeda, Kayoko. 2014. "The Visibility of Collaborators. Snapshots of Wartime and Post-War Interpreters." In *Framing the Interpreter. Towards a Visual Perspective*, edited by Anxo Fernández-Ocampo and Michaela Wolf, 150–59. London: Routledge.

Thomas, Tanja, Elke Grittmann, Kaya de Wolf, and Lina Brink. 2017. "Anerkennung und Sichtbarkeit in gegenwärtigen Medienkulturen." In *Anerkennung und Sichtbarkeit. Perspektiven für eine kritische Medienkulturforschung*, edited by Tanja Thomas, Lina Brink, Elke Grittmann, and Kaya de Wolff, 11–21. Bielefeld: Transcript.

Todorova, Marija. 2017. "Interpreting at the Border: 'Shuttle Interpreting' for the UNHCR." *CLINA: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Translation, Interpreting and Intercultural Communication* 3 (2): 115–29. https://doi.org/10.14201/clina201732115129.

—. 2020. "Interpreting for Refugees. Lessons Learned from the Field." In *Interpreting in Legal and Healthcare Settings. Perspectives on Research and Training*, edited by Eva N. S. Ng and Ineke H. M. Crezee, 63–81. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Torikai, Kumiko. 2009. *Voices of the Invisible Presence: Diplomatic Interpreters in Post-World-War II Japan*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Torresi, Ira. 2017. "Seeing Brokering in Bright Colours. Participatory Artwork Elicitation in CLB Research." In *Non-Professional Interpreting and Translation: State of the Art and Future of an Emerging Field of Research*, edited by Rachele Antonini, Letizia Cirillo, Linda Rossato, and Ira Torresi, 337–57. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Translators without Borders. 2017a. *Research Report. Lost for Words. Improving Information Access for Refugees and Migrants in Greece*. Accessed February 1, 2021. https://translatorswithoutborders.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/04/Lost-for-Words.pdf.

—. 2017b. *Research Report. Putting Language on the Map in the European Refugee Response*. Accessed February 1, 2021. https://translatorswithoutborders.org/putting-language-on-the-map-in-the-european-refugee-response/.

Tryuk, Małgorzata. 2017. "Conflict. Tension. Aggression. Ethical Issues in Interpreted Asylum Hearings at the Office for Foreigners in Warsaw." In *Ideology, Ethics and Policy Development in Public Service Interpreting and Translation*, edited by Carmen Valero-Garcés and Rebecca Tipton, 179–94. Bristol Blue Ridge Summit: Multilingual Matters.

UNHCR, ed. 2015. *Trainingshandbuch für DolmetscherInnen im Asylverfahren*. Linz: Trauner.

—. 2018. *Handbook for Interpreters in Asylum Procedures*. Berlin: Frank & Timme.
UNHCR. 2016. *Global Trends. Forced Displacement in 2015*. Geneva: UNHCR.
Venuti, Lawrence. 2008. *The Translator's Invisibility. A History of Translation.* 2nd ed. London: Routledge.
Wadensjö, Cecilia. 1998. *Interpreting as Interaction*. London: Longman.
Wagner, David. 2017. "Dolmetschen für Train of Hope." MA Thesis, University of Vienna.
Wallace, Melissa, and Carlos Iván Hernández. 2017. "Language Access for Asylum Seekers in Borderland Detention Centers in Texas." *Revista de Llengua i Dret, Journal of Language and Law* 68: 143–56. https://doi.org/10.2436/rld.i68.2017.2940.
Wammerl, Patrick. 2017. "Asyl und Polizei: 24,6 Millionen Euro für Dolmetscher." *Kurier*, April 4, 2017. https://kurier.at/chronik/oesterreich/asyl-und-polizei-24-6-millionen-euro-fuer-dolmetscher/256.116.554.
Wolf, Michaela, and Anxo Fernández-Ocampo. 2014. "Framing the Interpreter." In *Framing the Interpreter. Towards a Visual Perspective*, edited by Anxo Fernández-Ocampo and Michaela Wolf, 1–16. London: Routledge.
Zhan, Cheng, and Lishang Zeng. 2017. "Chinese Medical Interpreters' Visibility through Text Ownership: An Empirical Study on Interpreted Dialogues at a Hospital in Guangzhou." *Interpreting* 19 (1): 98–118. https://doi.org/10.1075/intp.19.1.05zha.
Zimányi, Krisztina. 2015. "Reflections on Interpreting Settings and Ethics in View of Visual Representations of la Malinche." *Translation & Interpreting* 7 (2): 1–16.
Zwischenberger, Cornelia. 2009. "Conference Interpreters and Their Self-Representation: A Worldwide Web-Based Survey." *Translation and Interpreting Studies* 4 (2): 239–53. https://doi.org/10.1075/tis.4.2.08zwi.

Giuseppe Palumbo
University of Trieste, Italy

2021, Vol. 18 (1), 55-69(222)
revije.ff.uni-lj.si/elope
https://doi.org/10.4312/elope.18.1.55-69
UDC: 81'25=111:655.4/.5(73)

"Visible" at Last? Some Notes on English as a Target Language and Translated Books in the US

ABSTRACT

In the international system of translations, English has been described as playing a "hyper-central" role. At the same time, translation is seen as playing a marginal role in the Anglo-American cultural and publishing scenarios. The present paper is aimed at revisiting this idea. After an overview of recent studies that have examined the role and significance of translated titles in the publishing markets of English-speaking countries, the paper reports on an exploratory analysis of records available in a database that collects information on books in translation published or distributed in the US starting from 2008. The analysis indicates that translation is enjoying a renewed attention in the US market, in terms of both the number of translated titles and the distribution of translations across different genres.

Keywords: translated books, translation flows, globalization, translation into English, translated literature

Končno "vidni"? Angleščina kot ciljni jezik in prevedene knjige v ZDA

IZVLEČEK

V mednarodnem prevodnem sistemu velja, da angleščina zavzema »hipersrediščni« položaj, prevajanje v kontekstu anglo-ameriške kulture in založništva pa obrobnega. Pričujoči prispevek je posvečen ponovnemu premisleku o tej ideji. Po pregledu novejših raziskav, ki so razčlenile vlogo in pomen prevodov na založniških trgih angleško govorečih držav, je v članku predstavljena analiza baze podatkov, v kateri se zbirajo informacije o prevedenih knjigah, ki se izdajajo ali distribuirajo v ZDA od leta 2008 dalje. Analiza kaže, da je prevajanje znova deležno večje pozornosti tudi na ameriškem trgu, tako kar zadeva število prevodov, kot tudi žanrov, ki se prevajajo.

Ključne besede: prevedene knjige, prevodni tokovi, globalizacija, prevajanje v angleščino, prevodna književnost

1 Introduction

The role of English with respect to translation has recently received renewed attention on the part of scholars. Not only in translation studies, but also in areas such as linguistics, literary studies, cultural sociology and publishing, both scholars and commentators have felt the need to reappraise the ways in which English, seen as the dominant language of international communication, affects the dynamics of translation markets and, more generally, of language and cultural contact.

In this article I propose an overview of studies which in recent years have looked at the role of English in the international system of translations and, more specifically, at the role and significance of translated titles in the publishing markets of English-speaking countries. My immediate aim is to check whether the traditional view of English as primarily a *source* language in the publishing industry is still justified. Statistical data about the number of translated titles that are published and sold in English-speaking countries would seem to support this view, but their reliability has been put into question (Pym and Chrupała 2005, 31–32; Zhou and Sun 2017, 115–16). At the same time, quite a few scholars and observers have pointed to an increased attention and a change of attitude towards translated literature in the media. This may have been helped on the one hand by the new modes of distribution of published titles (in terms of formats, such as e-books and audio books, and online commercial platforms) and, on the other, by the increased tendency to rely on the interaction between media formats to promote best-selling authors, who are effectively turned into franchises responsible for books but also films and, increasingly, TV series based on or inspired by their books.

The studies included in the present overview are concerned with issues related to the following questions: is it true that the number of books in translation sold in English-speaking markets is still very limited compared to other markets? Considering the books that are translated into English, is it possible to detect patterns in terms of source languages, countries of origin and genres? If, regardless of changes in sales, a renewed attention to translated titles by critics and the media can be assumed, what is it that led to this change? How do literary works cross borders in general, and what factors play a predominant role when the literary border-crossing occurs from the "periphery" to the "core" of the global publishing market? What are the linguistic and stylistic features of translated literature in English? My intention is not that of providing extensive and definitive answers to these questions. Rather, I'd like to sketch out a few ideas and try to link them to new approaches that relate translation to the dynamics of the global circulation of goods and commodities, including cultural and intellectual products. I am interested, in other words, to learn more about the ways in which investigating translation into English, i.e., the dominant, "hyper-central" (Heilbron 2000) language of the global publishing market, can contribute to delineating "the disciplinary changes that a global focus brings to translation studies" (Bielsa 2020, 3). These changes have to do both with the emergence of new topics for research and the adoption of new methodological perspectives and paradigms, especially ones that are better suited to account for the at times extreme language diversity associated with today's global exchanges.

One overarching idea for the questions explored in my discussion is that of "translation flows", as initially characterized by Heilbron (1999). These flows can be observed in essentially quantitative terms (i.e., how many books are translated between any given pair of languages), but hypotheses can also be put forward, with reference to a variety of factors, as to what produces or conditions these flows. These factors may have to do, for instance, with the relative prestige of the languages and cultures involved, the role of individuals (e.g., translators or literary agents), policy decisions, or business or marketing strategies. One notion that should never be left aside when observing and analysing translation flows is that books are today mainly traded as a "cultural commodity" (Thompson 2010). In my overview, I'll refer to some recent studies or reports that have attempted to provide an up-to-date quantitative picture of such flows, especially in relation to books translated into English. For reasons I'll mention during the discussion, obtaining reliable data on book sales in any market is not a straightforward matter, and translated books are no exception. Various studies have used data from UNESCO's *Index Translationum*,[1] but these are only available up to 2009. A report specifically dedicated to the percentage of translated books in the UK and Irish markets (Büchler and Trentacosti 2015) examines the years between 1990 and 2012. While no such report is available for the US market, data on translated books in the US starting from 2008 are available in the *Three Percent* translation database hosted by the Publishers Weekly website. In the final section of the article, I present, as a case study, an exploratory analysis of these data, in counterpoint to the findings presented by Büchler and Trentacosti (2015) for the UK and Irish markets.

For clarity of exposition I will divide my overview of existing studies into three short subsections, based on the predominant disciplinary interest or focus of the studies I give an account of, or – in other words – on the types and nature of the factor(s) elucidated by each study. This division by no means implies that either the studies or the questions they address should be seen as unrelated or even mutually irrelevant. In fact, the phenomena they investigate may be seen to overlap to a considerable degree. As frequently happens when translation, translations or translators are investigated, an interdisciplinary perspective is the one best suited to explore the issues at hand and to analyse the interrelation between the different factors involved. My account of the three, interconnected disciplinary "views" on translation into English will obviously be very personal and selective and it is likely to require integrations from other disciplinary standpoints, for example that of "world literature", which could be taken as an additional, independent perspective on the role of translation in the international circulation of literary works. The case study on translated books in the US presented in Section 3 of the article is mainly intended as an exploratory investigation, and one likely to suggest avenues for further, more rigorous analysis in either statistical or qualitative terms.

2 Disciplinary Perspectives on Translation into English

2.1 The View from Translation Studies

From a translation studies perspective, Laviosa (2018, 449) assesses "the world status of English in terms of its central role in the international translation system". She explicitly acknowledges

[1] At the time of writing, the web page for accessing the *Index Translationum* within UNESCO's website is under maintenance. Therefore, no URL can be specified for it.

that one of the main concerns of translation studies is the study of the translation procedures "that perpetuate this alleged one-way flow of culture, by effacing the cultural values of other languages in English translations and encoding English cultural values in texts translated into other languages". In particular, when English is the target language, its hegemonic status leads to the use of textual translation procedures that depend on "domestic cultural values" (Laviosa 2018, 450). This observation is in line with the fundamental argument proposed by Venuti (2008), according to which literary texts translated into English in the US systematically adopt a domesticating approach that is ultimately aimed at rendering the translator "invisible" and establishing relations with works in the same genre originally published in English. The same underlying strategy, notes Laviosa, can be observed in the "shallow multilingualism" of recent transnational authors writing in English, as studied in particular by Pandey (2016): the multilingual elements in these writers' works are ultimately intended to create a familiarizing effect, which is in stark contrast to the alienating effect sought by most transnational authors who published in English in the 20th century. The multilingual elements in more recent transnational writers are token and cosmetic, and they are used in the service of normative monolingualism.

The effects or consequences of the role of English as the dominant language in the global market of translations are also discussed by MacKenzie (2018) as part of a sociolinguistic overview of the position of English in the world and the ways in which it is affected by, and affects, other languages through language contact. Following remarks by Parks (2015), Mackenzie (2018, 130) notes, in particular, the increase in the number of writers, and especially novelists, who "deliberately simplify their style and eschew local cultural references to facilitate translation into English as a gateway to the global market". He also adds (Mackenzie 2018, 143), however, that not all authors who have enjoyed critical or commercial success in translation into English fit this description.

A more nuanced view of the translatability assumingly inherent in the work of writers who have enjoyed international success is offered in two studies by Segnini (2017; 2018) who focuses on the Italian authors Elena Ferrante and Andrea Camilleri. In particular, Segnini points out the ambivalence of the cultural specificity represented by these authors. On the one hand, the choice of authors to be presented in translation is based on a process of selection in which "preference is given to translation-friendly texts, works that radiate vernacular flavour but do not challenge the knowledge or expectations of target audiences" (Segnini 2017, 115). On the other, the appeal of authors such as Ferrante and Camilleri can be related to international readers' needs for authenticity as a dimension of the local. As a result, their success can be seen to emerge from the interplay between resistance and adherence to the mechanisms of the global market.

2.2 The View from Cultural Sociology

The idea of treating translated literature as part of a larger literary "polysystem" was first proposed by Even-Zohar (1978). Later, Heilbron (1999) proposed a sociological framework presenting the translation of books as a "cultural world-system". In essence, this system is described in terms of a core-periphery structure which accounts for the uneven flow of translations between languages and for the varying role of translations within each language community or country. In this model, core position (or centrality) is the result not so much of the number of native speakers of a language as of the number of speakers for whom that language is a second language and the share of books translated from that language.

The core-periphery model has been expanded and refined in later studies by both Heilbron and Gisele Sapiro, writing together or independently (see, for instance, Heilbron 2000; Heilbron and Sapiro 2018). A useful overview of the questions and topics related to translation flows as analysed by studies adopting a cultural-sociological perspective is provided by Sapiro (2016) herself. The questions these models investigate have to do with how literary works circulate beyond national borders and what obstacles they encounter. Sapiro identifies four main categories of factors (political, economic, cultural, and social), with the usual proviso that in reality they may be intertwined. The political (or, more broadly, ideological) factors are those relating to the situations in which translation serves as a means to disseminate a particular doctrine or vision of the world. In some cases, this objective of dissemination may function obliquely, such as when translation is used to circumvent censorship. In a perspective of power relations between countries, translation may become an object of ideological and cultural exportation, with governments allocating financial support for the translation of books into one or more specific foreign languages.

The economic factors affecting the circulation of literary works are related to the book and press industries and to distribution networks. As far as the US and the UK are concerned, Sapiro (2016, 87) points out that in these two countries, "cultural goods appear primarily as commercial products that must obey the law of profitability". In the US and UK, the concentration of book production (reinforced by the concentration of book distribution around chains) turns translation into an unattractive commercial option, which ultimately ends up having a negative impact on cultural diversity. The publication of books in translation, in other words, is considered unprofitable, even though the pole of small-scale production (i.e., small independent publishers) has traditionally been able to ensure a minimum quota of diversity in the presentation of international literature to an English-speaking audience.

The cultural factors in the international dissemination of literary works as identified by Sapiro can be related to two main aspects. One is the contribution of translated works to the formation of national literary canons, a role that has more recently been discussed in relation to the canon of "world literature", defined as "all literary works that circulate beyond their culture of origin, either in translation or in the original" (Damrosch 2003, 4). The other aspect of relevance in terms of cultural factors is the role of translation in securing "symbolic profits" (such as recognition in the literary field) to those who promote it, e.g., translators, publishers, and critics. From this perspective, which draws on the works of Pierre Bourdieu, translation responds to the specific logic of "cultural fields" and is not subject to political and economic constraints.

Finally, the social factors Sapiro relates to the international circulation of literary works concern the power relations between different social groups and the ways in which these shape literary canons and redirect interest towards authors coming from groups that were previously marginalized (e.g., postcolonial writers and female authors).

Of particular relevance with respect to translation into English, is Sapiro's (2016) description of the structure of the global book market. This is illustrated in more detail in a previous study (Sapiro 2010, 421), where the publishing market is said to combine "high concentration" with "great dispersal" and to be articulated around three levels: "production" (with conglomerates in competition with small independent publishers), "spatial relations" (in terms of core vs periphery), and "circulation" (which can be large-scale or small-scale). Based on this description, it can be added that the translation of books into English seems to have been affected by developments on all these three levels. In terms of production, conglomerates now have to face direct competition from other conglomerates which are not strictly speaking publishers, such as Amazon. Spatial relations have also been redefined by e-commerce and new modes of distribution such as e-books. Finally, circulation has changed, once again thanks to new modes of distribution: even a few copies of a given book can today be circulated on request, or "print on demand".

2.3 The View from Publishing and Bibliometrics

What is translated (which particular titles, authors and genres) and where translations are "produced" (i.e., written, printed and distributed) and by whom (i.e., by what publishers) have traditionally been among the objects of "translation history" (see the overview in D'hulst 2010). More recently, translation history has "turned its attention to the networks of agents involved, the technologies with which translations are produced, and their reception and impact" (O'Sullivan 2012, 131). The adoption of empirical approaches, including corpus-based research and the collection of quantitative and visualizable data, was already advocated in one of the seminal works in this area, i.e., Anthony Pym's (2014) *Method in Translation History*, originally published in 1998. A recent overview of the various bibliographical sources available for quantitative research in translation history is provided in Zhou and Sun (2017), who focus on sources comprising metadata and allowing the batch retrieval of records (as opposed to sources where data can only be "handpicked", such as online bookstores). These sources include catalogues of various kinds and "subject bibliographies". The catalogues may be those available in national libraries, "union catalogues" that combine library catalogues of a group of participating libraries, or trade catalogues (such as Bowker's Books in Print).[2] Of the "subject bibliographies" devoted to translated books the most well-known is UNESCO's *Index Translationum*, which in the digital, online version contains bibliographical information on books translated and published in about one hundred of the UNESCO Member States between 1979 and 2009, for a total of over two million entries in all disciplines.

Some problems associated with using data contained in bibliographical databases for quantitative analyses of translation flows are discussed in Poupaud, Pym, and Torres Simón (2009). These problems have to do with aspects such as possible inconsistencies in the census techniques, leading to marked fluctuations in year-on-year data, and a lack of agreement on basic categories such as "books" or "translations", especially in databases that combine information coming from different countries. Still, the authors note, by appropriately defining the specific object of their research and by accepting that results from a given database are

[2] See https://about.proquest.com/products-services/print-books/Books-in-Print.html.

supplemented with information from other relevant sources, interesting findings can be obtained that shed light on the significance of particular translation flows.[3]

3 Book Translations into and from English: Recent Trends

Using data from UNESCO's *Index Translationum*, Zhou and Sun (2017) show that in recent decades English has been the most translated language in the world. In particular, between 1979 and 2007 the proportion of translated books with English as the original language increased from 40% to around 60% worldwide. In absolute terms, the annual number of books translated from English went from slightly over 20,000 in 1979 to around 67,000 in 2007. After English, the other top four source languages for translated books over the period 1979–2007 were French, German and Russian. The first two exhibited a steady increase year after year, while still remaining very distant from English: both started with around 5,000 translations in 1979 and went up to around 10,000 in 2007. Russian ranked second in 1979 but declined markedly after 1991, the year the Soviet Union collapsed. These, or similar figures found in other studies, are often used as the basis for the claims about the predominance of English as a source language in international translation flows. In the same paper, Zhou and Sun also present the list of the top five target languages worldwide in the same time span (1979–2007): German, French, Spanish, English and Japanese. As can be seen, English ranks *fourth* in the list.[4]

"Three percent" is the oft-quoted share of translations (especially literary) in the publishing output of the UK and US. Sapiro (2010; 2016) accepts this estimate and takes it as a sign that the concentration on large scale production in the book industry has had a negative impact on cultural diversity at global level. An overview of the market of translated books in the US is provided by Ban (2015), who enumerates and discusses the difficulties (real or perceived) of publishing titles in translation on the North American market. These difficulties have to do with both editorial and financial aspects. From the editorial angle, one particular difficulty is related to the inability of many editors to read foreign languages, which is felt by many as an obstacle for a full appreciation, and the accurate editing, of a translated title. Not all editors consulted by Ban, however, agree that this is a major problem, and some even maintain that consulting the original may be distracting. More generally, some of the industry actors consulted by Ban (2015, 164–65) mention problems linked to the evaluation of translations, and especially their quality relative to the original text, although some publishers or editors point out that problematic manuscripts may also come from English-speaking authors.

From the financial perspective, the difficulties Ban discusses are related to the cost of translations, the acquisition of rights and the promotion of translated titles. That a translation is more expensive than an original manuscript is not always and necessarily true. If the price

[3] For instance, if someone is interested in investigating all the "published" translations of a given author in one particular language, they may have to combine data from a commercial database produced by the publishing industry (which is likely to focus on translated titles that are distributed for sale) and data from other sources that include translations published for non-commercial use.

[4] A more recent contribution (Brisset and Colón Rodríguez 2020) analysing data from the *Index Translationum* confirms the findings of Zhou and Sun (2017) with respect to the position of English as both a source and target language.

of rights is considered, then translating a book may even turn out to be less expensive than acquiring an original manuscript (Ban 2015, 166). Another way to profit from translation is to acquire the world rights for a title and then sell rights of translation to other countries (Ban 2015, 167). In terms of marketing and promotion, although some publishers consider translated titles to be at a disadvantage due to lacking a "platform" (i.e., blogs or author friends who write blurbs or recommend books through social media or at their universities), others point out that communities of readers are forming around translated books, promoted at times by smaller, specialized publishers. Some publishers, such as Europa Editions, have even pursued "brand identification" (Ban 2015, 167) through their book covers.

At the end of her overview, Ban (2015, 172) lists some of the signs that the US publishing industry is paying increased attention to foreign titles: these include the creation of an exclusive area for books in translation and translation grants at Book Expo America (the main publishing event in the country), websites that facilitate the negotiation of foreign rights, and newsletters, blogs and literary magazines presenting international fiction in English. US media in general have, according to Ban, started to change their attitude towards translated literature (and here it is worth noting that Ban's article was written immediately prior to the international commercial and critical sensation caused by Elena Ferrante's novels).

For the UK and Irish publishing markets, a statistical report on the number and percentage shares of translated titles is presented in Büchler and Trentacosti (2015). The report uses data from the British National Bibliography (as received from the British Library) for the period 1990–2012. More specifically, raw data from the British Library were used by the authors to calculate the percentage shares of translations published annually, while refined data (restricted to translations of creative literary genres) were used for the analysis of translated titles according to source languages and genres. The report found that the translations published in the United Kingdom and Ireland in the analysed period represented around 3% of all publications and that literary translations account for around 4% of all literary publications, with a peak in 2011, when translations surpassed 5% (in the report, "literary" refers to titles falling within the 800 Dewey classification category).

3.1 Translated Books in the US in Recent Decades

In their report, Büchler and Trentacosti (2015, 6) acknowledge that for the creation of their database they were inspired partly by the annual book market reports of EU countries (usually also containing translation statistics), and partly by the *Three Percent* project in the US. *Three Percent* is a website[5] launched and maintained by Rochester University and Open Letter, its translation press, with the goal of becoming "a destination for readers, editors, and translators interested in finding out about modern and contemporary international literature". The website contains reviews of books in translation, articles on translation-related matters and a translation database collecting raw data on translated books published and distributed in the US. Since 2019 the *Three Percent* database has also been available on the website of *Publishers Weekly*[6] in a searchable format and with an enlarged focus: while initially the database only

5 See http://www.rochester.edu/college/translation/threepercent/.
6 See https://www.publishersweekly.com/pw/translation/home/index.html.

collected information on translated fiction and poetry, in its current version it also includes data on children's books and non-fiction titles. The time span covered by the database is 2008 to the present. Entries in the database are mainly added by hand based on publishers' catalogues and review copies. Individual authors, translators, publicists and readers can also add entries through a dedicated online form. The database can be searched using a number of criteria, including title, genre,[7] name and gender of author, name and gender of translator, author's country of origin, year of publication, publisher, and more. Records from the database can be imported in tab-delimited format into a spreadsheet for statistical analysis.[8] In what follows I will propose a brief exploratory analysis of the data available in the *Three Percent* database, in the attempt to uncover some general trends and discuss them with reference to the data about the UK and Irish markets (as presented in Büchler and Trentacosti 2015) and against the background of sales figures in the US publishing markets for recent years. The time span for the data presented here is 2008–2020. The analysis refers to the contents of the database as of February 2021.

For the years between 2008 and 2020, the *Three Percent* database contains records for a total of 8,443 titles. Table 1 shows the number of translated titles per year for all four macro-genres covered by the database. There is a steady and marked increase in the number of recorded titles, with two peaks, one in 2013 (the highest number of titles in the time span considered) and one in 2018. Although the numbers decline after 2018, they still remain considerably higher than in 2008. For 2020 the number of titles is 531, with an increase of 39% over 2008, the year with the lowest figure in the time considered.

Table 1. Number of translated titles in the US in the period 2008–2020 according to the *Three Percent* data.

2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020
386	389	372	429	844	936	843	669	720	776	810	737	531

Figure 1 provides a different view of the same data that better highlights the overall increasing trend in the number of translated titles, showing in particular that for a period of five years (i.e., from 2012 to 2019) the number of translated books consistently remained above the threshold of 600 titles.

To put these numbers in perspective, consider that the UK and Irish markets (Büchler and Trentacosti 2015) saw a steady increase in the number of published literary translations from 2000 to 2012, with a peak of 587 in 2011. As a percentage of all published literary titles, in the UK and Irish markets translated titles did indeed oscillate between 4% and 5% for most of the longer period (i.e., 1990 to 2012) considered by Büchler and Trentacosti (2015). The 2011 peak meant that translations reached 5.23% of all published titles. A comparable proportional representation of the *Three Percent* data presented here would have to be made against national yearly data on published books in the US. Obtaining these, however, is not a straightforward matter, and once they had been obtained, the data would still require

7 The four macro-genres represented in the database are: fiction, non-fiction, poetry, and children's books.
8 See the FAQs about the database at https://www.publishersweekly.com/pw/corp/translation-database-FAQ.html.

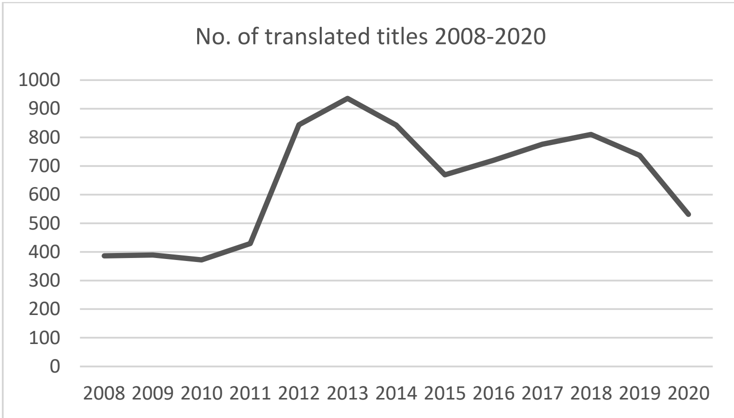


Figure 1. Number of translated titles in the US in the period 2008–2020.

much more time for processing than was feasible for the present exploratory analysis. Even so, the trend visible in the *Three Percent* data seems to provide some support to the idea that, numerically, translated titles are on the rise in the US market.

Before focusing on figures on the most translated languages, it is worth giving a brief look at how the four macro-genres are distributed across all source languages. Table 2 provides an overview of the number of titles translated every year in each macro-genre. Fiction is by far the most translated genre (with 66.2% of all titles over the 12-year period), followed a long way behind by poetry (14.8). Non-fiction follows closely behind poetry (12.8%), and children's books come last at 6.2%. In findings for the UK and Irish markets by Büchler and Trentacosti (2015, 18), fiction accounted for a similarly large share (i.e., around 60%) of translated titles.

Table 2. Distribution of translated titles in the US per macro-genre (2008–2020).

Genre	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	Total
Fiction	282	292	277	327	403	463	531	519	569	530	560	493	340	5586 (66.2%)
Poetry	88	87	86	87	83	102	108	107	117	143	122	80	41	1251 (14.8%)
Nonfiction	3	6	8	11	237	226	93	37	29	79	113	116	115	1073 (12.8%)
Children's	13	4	1	4	121	145	111	6	5	23	14	48	35	530 (6.2%)

Of particular interest, in Table 2, is the marked increase in the number of translations of non-fiction titles. Only 28 titles are recorded for this genre between 2008 and 2011, but there is a sudden, remarkable leap to 237 titles in 2012 (which is also the peak year of the period). In spite of some oscillations, the share of non-fiction titles remains significant over the subsequent years, and in some cases (e.g., 2012, 2013, 2019, and 2020) it is higher than the share of translated poetry titles. Poetry itself, on the other hand, sees a trend of significant growth between 20012 and 2018. A closer look at the source languages, individual authors and publishers for both the non-fiction and poetry titles might shed some light on these trends and contribute to explaining what is undoubtedly a sharp increase in the attention devoted to the translation of these genres.

Data on the most translated languages as available in the *Three Percent* database are given in Table 3, which focuses on the top 20 source languages for translated titles and indicates how many were translated from each language every year.

Table 3. Top 20 most translated languages in the US (2008–2020).

	2008	**2009**	**2010**	**2011**	**2012**	**2013**	**2014**	**2015**	**2016**	**2017**	**2018**	**2019**	**2020**	**Total**
French	66	55	64	67	177	213	178	136	122	140	133	145	122	1618
Spanish	52	67	54	54	91	106	95	86	113	107	124	100	80	1129
German	32	37	38	46	147	140	146	85	85	76	73	73	58	1036
Italian	14	26	21	24	69	64	51	42	35	41	47	46	37	517
Japanese	21	19	27	26	41	44	30	21	30	48	64	47	32	450
Swedish	19	17	10	21	30	33	37	23	33	33	29	29	23	337
Arabic	30	21	17	18	28	23	30	27	27	32	24	22	11	310
Chinese	15	9	14	16	26	22	31	24	25	39	32	27	20	300
Russian	20	15	11	19	30	38	31	16	15	18	25	28	16	282
Norwegian	6	11	8	14	14	20	18	15	20	28	28	20	16	218
Portuguese	16	9	7	11	20	23	23	17	18	12	20	19	11	206
Dutch	3	10	9	2	35	33	16	9	10	9	19	24	16	195
Hebrew	12	6	14	12	12	24	9	13	17	15	13	14	15	176
Korean	4	8	4	16	5	15	15	14	24	16	11	17	13	162
Danish	3	3	3	11	11	14	14	17	12	16	15	14	3	136
Polish	6	4	8	7	16	13	8	5	5	11	15	7	9	114
Czech	5	7	5	4	4	6	7	8	12	16	8	3	2	87
Turkish	4	12	3	3	6	11	5	8	10	6	5	4	3	80
Finnish	2	2	2	2	5	8	7	11	11	10	6	7	4	77
Icelandic	3	3	2	2	11	8	7	3	5	8	11	5	4	72

A brief comparison and contrast of the languages in Table 3 with data on the most translated languages in the UK and Ireland from Büchler and Trentacosti (2015) provides some interesting insights. Even though the UK and Ireland figures refer only to the translations of literary texts, they can still be taken to be comparable with data from the *Three Percent* database, where fiction and poetry are the most represented genres (see Table 2). The comparison is particularly interesting as far as the top 10 languages are concerned (Table 4).[9]

Table 4. Top 10 most translated languages in the US (2008–2020) and in the UK and Ireland (2000–2012).

US		UK-Ireland	
Language	**No. of titles**	**Language**	**No. of titles**
French	1,618	French	1,217
Spanish	1,129	German	728
German	1,036	Spanish	481
Italian	517	Russian	432
Japanese	450	Italian	383
Swedish	337	Swedish	359
Arabic	310	Norwegian	190
Chinese	300	Dutch	185
Russian	282	Arabic	135
Norwegian	218	Japanese	123

In the US top 10 list, the non-European languages feature more prominently. Japanese ranks 5th, (with a number of titles which is slightly lower than one third of the number for French, the most translated language); Arabic and Chinese rank 7th and 8th, respectively. By contrast, in the UK and Ireland top 10 list, the only two non-European languages are Arabic (9th) and Japanese (10th). The top three languages are the same in the two lists, with French ranking at number one in both. Spanish and German swap second and third places, with Spanish ranking second in the US. This could be a sign of the closer relationship of US publishers with the Spanish-speaking book markets in Central and South America. Country-of-origin data confirm this: of the 1129 titles translated from Spanish in the US, the vast majority (i.e., around 800) originate from Spanish-speaking Latin American countries.

Of particular interest in both lists in Table 3 is the presence of Swedish and Norwegian. The consistent and steady growth of translations from Swedish had already been noted (and labelled as "one of the most significant trends") by Büchler and Trentacosti (2015, 16). In their data, Norwegian showed a similar trend, with a peak of translated titles in the same year as Swedish (i.e., 2011). In the US data, if the analysis is extended to the top 20 translated languages (see Table 3), all of the Nordic languages feature very prominently. The interest in titles from these languages seems to emerge slightly later than in UK and Ireland, but from 2011 onwards it establishes a significant and consolidated trend: Swedish peaks at 37 translated titles in 2014, and remains at around 30 titles per year between 2012 and 2019. Norwegian also sees a steady increase from 2008, reaching a peak number of titles for two consecutive years (2017 and 2018). If taken collectively, the contingent of Nordic languages (Swedish, Norwegian, Danish, Finnish, and Icelandic, representing a population of around 27 million people) would rank, with a total of 840 translated titles, before Italian, a language representing a country with more than double the population. The case of Iceland

[9] For the UK and Ireland, Table 3 collates figures from different tables in Büchler and Trentacosti (2015).

and Icelandic is particularly impressive: from 2008 to 2020 a country of around 360,000 people had 72 books translated into English and published in the US – that is, only eight titles fewer than Turkey (population: 84 million). The attention to titles translated from Nordic languages can be linked to the critical and commercial success enjoyed by authors from Nordic countries, and especially writers of genre fiction such as thrillers and mysteries (e.g., Karin Fossum Anne Holt, Jo Nesbo, and Karin Fossum from Norway; and Camilla Lackberg, Stig Larsson, and Henning Mankell from Sweden).

The analysis of the *Three Percent* data could go on to uncover other trends and reveal interesting comparisons (and contrasts) with data on translation flows for other countries. The analysis could focus, for example, on individual countries and look at how the success of specific authors then contributed to drawing attention to other titles written in the same original language. Italy is a case in point. Data from the *Three Percent* database could, for example, help understand if and how the "Ferrante fever" (a journalistic label which later even became the title of a documentary film featuring an interview with Ann Goldstein, the translator of most of Elena Ferrante's novels into English) led to an increased number of similar titles translated from Italian into English. The data could also be used to test hypotheses about translation flows between the US and other non-European countries, building on the observation already made above that, in comparison to the other large English-speaking market (the UK), the US sees a much more significant presence of titles coming from outside Europe.

Complements to the analysis of the *Three Percent* data could (or indeed, in some cases, *should*) also be sought in data on book sales. A cursory look at some easily obtained data would seem to confirm that over the last decade or so translated titles have gained more visibility in terms of both critical acclaim and commercial success. According to the market research group NPD, *The Girl with The Dragon Tattoo* by the Swedish author Stig Larsson ranks number nine (with 7.9 million copies) in the list of the best-selling print books and e-books in the US in the period 2010–2019.[10] The same report by NPD also highlights a growth in US sales of poetry titles and non-fiction titles in general in the latter half of the decade. This could be linked to the trends observed above (in Table 2) with regard the genre distribution of translated titles, with poetry and especially non-fiction showing marked increases in the number of published titles starting from 2011. More specifically, this could indicate that publishers are willing to invest in titles in translation in genres that enjoy commercial success.

4 Final Remarks

Several scholars and observers have agreed that the role and share of translations in English-speaking book markets are particularly weak if compared to those seen in markets such as France, Germany and Italy. Data from UNESCO's *Index Translationum* have often been used to back up claims on the extremely marginal role of translations in markets such as the US or UK, but these data are not available for the years beyond 2009. In this contribution, I have referred to a report based on more recent data (Büchler and Trentacosti 2015) showing that in the UK and Ireland the share of translations has in some years risen over the traditionally quoted threshold of "three percent". I have also proposed an exploratory analysis of the records

[10] See the press release at https://www.npd.com/wps/portal/npd/us/news/press-releases/2019/fifty-shades-of-grey-was-the-best-selling-book-of-the-decade-in-the-us-the-npd-group-says/.

contained in the *Three Percent* database, which collects information about titles published in translation in the US starting from 2008. Although the data from this resource have not been analysed against the background of the total publishing output of the United States, the analysis has pointed to a renewed vitality of books in translation, which has been linked to signs testifying to their critical and, in some cases, commercial success, as in the case of Elena Ferrante's novels or Scandinavian crime fiction.

In short, even in publishing markets that were traditionally considered particularly insular and self-referential, such as the UK and the US, books in translation have made it to the best-selling lists, and the presence of foreign authors in the culture sections of newspaper and magazines is no longer an exception. There are several signs that translations and translators are no longer as "invisible" at they were taken to be in the 1990s, when Lawrence Venuti first published his widely quoted *The Translator's Invisibility* (Venuti 2008).

Further investigation, and more rigorous quantitative analyses, would be needed to back up these claims and establish how consolidated the trends indicating a renewed vitality for translations into English really are. For the interpretation of these trends, support could also be sought in recent accounts of the ways in which cosmopolitanism and globalization are shaping translation in diverse social contexts and through the effect of supranational factors (see, in particular, the discussion of cosmopolitanism in Bielsa (2016) and the reflections on globalization and translation in Bielsa and Kapsaskis (2020)).

Claiming that translation is affected by supranational factors would appear to be a truism, as translation entails a supranational dimension by definition. However, approaches to translation and research paradigms up until, and including, Descriptive Translation Studies, rarely explicitly considered and investigated the flow of ideas and the dynamics of communication at supra- and transnational levels, preferring instead to concentrate either on the source or on the target poles of translational phenomena. One particular supranational factor that may be playing a role in the renewed interest in translation in English-speaking countries is the disembodied nature of much communication, i.e., the fact that it is not realized through spatial movements of people and products across borders, but rather through the exchange of ideas and content over digital networks. This may be having the effect of making readers (and film and TV viewers) in English-speaking markets more alert to cultural products coming from non-English speaking countries, in a process that global publishing (and film production) conglomerates may view favourably if it leads to increased sales and profits.

References

Ban, Ana. 2015. "Books in Translation in the United States." *Publishing Research Quarterly* 31 (3): 160–74. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12109-015-9406-7.

Bielsa, Esperança. 2016. *Cosmopolitanism and Translation: Investigations into the Experience of the Foreign. Translation Theories Explored*. London: Routledge.

Bielsa, Esperança. 2020. "Introduction: the Intersection between Translation and Globalization." In *The Routledge Handbook of Translation and Globalization*, edited by Esperança Bielsa and Dionysios Kapsaskis, 1–10. London: Routledge.

Bielsa, Esperança, and Dionysios Kapsaskis, eds. 2020. *The Routledge Handbook of Translation and Globalization*. London: Routledge.

Brisset, Annie, and Raúl E. Colón Rodríguez. 2020. "World Translation Flows." In *The Routledge Handbook of Translation and Globalization*, edited by Esperança Bielsa and Dionysios Kapsaskis, 230–50. London: Routledge.
Büchler, Alexandra, and Giulia Trentacosti. 2015. *Publishing Translated Literature in the United Kingdom and Ireland 1990–2012. Statistical Report*. Aberystwyth: Mercator Institute for Media, Languages and Culture, Aberystwyth University.
Damrosch, David. 2003. *What Is World Literature?* Princeton: Princeton University Press.
D'hulst, Lieven. 2010. "Translation History." In *Handbook of Translation Studies*, edited by Yves Gambier and Luc van Doorslaer, 1: 397–405. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/hts.1.tra5.
Even-Zohar, Itamar. 1978. "The Position of Translated Literature within the Literary Polysystem." In *Literature and Translation: New Perspectives in Literary Studies*, edited by James S. Holmes, José Lambert, and Raymond van den Broeck, 117–27. Leuven: Acco.
Heilbron, Johan. 1999. "Towards a Sociology of Translation: Book Translations as a Cultural World-System." *European Journal of Social Theory* 2 (4): 429–44. https://doi.org/10.1177/136843199002004002.
—. 2000. "Translation as a Cultural World System." *Perspectives* 8 (1): 9–26. https://doi.org/10.1080/0907676X.2000.9961369.
Heilbron, Johan, and Gisèle Sapiro. 2018. "Politics of Translation: How States Shape Cultural Transfers." In *Literary Translation and Cultural Mediators in 'Peripheral' Cultures*, edited by Diana Roig-Sanz and Reine Meylaerts, 183–208. Cham: Springer International. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-78114-3_7.
Laviosa, Sara. 2018. "English and Translation." In *The Routledge Handbook of English Language Studies*, edited by Philip Seargeant, Ann Hewings, and Stephen Pihlaja, 447–60. London: Routledge.
MacKenzie, Ian. 2018. *Language Contact and the Future of English*. Routledge Studies in Sociolinguistics 18. New York: Routledge.
O'Sullivan, Carol. 2012. "Introduction: Rethinking Methods in Translation History." *Translation Studies* 5 (2): 131–38. https://doi.org/10.1080/14781700.2012.663594.
Pandey, Anjali. 2016. *Monolingualism and Linguistic Exhibitionism in Fiction*. Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan.
Parks, Tim. 2015. *Where I'm Reading from: The Changing World of Books*. New York Review Books Collections. New York: New York Review Books.
Poupaud, Sandra, Anthony Pym, and Ester Torres Simón. 2009. "Finding Translations. On the Use of Bibliographical Databases in Translation History." *Meta: Journal Des Traducteurs / Meta: Translators' Journal* 54 (2): 264–78. https://doi.org/10.7202/037680ar.
Pym, Anthony. 2014. *Method in Translation History*. London: Routledge.
Pym, Anthony, and Grzegorz Chrupała. 2005. "The Quantitative Analysis of Translation Flows in the Age of an International Language." In *Less Translated Languages*, edited by Albert Branchadell and Lovell Margaret West, 27–38. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/btl.58.03pym.
Sapiro, Gisèle. 2010. "Globalization and Cultural Diversity in the Book Market: The Case of Literary Translations in the US and in France." *Poetics* 38 (4): 419–39. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.poetic.2010.05.001.
—. 2016. "How Do Literary Works Cross Borders (or Not)?" *Journal of World Literature* 1 (1): 81–96. https://doi.org/10.1163/24056480-00101009.
Segnini, Elisa. 2017. "Local Flavour vs Global Readerships: The Elena Ferrante Project and Translatability." *The Italianist* 37 (1): 100–118. https://doi.org/10.1080/02614340.2016.1273649.
—. 2018. "Andrea Camilleri's Montalbano and Elena Ferrante's L'amica geniale: The Afterlife of Two 'Glocal' Series." *The Translator*: 1–17. https://doi.org/10.1080/13556509.2018.1502607.
Thompson, John B. 2010. *Merchants of Culture: The Publishing Business in the Twenty-First Century*. Cambridge: Polity.
Venuti, Lawrence. 2008. *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation*. 2nd ed. London: Routledge.
Zhou, Xiaoyan, and Sanjun Sun. 2017. "Bibliography-Based Quantitative Translation History." *Perspectives* 25 (1): 98–119. https://doi.org/10.1080/0907676X.2016.1177100.

Astrid Schmidhofer
University of Innsbruck, Austria
Enrique Cerezo Herrero
Universitat Politècnica de València, Spain
Melita Koletnik
University of Maribor, Slovenia

2021, Vol. 18 (1), 71-89(222)
revije.ff.uni-lj.si/elope
https://doi.org/10.4312/elope.18.1.71-89
UDC: 81'25-051:378.147

Why We Need TI-Oriented Language Learning and Teaching (TILLT)

ABSTRACT

The teaching of foreign languages to students in Translation and Interpreting (TI) programmes should be framed within the field of Language for Specific Purposes (LSP). This would make it possible to pinpoint specific curricular content and methodological traits that contribute to the enhancement of the communicative competence and initial development of TI competences. This paper analyses the students' perspectives on L2 teaching in a TI programme and how it should be undertaken to best comply with the linguistic demands imposed by translation and interpreting. A thematic analysis of 117 open questionnaires returned by students from Austria, Slovenia and Spain identified five areas to which the students attribute particular importance, and which should be considered when developing TI-oriented curricula.

Keywords: future translators and interpreters, TI-oriented Language Learning and Teaching (TILLT), Language for Specific Purposes (LSP)

Zakaj naj bo poučevanje L2 prilagojeno potrebam bodočih prevajalcev in tolmačev

IZVLEČEK

Poučevanje tujih jezikov za bodoče prevajalce in tolmače se uvršča na področje poučevanja tujih jezikov stroke. Z vsebinsko in metodološko prilagoditvijo kurikulov je mogoče prispevati k napredovanju tako sporazumevalne zmožnosti bodočih prevajalcev in tolmačev kot tudi k začetnemu razvoju njihovih prevajalskih in tolmaških zmožnosti. V opisni raziskavi so študenti prevajanja in tolmačenja so odgovarjali na vprašanja o svojih jezikovnih potrebah in nanizali predloge, kako tem (naj)bolje prilagoditi poučevanje tujih jezikov. V analizi 117 odprtih vprašalnikov, ki so jih izpolnili študenti iz Avstrije, Slovenije in Španije, smo prepoznali pet področij, ki jim študenti pripisujejo poseben pomen in za katera menimo, da bi jih morali upoštevati pri snovanju kurikulov, prilagojenih potrebam bodočih prevajalcev in tolmačev.

Ključne besede: bodoči prevajalci in tolmači, poučevanje in učenje L2 za potrebe bodočih prevajalcev in tolmačev, tuji jezik stroke

1 Introduction

Ever since Translation Studies became a fully-fledged discipline in the 1980s (Hurtado 2011), the main focus of research into translation and interpreting (TI) has been to decipher its nature and offer an epistemological framework that allows for its consolidation and scientific advancement. In spite of having experienced a period of flourishing, Hurtado (1999, 15) in the late 1990s warned of a considerable delay in applied studies in this discipline, with foreign language teaching in TI training being one area greatly affected by this. The vast amount of research produced by applied linguists has not shed any light on how to tackle the methodological challenges posed by TILLT. Therefore, despite being the driving force behind any activity of a translating nature, the translators' (and interpreters') language competence, and consequently their language training, have not received sufficient attention to date. Hence the need for studies that contribute to the understanding of the complexities involved in this form of teaching.

Due to the paucity of research in this area, this paper aims to offer insights into the state of TILLT by analysing the opinions and beliefs[1] that TI students hold about the language courses offered at university, and how these have contributed to their training as prospective translators and interpreters. To this end, an exploratory study based on linguistic and pedagogical needs has been carried out to define more precisely the role that language courses play in a TI programme.

In Section 2, an overview of relevant research related to language training in TI programmes, and a needs analyses in TI language training in the form of curriculum analysis and questionnaires among students and teachers, are provided. In Section 3, the aims, instruments, environments and results of our study are described. The results are first presented for each country participating in the study, i.e., Austria, Slovenia and Spain, and are finally presented in a comprehensive, overall analysis. Our conclusions in Section 4 highlight the most relevant insights and suggestions for further research.

2 State of the Art

2.1 L2 Training in TI Programmes

Language training for TI students needs to be different from general language training (cf. Hernández Guerra and Cruz García 2009). In fact, foreign language teaching for TI students presents itself as a specific teaching approach (Berenguer 1997; Möller 2001; Beeby 2004; Cruz García and Adams 2008; Clouet 2010; Cerezo Herrero 2019b). It can be regarded as a form of teaching that straddles the divide between translation and foreign language teaching (Berenguer 1996). This is possible through a curriculum design based on the analysis of the students' specific needs and career opportunities (Berenguer 1997), which will make the curricular content relevant and appropriate.

[1] In survey research (Lavrakas 2008), opinion is defined as "subjective attitudes, beliefs, or judgments that reflect matters of personal (subjective) preference". We understand opinions as the broadest category that includes both attitudes, i.e., "general evaluations that people hold regarding a particular entity" and beliefs, i.e., more detailed evaluative statements regarding that entity.

Berenguer's pioneering LSP model (1997) has served as a basis for subsequent investigations attempting to draw the contours of this teaching. Using Holmes' (1988) model of Translation Studies, Berenguer incorporates the teaching of languages for translation into the field of applied studies as an independent field of study. This classification attests to the need to have a specific branch in Translation Studies that includes TILLT.

On the other hand, Cerezo Herrero (2019b) goes a step further and makes a proposal based on the ESP model put forward by Dudley-Evans and St. John (1998), one of the most prominent ESP models so far; however, Cerezo Herrero (2019b) warns of the limitations that this model presents for foreign language teaching in TI programmes. The field of translation deals with a wide range of academic disciplines (Hurtado 1999). Hence the need to establish a branch with an interdisciplinary scope. Additionally, the model by Dudley-Evans and St. John (1998) does not address the methodological aspects which are considered fundamental in this training. Based on this, Cerezo Herrero (2019b) establishes, in the case of English, a specific branch called English for Translation Purposes flanked by two filters: a thematic filter, which encompasses the various fields established by the classification of Science and Technology fields by UNESCO, and a filter called Methodology that shapes TILLT.

A model for translation-oriented language competence inspired by models of translation competence was put forward by Schmidhofer (2020). This goes beyond the list of specific goals for this kind of training that was compiled in a previous study (Schmidhofer 2017). These goals comprised communicative and metalinguistic competence, viewing language as a tool for translators, integrating language in one's own life, creating a translator's identity, analysing texts critically, developing a conscious use of resources, evaluating one's own performance critically and being able to work autonomously. The proposed model comprises five competences (systemic competence, communicative competence, metalinguistic competence, research competence, and extralinguistic competence) and a metacompetence called monitoring. The competences described coincide to a large extent with the competences included in the CEFR, but other aspects are added that are mentioned in the CEFR framework only marginally, if at all.

2.2 Needs Analysis in TI-Oriented Language Teaching

Empirical research studies into language teaching in TI programmes are most common in the area of curriculum analysis, probably because this data is easily accessible. Even though the informative value of this data is limited, since it only reflects institutional specifications, it can show the amount of time, expressed in ECTS, that is dedicated to language teaching and learning, and the goals and the methodological guidelines laid down by different institutions. All comprehensive analyses published to date have been carried out in Spain and focus on Spanish universities.

The first curriculum analysis, to the best of our knowledge, was carried out by Möller Runge (2001, 93-175), analysing courses in German as a second foreign language at 18 Spanish universities. She points out that, at the time of her study, even though hardly any university required an entrance level for the C language (second foreign language), the hours of instruction, although varying considerably, were usually below the threshold of 650 hours, which is the amount estimated by the Goethe Institut as necessary to reach an intermediate level (*Mittelstufe*). The number of hours that have to be completed on a compulsory basis before starting translation courses were even fewer. Möller Runge (2001, 172) also provides a list of descriptors that are commonly found in descriptions of language modules, from which she concludes that foreign language teaching in TI programmes should have unique features.

Based on these findings, she suggests designing guidelines in line with translation students' needs but concedes that most lecturers use general language coursebooks that they complement with extra material. Möller Runge maintains that the approach adopted by lecturers is based on intuition and experience "*pero, en realidad, no se apoya[n] en una metodología claramente definida para este grupo de destino*[2]" (2001,174).

Cerezo Herrero's study (2015b) offers a general overview of linguistic and socio-cultural training in the Translation and Interpretation degrees conferred by 24 Spanish universities. From the main data gathered, it can be observed that all analysed universities offer language training in their B language (first foreign language) and C language. C languages receive the most ECTS, since in these languages, usually German or French, training starts from a basic level. Although both foreign languages have a curricular presence in the study programmes, this author concludes that it would be necessary to increase the teaching load devoted to languages, since they are considered to be the driving force in Translation Studies (Delisle 1980, 41; EMT 2017, 6). Likewise, he advocates re-establishing the language admission test in order to homogenize the students' initial linguistic level and ensure that the teaching load devoted to different foreign languages be adequate.

The most recent study was carried out by Carrasco Flores (2018, 186-219), who also explores English language courses in 25 TI programmes offered at 24 Spanish universities, with special attention to the type of course (General English or English for Specific Purposes) and the materials used. According to his results, 76% offer Applied Linguistics courses. For these courses, he establishes a continuum between English for General Purposes (EGP) and English for Specific Purposes (ESP), and states that in 52% of the programmes only EGP is taught, in 16% a combination of both, while ESP is taught only in 4%. For the remaining 28%, there is no relevant data available. From his qualitative analysis, Carrasco Flores concludes that "the high percentage of degrees that only offer EGP courses points to lack of awareness when it comes to the specificities of this language training" (2018, 216).

Additional insight into the linguistic needs of TI students is offered in research by Koletnik (2017, 2020a, 2020b). Since 2012, she has been continuously testing and monitoring her students' linguistic competence in English (B language) at the commencement of their academic TI studies. Based on data from eight generations of Slovenian students of English, with a total of 211 participants, she has found that their skills were notably advanced, with some 55% of the students reaching C1 on the CEFR scale and a further 20% reaching the C2 and B2 levels (2020a). In line with Cerezo Herrero (2015a), she is convinced that an adequate linguistic level should thus be established *ab initio* to enable more streamlined

[2] "…but they are actually not sustained by a clearly defined methodology for this particular group of learners" (translation by the authors).

language development in TI students. She further advocates that careful introduction and judicious use of bidirectional translation exercises in TI students' foreign language teaching, which complements monolingual teaching, is supportive of the development of their translation skills in both languages, L2 and L1 (2020b).

Koletnik (2017) also elicited the first year TI students' opinions on the way they were taught English in their language development classes, focusing mostly on grammar. To obtain answers from three generations of students, she carried out and analysed 40 qualitative, semi-structured interviews and qualitative questionnaires, as well as 56 quantitative questionnaires. In their responses, students expressed the wish for less theory and more hands-on grammar exercises through either translation or contrasting of the linguistic systems of languages A and B (2017, 152–53). The interviews further revealed students' opinion that translation is naturally linked to language teaching. Two main advantages of translation as a language teaching tool are, in their opinion, to consolidate grammar knowledge and develop vocabulary. To a lesser extent, the students also believed translation allowed for more practice, greater automaticity and more natural expression, leading to better retention and more autonomous learning. Ultimately, they collectively supported the use of translation in language development classes and expressed their wish that translation classes started on "day one" of their studies (2017, 168).

Language lecturers have been targeted by only one large survey, carried out by Möller Runge in connection with her curricular analysis (2001). She conducted a survey among 57 Spanish lecturers who teach TI courses with German as a C language. Her results show that the vast majority of teachers are dissatisfied with the students' language level and consider their level insufficient for translation/interpreting activities. The problems the teachers mentioned comprise almost all aspects of language use. As for the reasons, most participants named the structure of the curricula as the most important cause of this unsatisfactory situation, stating that curricula do not include enough teaching hours; however, the criticism also included lesson content, which, according to the participants, focuses too much on everyday situations (2001, 90–91).

3 Our study

3.1 Aim of the Study

The overall aim of this study is to find out more about the students' opinions of the language training received as part of their TI programmes. The overarching research question we seek to answer is thus: How do students evaluate their language training within TI programmes with regard to its usefulness for subsequent translation and interpreting activities?

3.2 Questionnaire

With the exception of Koletnik (2017), there is hardly any data on student perspectives in this context; we therefore decided to carry out an exploratory study that would allow us to break ground in this area. To this end, we designed a questionnaire with the following open questions.

- Q1: Have the language courses prepared you sufficiently to be able to translate in translation courses?

- Q2: What content/procedures/techniques/materials/references, etc. that you learned about in your language courses were the most useful for your translation courses?
- Q3: What content/procedures/techniques/materials/references, etc. that you learned about in your language courses were the least useful for your translation courses?
- Q4: What are your suggestions for improving language training in TI programmes?

The reason for choosing open questions was that they allow the students to discuss their experiences and opinions. According to Hyman and Sierra (2016, 2–3), open questions "offer respondents an opportunity to provide a wide range of answers", and thus allow the researcher to obtain an in-depth response and, consequently, deeper insight into the researched phenomenon. Also, such questions do not hint at "correct" answers, and thus are more fully reflective of a respondent's attitude.

The questionnaire was translated into the main languages of the surveyed participants, i.e., German, Slovene and Spanish, to ensure that all participants expressed their thoughts as accurately as possible. Answers were later translated into English by the authors.

The answers to Q1 were partly quantifiable and could be, after a thorough analysis of received responses, categorized into the following five categories: *Yes*, *Rather Affirmative*, *Partly*, *Rather Critical*, and *No*. The answers by category could thus be translated into percentage points and numerically presented in pie charts.

The descriptive answers to Q1, Q2, Q3, and Q4 were analysed qualitatively using inductive (bottom-up) thematic analysis, which was employed to identify, analyse, and report themes, i.e., patterns, within the data (Braun and Clarke 2006, 79). Owing to its theoretical autonomy, thematic analysis provides "a flexible and useful research tool, which can potentially provide a rich and detailed, yet complex account of data" (Braun and Clarke 2006, 78), and is particularly useful when searching for themes across the entire dataset. Themes were identified mainly – but not exclusively – by their prevalence across the dataset; when the prevalence criterion could not be employed, we used researcher judgement. Prevalence was measured, i.e., counted, at the level of the data item, taking into account the relative share of each population (i.e., in Austria, Slovenia, and Spain).

3.3 Participants

3.3.1 Austria

In Austria, the questionnaire was completed at the end of 2018 and the beginning of 2019 by 60 undergraduate students who had at the time completed all language modules[3] and various translation and introductory interpreting courses. The L1 of most participants was German[4]. Questionnaires were completed anonymously in class or at home and later handed in via a university mailbox.

---

[3] *Modules,* as used in many curricula, comprise a series of related courses.

[4] The students' mother tongue was not asked, as this might reveal students' identities.

The BA degree in Translation Studies that is offered at the Austrian university has a duration of three years, with a workload of 60 ECTS each year. The curriculum comprises three consecutive language modules each worth ten ECTS. These modules must be completed for two foreign languages, the languages offered being English, French, Italian, Spanish, Russian and German as a Foreign Language for non-native German speakers. The entrance level is B2 for English and German as a foreign language and B1 for French, Italian and Spanish. No entrance level is required for Russian[5]. From the third semester onwards, students have to take translation courses into German and into one foreign language. The curriculum also comprises a few introductory courses in interpreting.

3.3.2 Slovenia

In Slovenia, the questionnaire was administered to translation students in October and November of 2020 via the online survey platform 1ka[6]. Participation in the survey was voluntary and anonymous. Responses were received from 32 undergraduate and graduate students. Of those, 22 surveys were completed in full and were later considered representative and analysed.

Twelve representative surveys were completed by the third year BA students, and 10 were returned by the first- and second-year MA students, all with English and/or German as their B language. All BA students had courses worth 36 ECTS developing their B language competence, and one practical, bi-directional Slovenian-language B translation course (3 ECTS), starting in semester four of their second year. In addition to these courses, all MA students passed another two language courses (6 ECTS), two additional translation courses (6 ECTS) and an introductory course on interpreting to conclude their BA translation training. Their MA-level training included several specialized translation courses and theoretical courses in each semester, as well as traineeship.

3.3.3 Spain

In Spain, the questionnaire was administered to BA students in the last year of their degree in Translation Studies in October 2020. The questionnaire was completed in person through Google Forms. Participation was voluntary and anonymous. A total of 35 students participated in the study. Twenty-five respondents had English as their first foreign language (B language) and French or German as their second language (Language C). They had completed six English language training courses (36 ECTS) and four language courses in their C language (24 ECTS). The other ten participants had English as a second foreign language. Nine of them had German as their B language, and only one had French as a first foreign language. They had completed 24 ECTS in English and 36 ECTS in their respective B language. The main difference between the two languages is that the students are required to undertake both direct and inverse translation and interpretation in their B language, whereas in the C language they are only expected to do translation and interpreting tasks from this language into their mother tongue.

[5] The entrance level is congruent with the languages and levels taught in Austrian schools.

[6] https://www.1ka.si.

As for specific training in translation and interpreting, the participants had already taken several translation courses in their B language: Direct Translation B-A (12 ECTS) and Specialized Translation I B-A (6 ECTS). None of them had yet taken any interpreting courses. On the other hand, as far as the C language is concerned, they lacked any prior academic experience with translation or interpreting in this language.

3.4 Findings

3.4.1 Austria

Among the Austrian students participating in the survey, answers to Q1 varied between a short clear-cut *yes* or *no* and longer, wordier answers that required some interpretation. It should also be mentioned that some students assigned different values to the teaching in their foreign languages (they have to study at least two). The distribution can be seen in Figure 1.

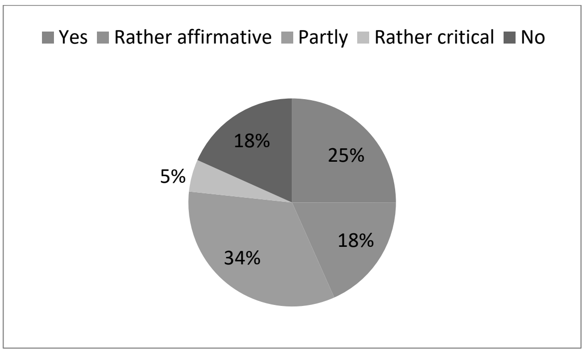


Figure 1. Training has been sufficient: Austria.

Answers were not limited to a general evaluation but comprised, in many cases, additional comments. Participants highlighted the usefulness of grammar courses, particularly contrastive aspects and the courses' orientation towards translation. Translation orientation was also mentioned in a few more general comments. A group of six students, for example, remarked that courses were seldom geared towards translation and were laid out just like general language courses.

Answers to Q2 were the longest. We identified 36 mentions of translation: 14 students reported directly that they found translation exercises helpful. Some participants also specified the type of translation exercises they found helpful, such as translation of examples, sentence translation or short translations, or "learning how to translate grammatical structures, e.g., from English into German" (AT21). Another large group of answers referred to translation strategies with eight mentions and translation problems with five mentions. Four participants highlighted that they found sight translation useful.

Another frequent topic in the answers of the Austrian students was grammar, with 33 participants mentioning this. Fourteen participants underlined the usefulness of contrastive grammar. The next topic in terms of frequency was vocabulary. Nine students stressed the usefulness of glossaries, and 13 mentioned different areas of vocabulary work, such as synonyms, collocations or idioms. Working with texts was another topic that was frequently mentioned. Nine students highlighted the importance of textual analysis and seven the usefulness of text production. Six found working with parallel texts helpful, even though none specified any details about this text work. Regarding the use of resources, we identified four mentions of dictionary work and research tips without further specification. Some answers also referred to the teachers' role and attitude, where six participants mentioned correction by teachers, particularly of written texts.

In Q3, students most frequently referred to teaching techniques and classroom procedures. Student presentations were mentioned by twelve respondents, i.e., a fifth of all participants. Five students criticized group work and found it unhelpful. Lectures and typical textbook exercises were mentioned by three students each. Criticism was also noticeable in terms of vocabulary, which received eleven comments, with learning words in isolation being the most frequent subject of negative comments. As one student pointed out, "vocabulary tests were useless because we do not need such specific vocabulary in the BA courses" (AT13). Two students mentioned learning vocabulary by heart as minimally useful, which combined with one mention of learning grammar rules by heart and an additional one of learning a translation by heart makes the technique of rote learning noteworthy in this context. Among the nine comments referring to text work, answers varied considerably, and only textual analysis was mentioned by three students as being unhelpful.

In Q4, exactly half of the students mentioned that classes should be more targeted towards translation; ten students wrote about general translation orientation and twelve about translation in general, and six specifically mentioned translation problems and solutions. On the other hand, two students were in favour of giving more attention to general language competence. Another aspect that was very frequently mentioned was contrastive analysis, with 16 answers in total, eight of which specifically mentioned grammar. One student suggested "comparing the grammar of both languages right from the beginning" (AT3). Content-wise, one-fifth of the students suggested linking the classes more tightly with the translation profession, without specifying how. As far as individual language skills are concerned, ten students suggested that more activities involving oral expression be included, which might be interpreted as a hint that they feel insufficiently prepared for interpreting activities. As one student put it, "In our programme, not enough time is assigned to the development of oral competence". Textual analysis was mentioned by three students. Eight students also mentioned vocabulary development, with two specifically mentioning bilingual glossaries. With regard to teaching techniques and teachers' involvement, the answers were quite scarce, with three students suggesting language courses should be taught in the foreign language only, and three requiring more detailed feedback from teachers.

3.4.2 Slovenia

Based on their answers to Q1, the majority (13) of the total of 22 Slovenian students believed that they were sufficiently prepared for translation in their language courses. Two responses could be interpreted as "rather affirmative", while three students said they were only "partly" prepared. No students' answers could be assigned to the "rather critical" category, while four students thought language courses did not provide a good foundation for translation classes.

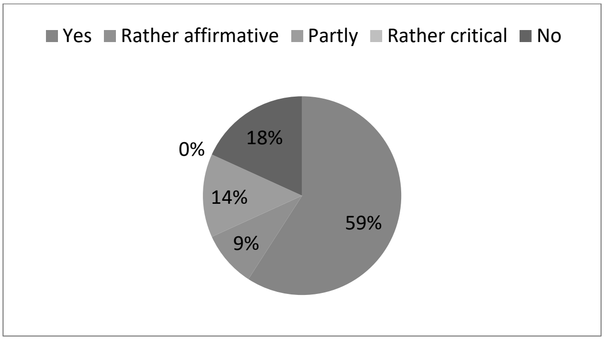


Figure 2. Training has been sufficient: Slovenia.

In their comments on Q1, four Slovenian students expressed their belief that learning about grammar was helpful and the key to successful translation − despite one isolated opinion to the contrary. Seven believed that the language courses they took were, in general, relevant for their future translation orientation. Nevertheless, three students responded that these courses were too theory-driven and lacking in translation-oriented exercises. Student opinions were also divided on vocabulary development: three students thought this was given enough consideration in language courses, while two thought vocabulary development was inadequate. Finally, an important positive observation was that through language classes the students felt able to broaden their horizons and receive a broad spectrum of knowledge that was not only language related. As one student put it, "teachers gave us a broad spectrum of the knowledge we need for this [translation exercises]. And also a lot of personal experience" (SI4).

In their answers to Q2, five Slovenian students pointed to grammar exercises as being helpful. In terms of particular in-class activities, they specifically benefited from shadowing exercises and from activities with practical translation-related value (two mentions each). Five students recognized the benefits of targeted vocabulary development − as can be inferred from the following answer where one student (SI3) mentioned "strengthening and development of vocabulary and language comprehension" − and transmitted documentation and research skills, particularly teacher's research tips (five mentions), dictionary use (four mentions) and learning about translation tools (two mentions). In general, they appreciated their teachers speaking from personal experience and presenting practice-related examples, which is an argument in favour of language teachers with professional translation experience.

As for Q3, twelve Slovenian respondents particularly disliked theory-related classes, which is to some extent driven by the fact that they shared several courses with students from the English and German philology degrees, as noted in the following statement (SI14): "The content of the course […]; I find it more useful for students of English Studies and not for translators". It could thus be inferred that they would rather attend language courses that addressed their specific linguistic needs as future translators. Other comments included unappealing teacher presentation techniques, i.e., uninteresting PowerPoint presentations (three mentions), followed by a dislike for oral presentations by the students (two comments), and dealing with unattractive and/or repetitive topics (two mentions).

In their suggestions for TI-oriented language instruction, four Slovenian students called for a more practical approach and two for a more translation-related approach. Five students mentioned the wish for greater involvement of native speakers and translation practitioners as guest lecturers. In terms of linguistic skills, two students wanted even more vocabulary exercises, and three more oral production and more language competence development in general. Six students also recognized the importance of motivation mirrored in the selection of current and varied topics, as can be inferred from the following suggestion: "Themes about current events in the world, or interesting informative articles/documentaries that would broaden our horizons" (SI21). Finally, two students acknowledged the importance of feedback.

3.4.3 Spain

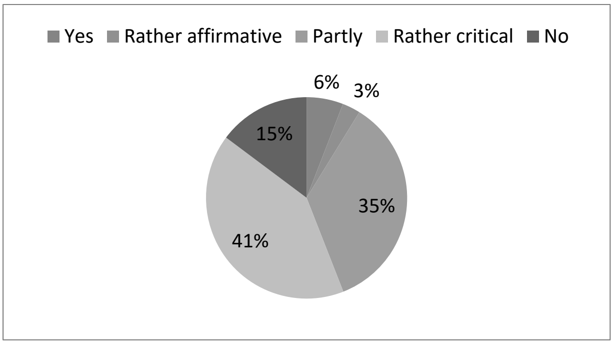


FIGURE 3. Training has been sufficient: Spain.

Regarding Q1, most respondents conceded that the foreign language course load was not enough to help them tackle their subsequent translation courses, especially in their C language (14 mentions). One of the main reasons they mention is the difficulty in assimilating all curricular content in so few contact hours in class. In addition, they maintained that it was necessary to go deeper into vocabulary to guarantee that the necessary linguistic competence for translation courses be achieved. This led the majority of the sample to state that language courses should cater to the specific linguistic needs of TI students and be different from other language courses offered in Philology degrees, official languages schools or academies (15 comments). As stated by one respondent, "In my opinion, teaching languages to Translation students in the same way that they are taught to Philology students is not the most appropriate way. I think it would be more useful if these courses followed a more translation-based approach" (ES10). Thus, one of their main concerns regarding these courses was that they focus too much on official language examinations, instead of teaching the language so as to enable students to carry out intercultural mediation activities (eight comments).

As for Q2, many respondents regarded translation and contrastive linguistics as essential in this training (16 comments), followed by the use of dictionaries (eight mentions), glossaries, corpora or databases (seven comments), and to a lesser extent, documentation strategies (three comments). With regard to linguistic skills, writing was valued above others, since it helped them prepare for inverse translation courses (four mentions). This is at odds with prior research, which highlights the importance of reading (Berenguer 1997; Brehm 1997).

However, this preference could be determined by the high level of English with which the students access university; moreover, this production skill could help them not only in dealing with inverse translation courses, but also in perfecting their competence in the foreign language. In line with the answers to Q1, vocabulary was also perceived as a major component in TILLT (five comments). In particular, students found specific vocabulary, collocations, idioms and synonyms of special relevance in this training. Among other useful resources they mentioned audio-visual material and songs, because both offer more direct exposure to real language.

As for Q3, it is worthwhile highlighting that the participants praised the kind of teaching that is practice- rather than theory-driven (six comments). Following this line of thought, grammar was not regarded as an essential teaching component in TILLT (five comments). Likewise, formal language exams were also labelled as unhelpful (six comments), since they do not connect the language with translation courses. As one student stated, "language subjects should be taught differently so that they help more when translating and should not just teach the grammar of the language. In general, the language courses of this degree should be more practical and not as theoretical" (ES32).

In their responses to Q4, the students called for a more translation-oriented approach (eight comments) and the use of translation as a pedagogical resource (six comments). In the same vein, more contrastive work was viewed as necessary (eight comments). Instead of focusing attention almost exclusively on tests, students thought that projects and other activities aimed at improving foreign language competence should be encouraged (five comments). Therefore, evaluation procedures should be changed and adapted. On another front, more hours should be devoted to language courses (two mentions). In terms of pedagogical materials, the participants oppose the use of textbooks because their objectives do not meet the specific needs of TI programmes. Activities should be contextualized and simulate tasks performed by a professional translator/interpreter, while fostering the communicative and plurilingual competence of the students. Specialized vocabulary should also be a top priority in TILLT. In brief, language courses should assist in improving translation competence rather than language per se.

3.5 Comparative Analysis of Results

Q1. Categorical answers to Q1 were translated into absolute values and adjusted according to the percentage of the total sample they represented (Austria n=60 ≈ 50%; Slovenia n=22 ≈ 20%, and Spain n=35 ≈ 30%). They reveal that, on average and across the entire dataset, for 26% of students the language skills acquired in the language courses were sufficient preparation for their translation classes, and they "rather" sufficed for a further 12% of students. Thirty percent maintained that these skills were "partly" sufficient, while a further 15% were rather critical of their adequacy, with 17% opting for a straightforward "no".

The answers to the remaining questions were analysed qualitatively, following the premises of thematic analysis. After extracting the data from the questionnaires, generating initial codes and collating the relevant data items, prevalence was measured at the level of the data item for individual countries and compared across the entire sample. One data item equalled one

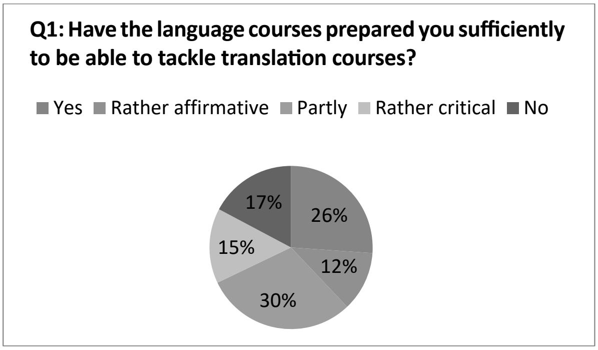


Figure 4. Summarized results for Q1.

opinion and/or comment expressed by a respondent in the questionnaire. When determining prevalence, the relative share of each population (Austria, Slovenia, and Spain) was, again, taken into account. Consequently, and as a rule, two or more instances were considered as possibly significant for the Slovenian sample, three or more instances for the Spanish sample and five to six instances for the Austrian sample. However, some flexibility was allowed in interpreting statements, and researcher judgement was used in determining relevant instances and their count.

Thematic analysis identified the following overarching TI-oriented language learning and teaching (TILLT) themes and sub-themes, which are summarized in the Coggle diagram in section 3.5.4:

1. Translation-orientation,
2. Content and topics,
3. Language skills to be developed,
4. Documentation work, and
5. Teacher attitudes.

3.5.1 Translation Orientation

The most frequent observation by respondents from all three countries was the expected relevance of TILLT for translation orientation and its ability to cater to the specific linguistic needs of emerging translators and interpreters. To some extent, this criterion has already been met in Slovenia; for the majority of Austrian and Spanish respondents, it remained number one on the priority list of requirements. Another indispensable element of TILLT, as observed by respondents from all three countries, was translation, or rather "more translation" (SI5), in various forms and types, ranging from translation of words, sentences and short texts, to sight and oral translation in general, as well as shadowing exercises. Another overwhelming belief expressed primarily by Austrian students was that TILLT should include the presentation of typical translation problems in conjunction with the methods and strategies for solving them.

Particularly relevant to all respondents was that language courses should be practice- and not theory-driven, and that "more practice" (SI19) was required. In short, in TILLT, translation should be used as both a language teaching tool and a goal (cf. Carreres 2014), and should be primarily practice-driven.

3.5.2 Content and Topics

In terms of content, respondents from all countries underscored the importance of grammar and grammar exercises, possibly in conjunction with or through translation exercises, as voiced particularly by the Austrian respondents. In this context, Austrian and Spanish students indicated that contrastive grammar should be integrated into TILLT to a greater extent.

This belief was, however, not shared by all students across the entire dataset; individuals from all countries voiced their displeasure with memorizing grammatical rules and too many unhelpful grammar exercises. The importance of vocabulary development and acquisition, e.g., through learning about collocations, synonyms, and idioms, as well as by preparation of glossaries was unequivocally supported. The Austrian students, however, argued that this should not be done in isolation, with their Spanish counterparts adding that a well-thought-out approach should be used, particularly when learning specialized vocabulary and contrastive lexis. Another general observation was that "more contrastive work is needed" (AT50) in all areas.

In terms of topics, the Austrian students stated that these should be related to real life and, again, translation-relevant, while their Slovenian counterparts considered the motivational aspect and added that topics should be varied and related to the current events. They also commented that, in order to broaden their horizons, knowledge from different domains should be acquired in their language courses.

3.5.3 Language Skills

The Spanish students agreed that greater importance should be given to (foreign) language competence development in general by assigning more contact hours to language courses. Students from all three countries recognized the importance of developing receptive and productive skills, particularly of text reception through reading and of text production through creative writing, note taking and summarizing, and, indirectly, also through textual analysis. A particularly sore point in all three countries seems to be oral production, which is either inappropriate or missing from language courses, and thus should be assigned greater importance.

3.5.4 Documentation Work

All students underscored the importance of learning about dictionaries and their use; some Austrian students, however, warned against too much emphasis being placed on dictionaries. Highly appreciated by all students were teachers' research tips, e.g., about online tools and websites where students "can check things they don't know much about or are unsure of" (SI15). In this context, the idea of a "dictionary of English usage as a type of specialized language dictionary", as put forward by Gabrovšek (2020), would be useful for the purposes of future translators and interpreters.

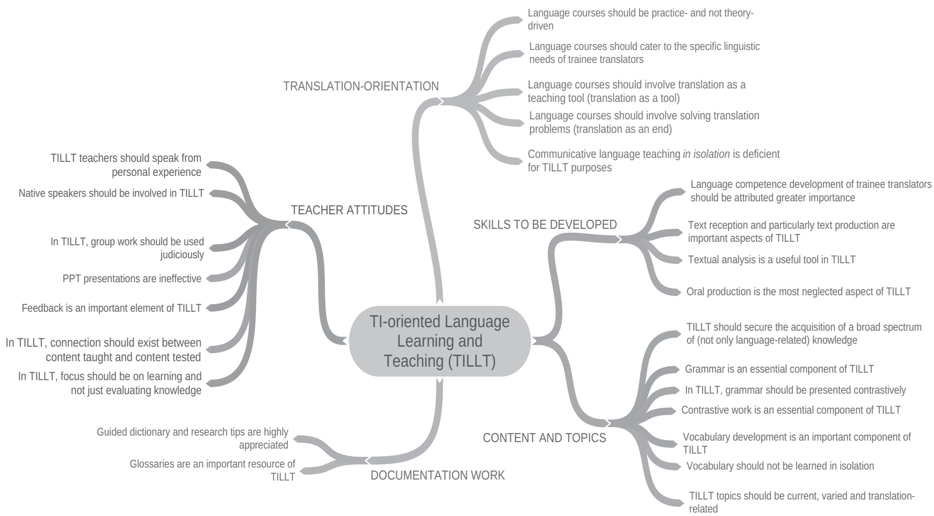


Figure 5. Summarized results of thematic analysis.

3.5.5 Teacher Attitudes

In terms of teachers' contributions and attitudes, and teaching techniques and materials, the Slovenian students were particularly appreciative of the teachers who taught from personal experience and professional practice, and wished that more native speakers and professional TI practitioners collaborated on TILLT. In terms of teaching techniques and materials, students from all three countries agreed on the ineffectiveness of PowerPoint presentations as used by their teachers, and the Austrian and Slovenian students acknowledged the importance of feedback. Additionally, the Austrian students warned against injudicious use of group work, while their Spanish colleagues recognized the shortcomings of communicative language teaching for emerging translators and interpreters, an unwelcome disconnect between the content taught in class and content tested, and a displaced focus on evaluating language proficiency instead of on learning.

4 Discussion

The themes identified above (translation-orientation, content and topics, language skills to be developed, documentation work, and teacher attitudes) corroborate previous research (cf. Berenguer 1997, Möller Runge 2001, Clouet 2010, Koletnik 2017, Schmidhofer 2017, Carrasco Flores 2018, and Cerezo Herrero 2019a) and open new and interesting avenues for investigation into language learning and teaching for emerging translators and interpreters (TILLT). The themes, again, confirmed our conviction that TILLT should be placed within the field of Language for Specific Purposes (LSP), with specific thematic and methodological filters (Cerezo Herrero 2019b). Foreign language courses in TI programmes cannot be restricted to one thematic area, since translators and interpreters need to be ready to cope with any thematic field. Additionally, the linguistic demands on practitioners posed by translation and interpretation make it necessary to rely on a specific methodology to help link language courses with prospective TI courses.

A recurring belief expressed by the students in our study is that their language courses simply *must* be targeted towards translation. Indirectly, and particularly in the case of Spain, this confirms Möller Runge's (2001) and Carrasco Flores' (2018) opinion that if courses are not adapted to the translation scenario − in terms of content, topics, activities, methods, strategies, and, not unimportantly, the number of contact hours − they remain too superficial for the needs of future translators and fail to motivate the students to learn. By the same token, because translation is a hands-on activity, language classes should be practice- and not theory-driven, an idea which was also commonly expressed by students in their questionnaires, and previously recognized by Schmidhofer (2020) and Koletnik (2017).

In more detail, we identified the following key elements as missing or insufficiently present in the language classes of students taking part in our survey:

a) Translation as a language teaching tool AND a competence (an end) that is developed through language exercises (Carreres 2014);
b) Contrastive study of the languages under instruction (Berenguer 1996); and
c) Greater focus on development of students' productive and receptive language skills in general.

Grammar and vocabulary were, again, identified as two areas deserving explicit attention, as previously recognized by Carrasco Flores (2018), and Koletnik (2020b). However, there seems to be a thin line between too much and too little, and a well-thought-out and judicious approach is advised, involving, in particular, a contrastive grammatical analysis and presentation, as well as the contextualized study of (specialized) vocabulary.

In terms of language skills, two observations are noteworthy. The first is the belief shared by all students that oral production seems to be the most neglected area of language teaching and learning, with oral activities either unsuitable for the development of TI students' language skills or altogether missing from instruction. The second is the importance of textual analysis for translation-oriented text production, expressed primarily by Austrian students, which confirms previous observations by Schmidhofer (2017) and Berenguer (1997). Without doubt, both aspects have important implications for TI students and should be given more consideration in TILLT curriculum development.

The Slovene students in particular identified the importance of a broad spectrum of knowledge – linguistic and non-linguistic – that should be acquired by TI students, which once again confirms observations by Cerezo Herrero (2019b). This is particularly important in the light of findings by Pokorn et al. (2019) that the breadth of a translator's knowledge exerts an important, positive influence on translation quality.

Another significant theme we identified was working with sources. Students indicated that they found guided dictionary and research tips important and stressed the usefulness of collecting and preparing glossaries. As these approaches would help students develop greater learner autonomy (Schmidhofer 2017), which is paramount since much of the language development must take place outside the classroom, this aspect should also be considered an important pillar of TILLT.

Many of the comments related to teachers, teaching methods and classroom activities. As mentioned above, students appreciated teachers who spoke from their own experience, offering practical research tips and advice on solving language and translation problems. Consequently, this raises the issue of the skills needed by a TILLT teacher. Given the importance of contrastive study of languages and the assumed presence of translation as a language teaching tool and a skill, TILLT teachers should at least be well-versed in both languages and possess at least some translation skills. That said, students also appreciated input by native speakers (of B language), thus favouring tandem teaching.

Further to this, students underscored the significance of constructive feedback – an issue which has been abundantly addressed by translation scholars in the past (cf. Dollerup 1994; Washbourne 2014), although not in immediate conjunction with TILLT – and frustration with PowerPoint presentations when used without proper context or careful planning. Moreover, although group work can be a suitable method to motivate students and encourage learning, Austrian students in particular mentioned the ineffectiveness of such work for their purposes, while their Spanish counterparts highlighted the need to establish a better connection between course content and assessment. The latter also stressed that the focus of TILLT courses should be on learning and not just on the evaluation of knowledge.

5 Conclusion

In this article we have presented the results of an exploratory, qualitative study into the opinions and beliefs of students in TI programmes regarding the suitability of their language courses for TI activities, using participants from Austria, Slovenia and Spain. The most important conclusion that applies to all countries is that there is a real need for a TI-oriented language learning and teaching (TILLT) approach, and that the communicative language teaching approach, even though not inadequate per se, is insufficient for the needs of TI students. This is supported by the fact that the students stress the need for TI orientation and consider activities related to translation or with a contrastive focus as particularly useful. Apart from providing interesting insights into the area of TILLT, our results might also serve as a reference for institutions, departments and teachers designing TI study programmes.

Certain limitations of this study need to be acknowledged. For example, only one university per country has been taken into account. In addition, the fact that students were asked to participate on a voluntary basis limited the number of responses in some countries. As such, the sample was not proportionate in all three countries, and the final observations might be slightly skewed. Additionally, within- and inter-cohort analysis could have yielded further results if the B and C languages of all participants had been considered, since the learning process is not immediately comparable across languages. Nevertheless, the study sought to establish common opinions and beliefs regarding foreign language teaching in TI programmes. This study thus helps us gain a better understanding of the nature of foreign language teaching in TI programmes and of how, according to students from Austria, Slovenia and Spain, it can be shaped to meet their specific linguistic needs with regard to TI activities.

We consider this study to be a starting point for further research in this field. Even though it provides interesting preliminary insights into the students' opinions, we believe that it needs to be complemented by a larger quantitative and qualitative study that we intend to initiate in the near future. Other lines of research that might be pursued in this field include curriculum analysis on a wider scale than has been attempted to date, or research into the opinions of teachers and the methods they employ in this field.

References

Beeby, Allison. 2004. "Language learning for Translation: Designing a Syllabus." In *Translation in Undergraduate Degree Programmes,* edited by Kirsten Malmkjaer, 39–65. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Berenguer, Laura. 1996. "Didáctica de segundas lenguas en los estudios de traducción." In *La enseñanza de la traducción*, edited by Amparo Hurtado Albir, 9–29. Castellón: Publicacions de la Universitat Jaume I.

—. 1997. "L'ensenyament de llengües estrangeres per a traductors. Didàctica de l'alemany." PhD diss., Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona.

Braun, Virginia, and Victoria Clarke. 2012. "Thematic analysis." In *APA Handbook of Research Methods in Psychology, Vol. 2: Research Designs: Quantitative, Qualitative, Neuropsychological, and Biological*, edited by Harris Cooper, Paul M. Camic, Debra L. Long, A. T. Panter, David Rindskopf, and Kenneth J. Sher, 57–71. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Brehm Cripps, Justine. 1997. "Developing Foreign Language Teaching Comprehension Skill in Translator Trainees." PhD diss., Castellón, Universitat Jaume I.

Carrasco Flores, José Andrés. 2018. "English for Translation and Interpreting: A Cognitive and Methodological Framework of Reference for Materials Analysis and Development." PhD diss., Universidad Complutense de Madrid. https://eprints.ucm.es/49366/.

Carreres, Ángeles. 2014. "Translation as a Means and as an End: Reassessing the Divide." *The Interpreter and Translator Trainer* 8 (1): 123–35. https://doi.org/10.1080/1750399X.2014.908561.

Cerezo Herrero, Enrique. 2015a. "English Language Teaching for Translator and Interpreter Trainees: Syllabus Analysis and Design." *Quaderns. Revista de Traducció* 22: 289–306.

—. 2015b. "Análisis curricular de la formación lingüística y sociocultural en las titulaciones de Traducción e Interpretación." *Prosopopeya* 9: 283–315.

—. 2019a. "Systematization of Competences in Language B Teaching for Translation Studies in the EHEA from a Translation Competence Model." *MonTI* 11: 77–107. https://doi.org/10.6035/MonTI.2019.11.3.

—. 2019b. "Lenguas extranjeras con fines traductológicos: en busca de una identidad propia." *Quaderns. Revista de Traducció* 26: 239–54.

Clouet, Richard. 2010. *Lengua inglesa aplicada a la traducción. Una propuesta curricular adaptada al espacio europeo de educación superior*. Granada: Comares.

Cruz García, Laura, and Heather Adams. 2008. "The Role of Foreign Language Teaching in the Training of Translators and Interpreters." In *Estudios de traducción, cultura, lengua y literatura. In memoriam Virgilio Moya–Jiménez,* edited by Isabel Pascua, Bernadette Rey-Jouvin, and Marcos Sarmiento, 301–9. Las Palmas de Gran Canaria: Servicio de Publicaciones y Difusión Científica de la Universidad de las Palmas de Gran Canaria.

Delisle, Jean. 1980. *Translation. An Interpretative Approach*. Ottawa: Ottawa University Press.

Dollerup, Cay. 1994. "Systematic Feedback in Translation." In *Teaching Translation and Interpreting 2: Insights, Aims and Visions. Papers from the Second Language International Conference Elsinore, 1993*, edited by Cay Dollerup, and Annette Lindegaard, 121–32. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Dudley–Evans, Tony, and Maggie Jo St. John. 1998. *Developments in English for Specific Purposes: A Multi-Disciplinary Approach*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

EMT, Expert Group. 2017. "Competence framework 2017." https://ec.europa.eu/info/sites/info/files/emt_competence_fwk_2017_en_web.pdf.

Gabrovšek, Dušan 2020. "The Bilingual Usage Dictionary." *ELOPE: English Language Overseas Perspectives and Enquiries* 17 (2): 47–59. https://doi.org/10.4312/elope.17.2.47–59.

Hernández Guerra, Concepción, and Laura Cruz García. 2009. "La enseñanza del inglés en los estudios de Filología y Traducción e Interpretación." *Revista Electrónica de Lingüística Aplicada* 8: 16–29.

Holmes, James. 1988. *Translated! Papers on Literary Translation and Translation Studies*. Amsterdam: Rodopi.

Hurtado Albir, Amparo. 1999. "Objetivos de aprendizaje y metodología en la formación de traductores e intérpretes." In *Enseñar a traducir. Metodología en la formación de traductores e intérpretes*, edited by Amparo Hurtado Albir, 8–58. Madrid: Edelsa.

—. 2011. *Traducción y Traductología*. Madrid: Cátedra.

Hyman, Michael. R., and Jeremy J. Sierra. 2016. "Open- Versus Close-Ended Survey Questions." *Business Outlook* 14 (2): 1–5.

Koletnik, Melita. 2017. "Vpliv uporabe prevoda kot sredstva za pridobivanje jezikovne kompetence na razvoj prevodne competence." [Translation as a Means of Acquisition of Linguistic Competence and its Influence on the Development of Translation Competence]. PhD diss., University of Ljubljana.

—. 2020a. "Language Instruction for Translators from the LSP Perspective." Presentation at the *2nd International Conference of the Slovene Association of LSP Teachers, 15–16 October, 2020, Online.*

—. 2020b. "Teaching Future Translators Language Through Translation – Does It Help Their Translating?" *Current Trends in Translation Teaching and Learning* E 7: 314–56.

Lavrakas, Paul J. 2008. *Encyclopedia of Survey Research Methods.* Sage. https://methods.sagepub.com/reference/encyclopedia–of–survey–research–methods.

Möller Runge, Julia. 2001. *Necesidades lingüísticas de un traductor/intérprete*. Salobreña: Alhulia

Pokorn, Nike K., Jason Blake, Donald Reindl, and Agnes Pisanski Peterlin. 2020. "The Influence of Directionality on the Quality of Translation Output in Educational Settings." *The Interpreter and Translator Trainer* 14 (1): 58–78. https://doi.org/10.1080/1750399X.2019.1594563.

Schmidhofer, Astrid. 2017. "Sprachausbildung im Übersetzungsstudium: Zielsetzungen übersetzungsrelevanten Sprachunterrichts." In *Translation Studies and Translation Practice: Proceedings of the 2nd International TRANSLATA Conference*, 2014, Part 2, edited by Lew N. Zybatow, Andy Stauder, and Michael Ustaszewski, 329–35. Frankfurt: Peter Lang.

—. 2020. "Translationsorientierte Fremdsprachenkompetenz: Versuch einer Modellierung." In *Bausteine translationsorientierter Sprachkompetenz und translatorischer Basiskompetenzen*, edited by Astrid Schmidhofer and Annette Wußler, 21–33. Innsbruck: University Press.

Washbourne, Kelly. 2014. "Beyond Error Marking: Written Corrective Feedback for a Dialogic Pedagogy in Translator Training." *The Interpreter and Translator Trainer* 8 (2): 240–56. https://doi.org/10.1080/1750399X.2014.908554.

Martina Paradiž
University of Primorska, Slovenia

2021, Vol. 18 (1), 91-106(222)
revije.ff.uni-lj.si/elope
https://doi.org/10.4312/elope.18.1.91-106
UDC: 81'374.8-022.215:[37.018.43:621.395.721.5]

CoLecTer KIN: Mobile Application for Collaborative Bilingual Glossary Compilation in the ESP Classroom

ABSTRACT

The ubiquitous use of smartphones has shown to offer great advantages in language learning, which still remain to be harnessed in the field of mobile-assisted language learning (MALL), ESP teaching and translator training in higher education. Language teachers are predominantly the users of existing mobile applications and not their producers, which may narrow their range of choices and options in using mobile technology in teaching. This paper presents the results of a student survey on the usability, perceived benefits, and feedback on the features of an Android mobile application built by the author. The CoLecTer KIN application was used by first-year undergraduate students of Applied Kinesiology in a collaborative project of compiling a Slovene-English bilingual glossary of topic-specific terminology. The design of the application makes it suitable for use in the ESP and translation classroom and in collaborative translation projects.

Keywords: bilingual glossary of terms, mobile application, ESP, translation, MALL

CoLecTer KIN: Mobilna aplikacija za kolaborativno izdelavo dvojezičnega glosarja pri pouku angleščine kot strokovnega jezika

IZVLEČEK

Vsesplošna raba pametnih telefonov ponuja precejšnje prednosti pri učenju tujih jezikov, in tujih jezikov stroke in prevajanja, ki pa so na področju mobilno podprtega učenja jezikov še neraziskane in neuporabljene. Učitelji tujih jezikov so v veliki meri zgolj uporabniki obstoječih mobilnih aplikacij in zelo redko njihovi razvijalci, kar lahko postavlja precejšnje omejitve pri uporabi mobilne tehnologije v razredu. V članku je predstavljen primer mobilne aplikacije, razvite s pomočjo prostodostopnega razvijalskega orodja, uporaba katerega ne zahteva podrobnega znanja programskih jezikov. Predstavljeni so rezultati raziskave študentskega mnenja o avtorski mobilni aplikaciji CoLecTer KIN, namen katere je bila izgradnja dvojezičnega glosarja področne terminologije ter možnost interaktivnega učenja zbranih terminov. Aplikacija je uporabna tako v okviru učenja jezikov stroke in prevajanja kot tudi pri kolaborativnih prevajalskih projektih.

Ključne besede: dvojezični glosar terminov, mobilna aplikacija, jezik stroke, prevajanje, mobilno podprto učenje jezikov

1 Introduction

It is becoming apparent that due to their portability, increasing computing power and internet connectivity, the use of smartphones among young people has surpassed the use of laptop or desktop computers for connecting to the internet. According to Eurostat (2020), 92% of young people accessed the internet through a smartphone in 2019, while only 52% used a computer to do so. In fact, this trend started in 2012 and has continued ever since (cf. Eurostat 2015, 194-198). In recent years, this ubiquitous use of smartphones has encouraged their adoption and use in English language teaching as well, and as a consequence mobile-assisted language learning (MALL) has now come to the forefront of research on technology-assisted language learning, both in the context of English as a foreign language (EFL), as well as English for specific purposes (ESP) and translator training in higher education. Nevertheless, it seems that the seemingly obvious benefits of incorporating MALL into language teaching have not yet been fully explored, and its practical applications are still in their infancy (e.g., Elaish et al. 2019; Hoi 2020; Sung, Chang, and Yang 2015).

To date, several studies have been conducted on the use and application of mobile devices in language learning at different levels of education. In these, terminology (and vocabulary) acquisition has been one of the central aspects of research in MALL (e.g., Elaish et al. 2019, Gürkan 2019; Hwang and Fu 2018; Kohnke 2020; Wang et al. 2020). Given the fact that one of the main aims of EFL, ESP and translator training is vocabulary acquisition, this is hardly surprising. In ESP courses in higher education, the use of MALL has stimulated the design of engaging learning activities which focus not only on the acquisition of domain-specific terminology but also encourage effective peer interaction and collaboration through the application of critical thinking and utilization of authentic materials (e.g., Chirobocea-Tudor 2018; Deniko et al. 2015). Such engagement also motivates student for subject-matter learning and lifelong learning (Chen and Chung 2008; Salcines-Talledo, González-Fernández, and Briones 2020).

It is probably safe to say that in the context of MALL, as in other educational contexts, ESP teachers are mostly consumers of existing technologies and mobile applications and only rarely their producers (Patton, Tissenbaum, and Harunani 2019), due to their lack of technological knowledge and programming skills. The aim of this study was to challenge this situation and design a mobile application which would enable students enrolled in the first year of the undergraduate programme of Applied Kinesiology at the Faculty of Health Sciences of the University of Primorska, Slovenia, within the course of English for Kinesiology (ESP), to collaborate in building a bilingual glossary of terminology related to sports injuries and use the application to individually revise the collaboratively collected terms, and to collect their feedback on the perceived usability, benefits and enjoyment of using of this purpose-built application. Consistent with previous studies, it was hypothesized that students would rate the usability and benefits of the application as generally positive. In order to improve the application for future use, in addition to testing this hypothesis, the aim of the survey was also to collect student feedback regarding its perceived positive and negative features and design characteristics.

2 Theoretical Background

Students' needs and solutions for learning domain-specific terminology have been frequently discussed in the context of ESP (e.g., Deniko et al. 2015; Mežek 2013). While students' motivation for terminology acquisition should, ideally, stem from the perceived connection between their future professional practice and needs and the course materials (Dudley-Evans and St. John 1998), it is often the case that ESP courses are offered early into the university programme, which means that students need to learn the terminology of a subject area they are not yet familiar with (Chung and Nation 2004, 252). Students are thus expected to acquire not only the terminology in English, but in parallel also that in their first language (Deniko et al. 2015). While specialized dictionaries may be regarded as an obvious resource for students in learning terminology, few also include semi-technical terms from less formal contexts of use within a specialized domain (Fernández, Flórez de la Colina and Peters 2009, 19–21) or cover specific academic fields such as kinesiology, where interdisciplinarity is a key feature (integrating, for example, sports, medicine, physical therapy, biochemistry, etc.).

Considering this situation, several studies have been devoted to the development of educational activities aimed at effective terminology acquisition. For example, Gajšt (2011) reports on a study conducted in an ESP course in Slovenia, in which students were instructed to compile a bilingual glossary of terms they had collected through extensive independent reading, thus focusing on students' autonomous learning, dictionary skills as well as critical evaluation of information provided in various sources. This study effectively incorporates the guidelines by Sanchez et al. (2008) stating that terminology and ESP teaching in general should also develop and promote students' future professional skills, autonomy at work, personal responsibility and collaboration, as well as their critical, creative and practical thinking skills.

Research shows obvious advantages to using smartphones for learning terminology, e.g., ease of use virtually anywhere, including during students' informal time, promotion of self-discipline and active learning, faster acquisition of the material and possibility of frequent revision (Foomami and Hedayati 2016; Reychav and Wu 2015; Sung, Chang, and Yang 2015). However, as noted by Wang et al. (2020), in the process of integrating MALL into terminology acquisition within ESP classes, it is mostly the teacher who is the generator and distributer of the content (e.g., wordlists), which places a heavy burden on the teacher and might also have a negative impact on student engagement and motivation. The authors therefore suggest a contribution-oriented learning model, i.e., a participation model (Collins and Moonen 2006, 53), which involves students' active contribution to the knowledge base or co-generation of the content. It is important to note, however, that despite the proven efficiency of the participation model, the importance of personalized learning should not be neglected, so that there is a balance between collaboration and personalized learning (Chang and Chen 2007; Foomami and Hedayati 2016; Looi et al. 2010), with group learning used to strengthen one's individual learning (Slavin 2011). This supports the usefulness of the MALL model developed by Collis and Moonen (2006)**,** which defines the role of the teacher as that of activity coordinator and attributes to students the contributing role of learning-resource creators and designers. This is similar to the field of problem-based learning (PBL), characterized by cooperative learning and teamwork in which teachers are perceived as facilitators of the students' learning process and perform various roles, such as activity coordinators, parents, professional consultants, confidants, learners and mediators (Wilkerson and Hundert 2001, 164–168).[1]

The results of a study by Wang et al. (2020), incorporating individual and contribution-oriented learning, confirm the positive effect of collaborative learning on students' motivation. Students rated mobile-assisted vocabulary learning through contribution and collaboration as being more effective, enjoyable, flexible and efficient (2020, 24). Similarly, recent studies on mobile-assisted vocabulary learning (e.g., Klimova 2019; Kohnke 2020; Poláková and Klímová 2019) demonstrate that the use of smartphones and mobile applications positively influences students' academic performance in vocabulary acquisition and retention. Students find the use of mobile applications as an enjoyable alternative to traditional learning approaches, and positively evaluate the collaborative component of such learning. This may also be explained by the fact that learning new words through verbal as well as visual channels increases learners' vocabulary retention (Kohnke, Zhang, and Zou 2019, 684).

While smartphones offer immense advantages which, as has been shown, can be successfully and effectively utilized in the ESP classroom, the full potential of these technologies has yet to be harnessed. The fact is that due to their limited programming and app developing skills, ESP teachers are often limited to using the applications which are already available and thus, like students, mostly use rather than produce suitable mobile applications (Patton, Tissenbaum, and Harunani 2019). Most of the available language learning applications are either commercial and require students and teacher to pay for their use, contain advertisements, or have simply not been designed with due account taken of the communicative or collaborative pedagogical approaches used in language learning (Lindaman and Nolan 2015, 1).

However, there are some ways to overcome this drawback. While collaboration with other experts within university-based collaborative projects is definitely a viable option, so is the design of simple mobile applications which can serve the purposes of a class activity by individual teachers by taking advantage of freely available programming tools which require little or no knowledge of programming languages. One of the most accessible platforms for designing smartphone applications for the Android operating system (OS) with minimal learning curve is MIT App Inventor (for an outline of the history of its development, see Patton, Tissenbaum, and Harunani 2019). By offering a block-language interface, the platform provides an accessible solution for anyone who wishes to create a mobile application to address a specific need, regardless of their background in programming. Over the past decade, MIT App Inventor has been used particularly successfully within computer science courses, with teachers at all levels of education designing applications and teaching students various principles of application design, machine learning, artificial intelligence and other topics.[2]

---

1 In her study, Celinšek (2014) finds that in terms of involvement these roles are ranked in the following order by language teachers: the professional consultant, the confidant, the mediator, the learner, and the parent.

2 For a list of studies based on MIT App Inventor, see MIT App Inventor - Related Research at https://appinventor.mit.edu/explore/research.

3 Methods

For the purposes of this study, the author created a mobile application which can be used on Android OS based smartphones for collecting and revising topic-specific terminology. The reason Android was chosen over iOS as the platform on which the application would run is that the Android OS offers the possibility of running third-party applications, which is not the case with the iOS platform. Moreover, Android applications published on Google Play, the official applications store for Android-based devices, go through a revision process, the purpose of which is to make sure the application is safe and secure. The application, named CoLecTer KIN (an acronym for **Co**llaboration in **Lec**tures focused on **Ter**minology in **Kin**esiology) (Paradiž 2020), was developed using the MIT App Inventor platform and distributed to students at the beginning of the course. Students were given instructions to prepare and present a seminar paper on sports injuries and, at the same time, to enter the terminology they had encountered in the preparation of their seminar paper into the joint database through the use of the CoLecTer KIN mobile application. Their participation in this activity was voluntary. At the end of the course, students were asked to complete a survey about their experience as users of the application.

3.1 CoLecTer KIN Mobile Application: Design and Functions

The CoLecTer KIN application was created using the MIT App Inventor online tool, which consists of two main components: the Designer, a drag-and-drop interface which allows the user to arrange the elements as they should appear on the smartphone screen, and the Blocks Editor, which enables the user to create algorithms by connecting colour-coded blocks to define the function of each element of the application. Figures 1 and 2 show the respective components of the MIT App Inventor platform.

The application consists of three screens. The first screen of the application displays a simple interface containing the title, a help button for instructions of use, and a form for entering

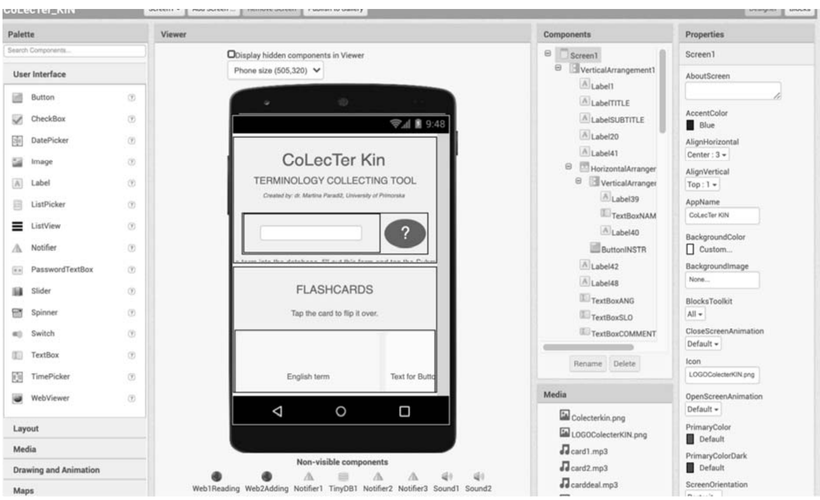


Figure 1. Screenshot of MIT App Inventor's Designer.

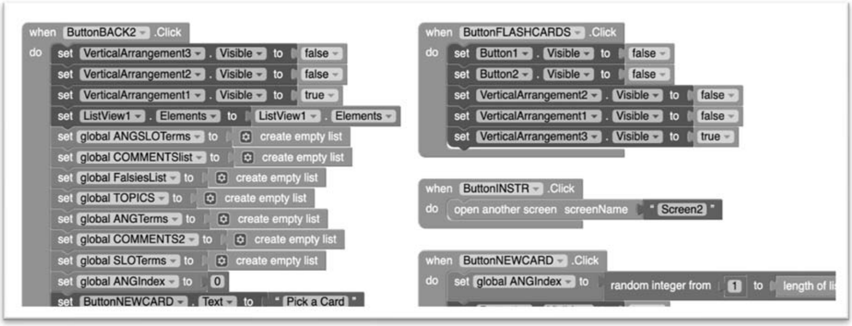


Figure 2. Screenshot of MIT App Inventor's Blocks Editor.

terms along with an example of how the term can be used in a sentence, and the topic. Once the student has filled out the entire form,[3] the data is entered into a termbase (a Google Sheets database). The screen also contains three buttons (at the bottom of the screen) which provide hyperlinks to the online Cambridge Dictionary (button 'Dictionary'), the Corpus of American English (button 'COCA Corpus') and Linguee English-Slovene Dictionary (button 'Linguee').

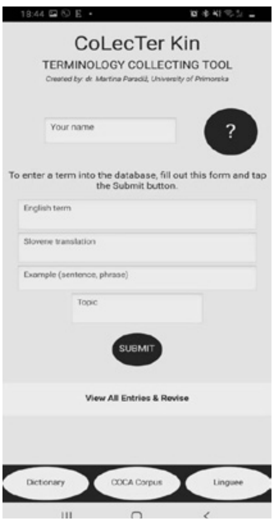


Figure 3. Screen 1 of CoLecTer KIN.

Figure 4. Screen 2 of CoLecTer KIN.

Tapping on the 'View All Entries & Revise' button takes the user to Screen 2, which, as shown in Figure 4 below, displays a list of all entries recorded in the database (not only those entered by an individual student). Students can use the search box to browse through entries in both languages, simultaneously searching through terms, examples and topics. By tapping on a term, this term is added to a sub-database of terms selected for revision with the use of flashcards. There is no limit to the number of terms which can be selected for such revision.

3 The fields 'Your name', 'English term', 'Slovene translation' and 'Example' were mandatory for the entry to be recorded in the database, while adding the 'Topic' was optional.

The 'Flashcards' button takes the user to Screen 3, which displays the flashcards (See Figure 5), whereas the 'Back to Form' button takes the user back to Screen 1 (term entry form). In Screen 3, the user uses a vertical drag gesture to draw a card from the deck. The card shows the term in English, randomly selected from those chosen for revision in the previous step. Tapping the card flips it over to show the Slovene translation of term, example of use and topic. The card can be flipped over several times. Alternatively, the user can also draw a new card.

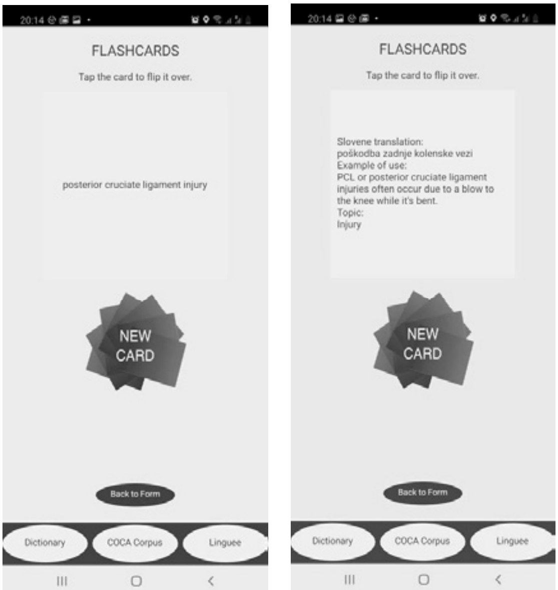


Figure 5. Screen 3 of CoLecTer KIN – Flashcards.

3.2 CoLecTer KIN Termbase

The terms and examples of use, along with the student's name and the topic of the entered term (optional), are recorded in the CoLecTer KIN termbase, for which a Google Sheets spreadsheet was used that contains the following elements (columns): (A) Timestamp, (B) English Term, (C) Slovene Term, (D) Example, (E) Student's Name and (F) Topic. Figure 6 shows a screenshot of the database displaying elements B – D.

1	English Term	Slovene Term	Example
13	carpal bones	kosti zapestja	The carpal bones are the eight small bones that make up the wri
14	cartilage	hrustanec	He has a torn cartilage in his knee
15	cast	mavec	With or without surgery the injured arm will be placed in a cast fc
16	chondromalacia patellae	hondromalacija pogačice	Chondromalacia patellae is a very common form of repetitive microtrau
17	collarbone fracture	zlom ključnice	A broken collarbone can be very painful.
18	collision	trk, trčenje	Collisions with other surfboards are very dangerous.
19	concussion	pretres možganov	A concussion is a traumatic brain injury that affects your brain fı
20	contact injury	kontaktna poškodba	common injuries are caused by contact with other people
21	contusion	kontuzija, udarec	Brain contusion may cause swelling of the brain tissue.
22	crutches	bergle	You can use crutches for a while to avoid putting weight on your
23	dislocation	izpah	A dislocation occurs when the ball at the upper end of the arm b
24	excessive	pretiran	Golfer with a poor swing technique risk injury due to excessive s
25	fatigue	izčrpanost	She was suffering from fatigue.

Figure 6. Screenshot of the CoLecTer KIN database (termbase).

As there was no option to correct mistakes through the application, all students participating in the activity were also given permission to edit the items directly in the termbase and were provided a direct link to the CoLecTer KIN termbase. The teacher checked the termbase regularly to remove duplicate entries and correct spelling and other errors.

3.3 Student Task

Students attending the course English for Kinesiology conducted within the undergraduate degree programme of Applied Kinesiology at the Faculty of Health Sciences of the University of Primorska (Year 1 of the programme), in the 2018/2019 and in 2019/2020 academic years (two groups) were given the task to prepare a seminar presentation on a chosen sports injury. They were given instructions to individually review the materials they gathered from reliable sources in English and were invited to contribute to a joint termbase through the use of the CoLecTer KIN application during this process. The application was distributed via the Moodle e-classroom as an .apk file, which they were asked to download and install on their smartphones. As the application only works on the Android OS, those who did not have the option of using an Android-based device were also given the possibility to contribute the terms directly into the CoLecTer KIN termbase in Google Sheets via a link published in the e-classroom.

3.4 Student Survey

At the end of the course, students were invited to complete an online survey, administered through the 1KA online platform (One Click Survey; www.1ka.si), the first one at the end of the 2018/2019 academic year (in May 2019), and the second at the end of the 2019/2020 academic year (in June 2020). Participation in the student survey was voluntary.

The survey (consisting of closed questions with the option of adding comments and one open-ended question) was divided into four parts. In the first part, respondents were asked to state whether or not they had used the application, and if so, whether they had used it on their own device or on a borrowed device, and whether they had used it only for terminology collection, terminology revision or both.

The second part consisted of two questionnaires in which students were asked to rank the degree to which they agreed with the given statements using a 5-point Likert scale (Strongly Disagree to Strongly Agree). The first questionnaire focused on usability and included seven statements loosely based on the System Usability Scale (SUS) developed by Brooke (1986), while the second questionnaire included five statements related to user experience and students' reasons for using the application. The questionnaires consisted of positively as well as negatively worded items, whereby, in accordance with the scoring system proposed by Brooke (1986) and explained in more detail by Lewis and Sauro (2017), positively worded items were assigned scores ranging from 0 (Strongly Disagree) to 4 (Strongly Agree) and the scores for negatively worded items were inverted (4 for Strongly Disagree and 0 for Strongly Agree).

In the third part of the survey, students were asked to choose the statements which best described their perceptions of the positive (11 statements) and negative features (seven statements) of the application with the option of adding to the list (Item 'Other. Please specify:'). In this part students were also asked an open-ended question asking them to list the functions they wished to see included in future versions of the application.

In the fourth (final) part of the survey, students were asked to rate the application on a scale from 1 (Poor) to 5 (Excellent). This part of the survey also included an open-ended question asking for their overall opinion on the application.

4 Results

4.1 Collaboratively Built Bilingual Termbase – Terminological Glossary

The bilingual termbase, collaboratively built by students during the preparation of their seminar presentations, consists of a total of 117 entries (term in English, its translation into Slovene and an example of its use in a sentence or phrase) in a Google Sheets spreadsheet (see Figure 6). Throughout the preparation of the glossary, the teacher regularly checked the entries for errors and to remove duplicates.

4.2 Results of the Survey

Participation in the student survey was voluntary. Although the survey was distributed to two groups of students (in 2019 and in 2020), there were no significant changes made to the task of preparing the seminar paper, the instructions provided, or the application itself. Like the first group of students, the second was asked to build the glossary of terms starting from an empty spreadsheet without any pre-existing entries from the previous group. Due to the relatively low number of respondents, the results presented here have been combined to include responses from both groups of students.

Out of the 35 students who completed the questionnaire, 25 students used the application on their own or borrowed (three students) smartphone. The remaining 10 did not use the application, but did contribute to the Google Sheets database. Of the students who used the application, 19 completed the entire survey, and 22 students only completed the first of the two questionnaires included in the second part of the survey (seven statements related to usability).

Figures 7 and 8 show the results of the second part of the survey (two questionnaires related to usability and user experience, respectively), in which students were asked to rate each statement on a five-item scale from Strongly Disagree (0 points) to Strongly Agree (4 points) (only one answer possible for each statement). The scores for negatively worded statements were inverted (4 points for Strongly Disagree and 0 points for Strongly Agree) (see Lewis and Sauro 2017).

The overall rating for the usability of the application and user experience was 79.2%, with the first questionnaire on usability yielding an average rating of 84.1% and the second an average rating of 72.3%.

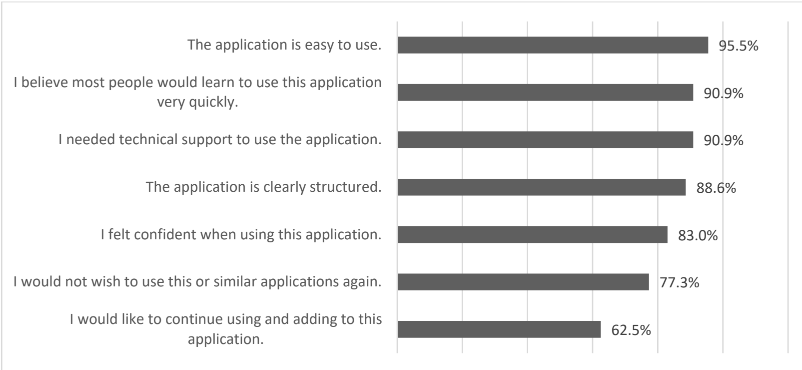


Figure 7. Results of the questionnaire rating the usability of the application (n=22).[4]

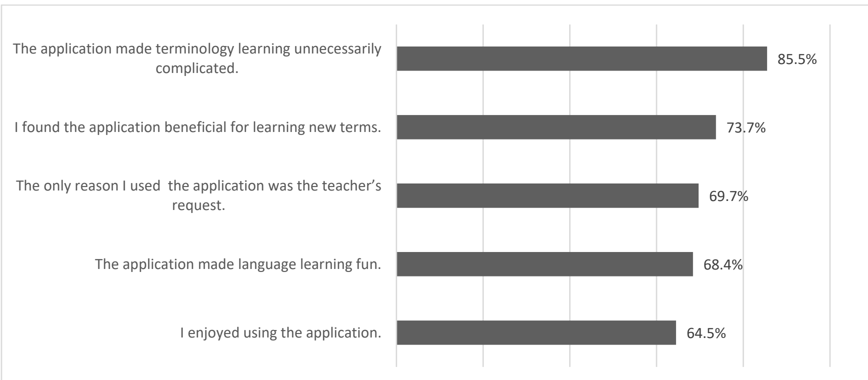


Figure 8. Results of the questionnaire rating the user experience with the application (n=19).[4]

The overall score from the first questionnaire was 84.1% (i.e., a cumulative point score of 84.1), which ranks the application as excellent in terms of usability according to the SUS grading scale (Lewis and Sauro 2017, 44). However, this questionnaire was only very loosely based on the SUS, with three of its original items not included. According to Lewis and Sauro (2017, 44), while omitting any item from the SUS questionnaire should not affect the overall reliability of the scale, necessary modifications need to be taken into account in the calculation of the score and interpretation of data.[5] Given the small sample size, this usability score needs to be interpreted with caution (2017, 44).

The aim of the third part of the survey was to obtain more specific feedback regarding students' positive (Figure 9) and negative (Figure 10) perceptions and experiences of using the application. The percentages shown in Figures 9 and 10 reflect the percentage of respondents who selected each statement (multiple selection possible). As can be seen, the relevance of the collected terms in the termbase and the anywhere-anytime possibility of

[4] The statements "I needed technical support…", "I would not wish to…" (Figure 7), and "The only reason I used this application…" (Figure 8) are negatively worded statements and were therefore scored with inverted scores of 4 - Strongly Disagree to 0 - Strongly Agree (see Lewis and Sauro 2017).

[5] According to Lewis and Sauro (2018, 160), several studies have used the SUS scale with various modifications (e.g., changing the wording, rewriting the items in a positive tone), which have not affected the reliability of the scale.

using the application were perceived as its most positive traits, while the fact that it can only be installed on Android-based devices was perceived as its most negative feature, followed by its lack of attractiveness.

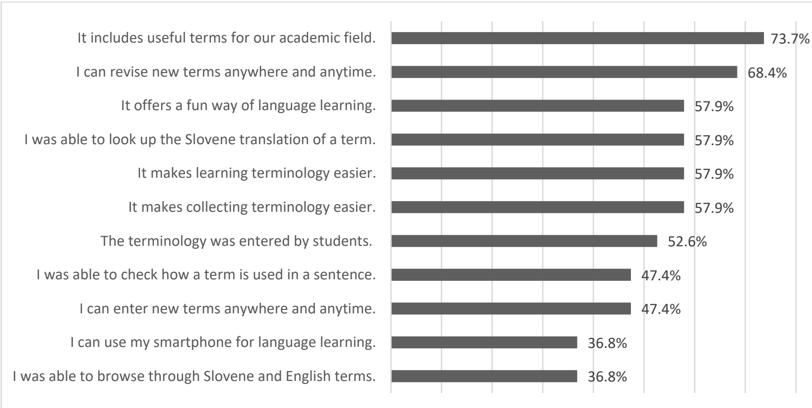


Figure 9. Perceived positive qualities of the CoLecTer KIN application (n=19).

In the second part of the survey, students were also asked what functions and features they would like to see in future versions of CoLecTer KIN. Five responses were given. Two students expressed a desire for the application to be adapted for the iOS operating system, while one student indicated that they would like the inclusion of visual media. Both of these suggestions can be taken into account in the development of updated versions of the application. One respondent stated that they would like the application to provide the translation of a term and place the word in context. Currently, this was only possible through the use of external platforms (corpora and dictionary) hyperlinked from the application. One student stated that they missed being able to browse through the entries, although this is actually possible with the application. This particular response indicated that there is a need to provide more detailed instructions to students or to use the application more frequently in class so that they become more familiar with its features.

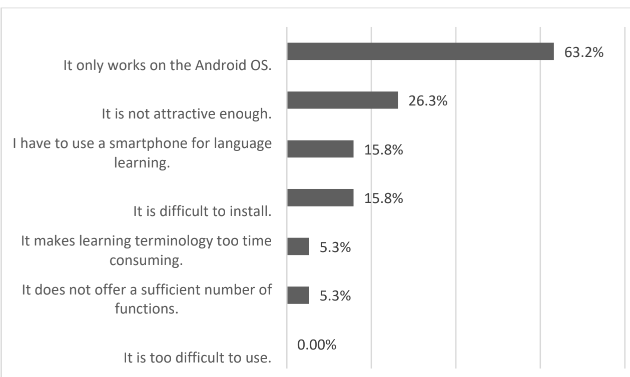


Figure 10. Perceived negative traits of the CoLecTer KIN application (n=19).

In the fifth and final part, students were asked to give an overall rating for this application. The average score was 4.27 with a SD of 0.75. This result corresponds to the perceived usability score, which was 84.1 (the first questionnaire), and reveals a very positive assessment of the application.

Students' responses to the final (open-ended) question, in which they were asked to provide additional comments and opinions, were also very meaningful:

> "I am grateful for the effort invested in this application, as it will surely benefit us in the future."
>
> "Although I didn't use it due to technical limitations, the idea behind it and its overall purpose seem excellent."
>
> "It's great as it keeps all data in one place."
>
> "I really liked getting to know a new way of language learning."
>
> "The app is excellent in the technical sense, but I prefer learning a language using a textbook."
>
> "Although the idea is good, students were not motivated enough to use the application."

5 Discussion

According to the results of the student survey, CoLecTer KIN was rated very positively. The application was given the highest scores for its usability. It was perceived as easy to use with little or no technical support required to operate it, and a clear, satisfactory structure. Most students felt confident using the application and would also use it in the future (see Figure 7).

The benefits of the application for terminology acquisition were also noticed and rated positively, with almost three quarters of students perceiving it as beneficial for learning terminology (see Figure 8). This was also confirmed by over half of all participants citing easier collection and revision of terminology as one of its positive traits (see Figure 9), as well as their comments praising the purpose, benefits and advantages of the application keeping topic-specific terms in a single database.

Students' perceptions related to user experience and enjoyment of using this application were also generally positive, with fun and enjoyment reported by approximately two thirds of the students who used it (Figure 8), and almost 60% of students perceiving the fun of using the application as one of its positive traits (Figure 9). This is consistent with the findings of a study by Poláková and Klímová (2019), who report that students found using a mobile application more enjoyable than traditional methods of language learning. It should be noted, however, that just under a third of all respondents reported using CoLecTer KIN only at the request of the teacher and did not see this form of language learning as fun or enjoyable, although they did not perceive it as overly complicated (see Figure 8). According to other results of the survey, particularly the students' comments on the perceived negative features of the application (Figure 10), this could be due to its lack of visual appeal.

Overall, the contributing aspect of collaboration in language learning was viewed positively, with more than half of all respondents stating that they liked the fact that the terminology was entered by students. This corresponds to the findings by Wang et al. (2020, 26), who state that "students' sense of contribution was most statistically significantly correlated with their L2 motivation", as well as the assertion by Collis and Moonen (2006, 53) that "participation is not enough: the participant must also contribute in order to make a difference".

Student motivation may also be reflected in students' intention to use the application in the future, where the results showed significant differences between individual students. While the majority of students (62.5%) indicated that they intended to continue using this application, there were also students who did not feel motivated to use it in the future.

The results of the survey show that not all students enjoyed using the application, as students' opinions about the use of smartphones in language learning seem to be divided. While it has often been stated in the literature that the use of MALL and the associated ability of students to use smartphones for accessing educational materials at any time and place also increases students' motivation to learn (e.g., Hao et al. 2019, 209; Sung, Chang and Yang 2015, 3–6), the degree of students' acceptance and attitudes towards this learning approach may vary. As reported by Garcıa Botero et al. (2018), students' acceptance of smartphone use in language learning depends on various social and technical conditions, and is mainly motivated by their belief that this approach will enhance their academic performance.

Students would therefore potentially benefit from additional motivation in the form of specific classroom activities involving the use of the application, which would show exactly how to take advantage of the functions it offers. In this study, students were given instructions on how to install and use the application, but were not provided with specific in-class exercises which focused on its various features, and thus would increase their motivation to use it. Moreover, there are certain time constraints to be considered here, as the time spent with students in this particular ESP class is limited to just one semester throughout the course of study, and so the teacher needs to plan the syllabus as efficiently as possible to not leave out any essential elements of language learning. Despite this, and considering the generally positive attitude of students towards the use of this mobile application for collaborative terminology collection and revision, it would definitely be worthwhile to devote some time to such activities in the future.

According to student feedback, the CoLecTer KIN application shows ample room for improvement, with a particular focus on making it available for all OS platforms and increasing its visual appeal (e.g., by including multimedia files). A step towards making the application easier to install, which was one of the perceived negative features (Figure 10), has already been taken by publishing it on the Google Play store.

Overall, the task of collaborative bilingual topic-specific terminological glossary building through the CoLecTer KIN application was found to serve several functions of language learning. One of them was bilingual terminology acquisition through extensive reading and independent use of resources, which has been reported in similar studies focusing on terminology acquisition through glossary building (e.g., Gajšt 2011). Another goal achieved through this activity was students' autonomous use of language reference materials, i.e., monolingual and bilingual corpora and dictionaries in their search for the translation of each term into Slovene and an example of its use in a sentence or phrase. Furthermore, in addition to autonomous individual learning, this activity also incorporated student collaboration, thus effectively combining the two aspects of learning which have been shown to lead to greater effectiveness of instruction (e.g., Slavin 2011, 26).

6 Conclusion

With the proliferation of smartphone technology and declining trends in personal computer use among young people, the application of MALL activities in the ESP and translation classrooms seems to be a logical step forward. However, this step has not yet been taken by all ESP and translation teachers, probably due to their perceived lack of technical skills. As demonstrated by the present study, teachers do not need to rely on freely available applications, which may include hidden costs and advertising material, but can take advantage of freely accessible and viable options which allow virtually any teacher to design a mobile application tailored to the specific needs of their students and the subject matter taught. The CoLecTer KIN application, which was designed by the author with only a basic knowledge of computer algorithms and no knowledge of programming languages, has proven to be a useful tool for students to collaboratively create a bilingual terminological glossary which they can consult during their studies, in translation, as well as in their future professional careers.

Although this study has certain limitations, such as the small sample size and the modifications made to the SUS scale, its results provide useful feedback on the perceived usability, benefits, enjoyment of using and ways to improve the application in the future. Overall, the design and features of the CoLecTer KIN application were rated very positively. As can be seen from the results, most students enjoy using smartphones in language learning and feel encouraged by the benefits such approaches offer. However, there are also students who do not feel motivated simply by the existence of mobile technology and suitable mobile applications, but would perhaps benefit from a more focused effort to familiarize them with the advantages such approaches may offer in the achievement of their academic goals.

The bilingual termbase built through students' collaborative efforts as part of the project is useful for professional communication in the field of sports injuries, and can be further expanded to include other areas, topics and types of entries. The application can also be adapted to serve other purposes, such as collaborative translation projects, where a shared termbase is a prerequisite for terminological consistency and the overall quality of translation.

References

Brooke, John. 1996. "SUS: A 'Quick and Dirty' Usability Scale." In *Usability Evaluation in Industry,* edited by Patrick W. Jordan, B. Thomas, Ian Lyall McClelland, and Bernard Weerdmeester, 189–94. London: Taylor & Francis.

Celinšek, Dubravka. 2014. "Innovative Approaches to Teaching in Tertiary Education with a Special Focus on Developing a Learning Organization and a Teacher's or Tutor's Learning Role." In *Education for Development*, edited by Nevenka Tatković et al., 118–33. Pula: Univerza Juraj Dobrila.

Chang, Cheng-Sian, and Tzung-Shi Chen. 2007. "Building Self-Knowledge for Learners in Ubiquitous Learning Grid." Paper presented at the *Technology Enhanced Learning Conference 2007, Jhongli, Taiwan*.
Chen, Chih-Ming, and Ching-Ju Chung. 2008. "Personalized Mobile English Vocabulary Learning System Based on Item Response Theory and Learning Memory Cycle." *Computers & Education* 51 (2): 624–45. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.compedu.2007.06.011.
Chirobocea-Tudor, Olivia. 2018. "Vocabulary Acquisition in ESP. Perspectives, Strategies and Resources." *Studii şi cercetări filologice. Seria limbi străine aplicate* 17: 171–80.
Chung Teresa Mihwa, and Paul Nation. 2004. "Identifying Technical Vocabulary." *System* 32: 251–63. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.system.2003.11.008.
Collis, Betty, and Jef Moonen. 2006. "The Contributing Student: Learners as Co-Developers of Learning Resources for Reuse in Web Environments." In *Engaged Learning with Emerging Technologies*, edited by David Hung and Myint Swe Khine, 49–67. Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/1-4020-3669-8_3.
Deniko, Roman V., Olga G. Shchitova, Daria A. Shchitova, and Nguyen T. Lan. 2015. "Learning Terminology in the Age of Higher Education Internationalization: Problems and Solutions." *Procedia – Social and Behavioral Sciences* 215: 107–11. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.sbspro.2015.11.582.
Dudley-Evans, Tony, and Maggie-Jo St John. 1998. *Developments in English for Specific Purposes: A Multi-Disciplinary Approach.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Elaish, Monther M., Liyana Shuib, Norjihan Abdul Ghani, and Elaheh Yadegaridehkordi. 2019. "Mobile English Language Learning (MELL): A Literature Review." *Educational Review* 71 (2): 257–76. https://doi.org/10.1080/00131911.2017.1382445.
Eurostat. 2015. *Being Young in Europe Today*. European Commission.
—. 2020. *Being Young in Europe Today*. European Commission.
Fernández, Trinidad, Maria Aurora Flórez de la Colina, and Pam Peters. 2009. "Terminology and Terminography for Architecture and Building Construction." *Terminology* 15 (1): 10–36. https://doi.org/10.1075/term.15.1.02fer.
Foomani, Elham M., and Mohsen Hedayati. 2016. "A Seamless Learning Design for Mobile Assisted Language Learning: An Iranian Context." *English Language Teaching* 9 (5): 206. https://doi.org/10.5539/elt.v9n5p206.
Gajšt, Nataša. 2011. "A Glossary-Based Approach to ESP Terminology Acquisition." *Inter Alia* 2: 21–41. http://www.sdutsj.edus.si/InterAlia/2011/Gajst.pdf.
Garcıa Botero, Gustavo, Frederik Questier, Sebastiano Cincinnato, Tao He, and Gustavo Chang Zhu. 2018. "Acceptance and Usage of Mobile Assisted Language Learning by Higher Education Students." *Journal of Computing in Higher Education* 30: 426–51. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12528-018-9177-1.
Gürkan, Serkan. 2019. "Effect of Annotation Preferences of the EFL Students on Their Level of Vocabulary Recall and Retention." *Journal of Educational Computing Research* 57 (6): 1436–67. https://doi.org/10.1177/0735633118796843.
Hao, Yungwei, Kathryn S. Lee, Szu-Ting Chen, and Sin Chie Sim. 2019. "An Evaluative Study of a Mobile Application for Middle School Students Struggling with English Vocabulary Learning." *Computers in Human Behavior* 95: 208–16. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2018.10.013.
Hoi, Vo Ngoc. 2020. "Understanding Higher Education Learners' Acceptance and Use of Mobile Devices for Language Learning: A Rasch-Based Path Modeling Approach." *Computers & Education* 146: 1–15. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.compedu.2019.103761.
Hwang, Gwo-Jen, and Qingke Fu. 2018. "Trends in the Research Design and Application of Mobile Language Learning: A Review of 2007–2016 Publications in Selected SSCI Journals." *Interactive Learning Environments* 27 (4): 576–81. https://doi.org/10.1080/10494820.2018.1486861.
Klimova, Blanka. 2019. "Impact of Mobile Learning on Students' Achievement Results." *Education Sciences* 9 (2): 90. https://doi.org/10.3390/educsci9020090.
Kohnke, Lucas. 2020. "Exploring Learner Perception, Experience and Motivation of Using a Mobile App in L2 Vocabulary Acquisition." *International Journal of Computer-Assisted Language Learning and Teaching* 10 (1): 15–26. https://doi.org/10.4018/IJCALLT.2020010102.

Kohnke, Lucas, Ruofei Zhang, and Di Zou. 2019. "Using Mobile Vocabulary Learning Apps as Aids to Knowledge Retention: Business Vocabulary Acquisition." *The Journal of ASIA TEFL* 16 (2): 683–90. https://doi.org/10.18823/asiatefl.2019.16.2.16.683.

Lindaman, Dana, and Dan Nolan. 2015. "Mobile-Assisted Language Learning: Application Development Projects Within Reach for Language Teachers." *IALLT Journal for Language Learning Technologies* 45 (1): 1–22.

Lewis James R., and Jeff Sauro. 2018. "Item Benchmarks for the System Usability Scale." *Journal of Usability Studies* 13 (3): 158–67.

—. 2017. "Can I Leave This One Out? The Effect of Dropping an Item From the SUS." *Journal of Usability Studies* 13 (1): 38–46.

Looi, Chee-Kit, Peter Seow, Baohui Zhang, Hyo-Jeong So, Wenli Chen, and Lung-Hsiang Wong. 2010. "Leveraging Mobile Technology for Sustainable Seamless Learning: A Research Agenda." *British Journal of Educational Technology* 41: 154–69. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8535.2008.00912.x.

Metruk, Rastislav. 2019. "The Call of the MALL: The Use of Smartphones in Higher Education. A Literature Review." *Revista Dilemas Contemporáneos: Educación, Política y Valores* 6 (3): 1–22.

Mežek, Špela. 2013. "Learning Terminology from Reading Texts in English: The Effects of Note-Taking Strategies." *Nordic Journal of English Studies* 13 (1): 133–61.

Paradiž, Martina. 2020. *CoLecTer KIN*. [Mobile application software]. Koper: Univerza na Primorskem.

Patton, Evan W., Michael Tissenbaum, and Farzeen Harunani. 2019. "MIT App Inventor: Objectives, Design, and Development." In *Computational Thinking Education,* edited by Siu-Cheung Kong and Harold Abelson, 31–49. Springer Singapore. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-13-6528-7_3.

Poláková, Petra, and Blanka Klímová. 2019. "Mobile Technology and Generation Z in the English Language Classroom – A Preliminary Study." *Education Sciences* 9 (203): 1–11. https://doi.org/10.3390/educsci9030203.

Polyakova, Liliya S., Yu V. Yuzakova, Elena Suvorova, and Kseniya E Zharova. 2019. "Peculiarities of Translation of English Technical Terms." *IOP Conference Series: Materials Science and Engineering* 483 (012085): 1–6. https://doi.org/10.1088/1757-899X/483/1/012085.

Reychav, Iris, and Dezhi Wu. 2015. "Mobile Collaborative Learning: The Role of Individual Learning in Groups Through Text and Video Content Delivery in Tablets." *Computers in Human Behavior* 50: 520–34. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2015.04.019.

Salcines-Talledo, Irina, Natalia González-Fernández, and Elena Briones. 2020. "The Smartphone as a Pedagogic Tool. Student Profiles as Related to its Use and Knowledge." *Journal of New Approaches in Educational Research* 9 (1): 91–109. https://doi.org/10.7821/naer.2020.1.454.

Sánchez, Aurelio V., Manuel P. Ruiz, Ana G. Olalla, Gonzalo M. Mora, Jose A. M. Peredes, Jose M. Otero, Isabel M. San Ildefonso, and Josu S. Eizaguirre. 2008. *Competence-Based Learning: A Proposal for the Assessment of Generic Competences.* Bilbao: University of Deusto.

Slavin, Robert E. 2011. "Instruction Based on Cooperative Learning." In *Handbook of Research on Learning and Instruction*, edited by Richard E. Mayer and Patricia A. Alexander, 344–60. New York: Taylor & Francis.

Sung, Yao Ting, Kuo En Chang, and Je Ming Yang. 2015. "How Effective are Mobile Devices for Language Learning? A Meta-Analysis." *Educational Research Review* 16: 68–84. https://doi.org/10.1016/J.EDUREV.2015.09.001.

Wang, Zhuo, Gwo-Jen Hwang, Zhaoyi Yin, and Yongjun Ma. 2020. "A Contribution-Oriented Self-Directed Mobile Learning Ecology Approach to Improving EFL Students' Vocabulary Retention and Second Language Motivation." *Journal of Educational Technology & Society* 23 (1): 16–29.

Wilkerson, LuAnn, and Edward M. Hundert. 2001. "Becoming a Problem-Based Tutor: Increasing Self-Awareness Through Faculty Development." In *The Challenge of Problem-Based Learning*, edited by David Boud and Grahame I. Feletti, 160–72. London: Kogan Page.

Csilla Szabó
BME Centre for Modern Languages, Hungary

2021, Vol. 18 (1), 107-124(222)
revije.ff.uni-lj.si/elope
https://doi.org/10.4312/elope.18.1.107-124
UDC: 81'253

Revisiting Consecutive Note-Taking: What to Note, How to Note, and in What Language?

ABSTRACT

Note-taking is taught across the board at interpreter training institutions, but opinions as to 'what', 'how', and 'in what language' one should take notes often tend to be curiously mixed. This paper revisits the three main areas where there seems to be no strong consensus, namely: 1) What and how much should interpreters note down? 2) How should they take notes: by taking down full words, abbreviations or symbols? 3) In what language should they prepare their notes: in the source or target language, in A or B language or, irrespective of the direction, in an economical language such as English? This study explores these three questions by first revisiting prescriptive views put forward by practitioners over the past few decades; it then highlights some of the empirical studies conducted in these areas; and finally it proposes recommendations for trainers, based on the author's experience as a trainer of consecutive interpreting.

Keywords: consecutive capacities, choice of form, choice of language, empirical research, note-taking

Ponoven premislek o zapiskih pri konsekutivnem tolmačenju: Kaj zapisati, kako zapisati in v katerem jeziku zapisati?

IZVLEČEK

Tehnika zapisovanja se poučuje v vseh institucijah, ki izobražujejo tolmače, a mnenja o tem, kaj, kako in v katerem jeziku zapisovati, so pogosto nenavadno različna. V prispevku je predstavljen ponoven razmislek o treh glavnih temah, za katere se zdi, da glede njih ni močnega konsenza, in sicer: 1) Kaj in koliko naj bi tolmači zapisali? 2) Kako si delati zapiske: pisati celotne besede, krajšave ali simbole? 3) V katerem jeziku naj bi bili zapiski: v izvirniku ali v ciljnem jeziku, v jeziku A ali B, ali, ne glede na smer, v ekonomičnem jeziku, kakršna je angleščina? Pričujoča študija se osredinja na omenjena tri vprašanja. Uvodoma so predstavljeni preskriptivni pogledi, ki so jih v zadnjih nekaj desetletjih zagovarjali tolmači-praktiki, nato pa izbrane empirične raziskave s tega področja. Avtorica na podlagi svojih izkušenj s poučevanjem konsekutivnega tolmačenja prispevek sklene s priporočili za učitelje.

Ključne besede: zmožnost konsekutivnega tolmačenja, izbira oblike, izbira jezika, empirične raziskave, zapiski

1 Introduction

Consecutive interpreting is one of the modes of conference interpreting which "may involve the rendering of source-language utterances lasting anywhere from a few seconds to several minutes or more" (e.g., González, Vásquez, and Mikkelson 1991). Literature on consecutive interpreting tends to be dominated by note-taking (Russell and Takeda 2015, 105), as this activity is central to rendering a speech, or any segment of a speech, into the target language. According to data recorded in the CIRIN Bibliography[1] between 2010 and 2020 (CIRIN 2021), 42 papers were devoted to consecutive note-taking, out of which seven were master's theses and two doctoral dissertations.[2]

Note-taking is an essential and integrated part of consecutive interpreting, during which the interpreter takes down the structure and logic of the speech, with a focus on keywords and numbers, but, as has been highlighted before, notes are not necessarily prepared to register the details of a speech, but rather to jog the interpreter's memory (AIIC 2019[3]). Today, long consecutive interpreting is on the decline in the market, but training institutions still insist on testing this skill at their final examinations, claiming that the interpretation of a six- to eight-minute speech may be an appropriate indicator of a candidate's suitability for the profession. In most training programmes, EMCI[4] and others, candidates are required to render a one- to three-minute speech at their entrance examination, while they must also interpret a six- to eight-minute speech (both A<B and B<A), on specific topics, with the use of notes at their final examination. Long consecutive interpreting (± six minutes) also features at the SCIC accreditation examinations (both A<B and B<A),[5] and therefore note-taking is one of the central components of most interpreter training curricula. However, when it comes to the questions of *what/how much, how, or in what language*, there still seems to be no strong consensus among trainers.

In the following sections, this paper revisits these three recurrent issues by first taking a brief, and inescapably selective glimpse at some of the prescriptive works commonly cited in relation to the above questions; it then goes on to take stock of a few relevant empirical studies, on the basis of which we can draw a few conclusions and provide some practical recommendations that trainers might find useful when it comes to note-taking and their implications for interpreter training.

2 What/How Much Should We Note Down?

2.1 What and How Much Should be Noted: Prescriptive Studies

Offering a snapshot of prescriptive works that provide any recommendation on *what or how much* to note is a venturesome quest, as the issue is inextricably linked to another

---

[1] Compiled by Daniel Gile and including the majority of papers published in journals and/or in compilations.

[2] Silja Chen's opus on the process of note-taking with a focus on a pen-eye-voice approach towards cognitive load from 2017, and Hanne Cardoen's paper on efficient note-taking written in 2013.

[3] International Association of Conference Interpreters.

[4] European Masters in Conference Interpreting (EMCI 2013–2021).

[5] See https://europa.eu/interpretation.

thorny problem: *how* to note things. Looking back in time, prior to the introduction of the simultaneous mode, we may recall legendary figures who would render as long as 45-minute speeches without having to rely on their notes, but they rarely took notes themselves or not to the extent as they themselves may have recommended to others, e.g., Rozan (Ilg and Lambert 1996, 71). The UN interpreter Jean Herbert (1952) was the first professional to write about the role and the processes of note-taking, highlighting the importance of paraphrasing and suggesting the use of as few symbols as possible (Ilg and Lambert 1996, 71). The majority of the early authors recommended that interpreters should note down ideas rather than words. The most ardent advocator of this tenet was Danica Seleskovitch, representing the Paris School, who teamed up with her colleague, Marianna Lederer, to work out the interpretative model whose central idea was the principle of deverbalization, referred to as 'theory du sens'. According to the authors, the interpreter should attempt to 'rid' the message of its form, and focus on its sense, the intended meaning – and this should be reflected in the notes taken down on the paper (Seleskovitch and Lederer 1995). This basic principle tends to resurface in many successive works under the disguise of different wording: the term *message* is used by Deng (1991, 285), *analysis* by Alexieva (1994, 206) or Chuang (2008, 95), and *idea* by Jones ([1998] 2002, 11) and Gillies (2004, 53).

The first comprehensive volume on the teaching of note-taking was written by Jean-François Rozan in 1956, a book that still features on the compulsory reading list of many interpreter trainees. This might be due to the fact that he was the first author to offer a series of useful pieces of advice that can be applied if one wants to take notes in a systematic manner. Rozan analyses the incoming speech from linguistic, semantic, and cognitive aspects and was among the first to highlight the significance of meaning ('*note the idea, not the word*'). The questions of what/how much to note are presented very judiciously confining the items to seven principles in total ([1956] 2004, 15). Heinz Matyssek's work, issued in 1989 and offering a complex system of symbols, will be discussed in more detail in 3.1.1, but as for the question of *what and how much*, he also underlines the necessity of focusing on the meaning ("tragende Essenz"). In his comprehensive work on conference interpreting, Roderick Jones reiterates the same notion, stressing that main ideas should be noted mainly because "they provide a skeleton outline of the speech"; moreover, links are even more crucial to note than the main ideas in order to get the logic of the speech right ([1998] 2002, 41). A few other items, not emphasized by Rozan but also vital to note, according to Jones, include the speaker's personal point of view, the tenses of verbs, lists, and, most importantly, numbers and proper names, both of which should enjoy priority. Numbers and names, in particular, are notorious as they put an extra burden on our memory and cannot be recalled on the basis of context, so they need to be jotted down immediately (Dingfelder 2015, 162). Besides names and numbers, practitioners also tend to note down technical terms, and the speaker's carefully chosen words to render the speech as faithfully as possible – all of which may seem to contradict the general suggestion that ideas, rather than words, should be jotted down.

Besides Jones' and Gillies postulates on noting down 'ideas' they both claim that a speech may be broken down into SVO (subject-verb-object) components irrespective of the word order or the given sentence structure. They, however, highlight that the main task in consecutive interpreting is to convey the message and the notes "can function as a kind of discipline, forcing the interpreter to make the analysis" (Jones [1998] 2002, 40).

2.2 What and How Much Should be Noted – Empirical Research

If anyone sets out to explore the question *what/how much to note*?, they may find only a handful of empirical research papers (partly) touching upon this issue. Gile's study conducted in 1991 may be one such paper consulted here (quoted by Chen 2016, 157), which is very likely to have greatly contributed to his Effort Model detailing various capacities required for interpreting (Gile [1995] 2009). In this experiment, one group was instructed to take notes systematically while another was only permitted to put down names and figures they heard during the presentation. The results showed that members of the first group noted down the names with more mistakes because, as Gile explained, note-taking may have diverted their attention from focusing on listening.

Several experiments investigating the issue of *how much* have revealed excessive notes (Thiéry 1981; Seleskovitch [1975] 2002; Mead 2011; Sanchez 2018), a problem that most trainees tend to be fraught with until they learn how to compress and economize in a systematic manner. A relatively recent study conducted in 2018 (Yamada 2018) confirmed, however, that even systematic note-taking does not necessarily lead to better quality in the interpreter's rendition. In this respect, there had been some earlier scepticism in this regard, especially among the representatives of the French school (e.g., Thiéry) who saw no point in teaching note-taking at all (Chen 2016, 156; Ilg and Lambert 1996, 78).

On the basis of the above it seems probable that based on empirical data alone it would be difficult to determine what trainees should be advised about *how much* to note. The issue – as well as the validity of research – is further complicated by the fact that notes should be examined in relation to the *quality* of the rendition, and the bulk of the literature on this issue illustrates aptly just how complex the notion of quality is[6].

2.3 What and How Much Should be Noted: Suggestion for Trainers

Most interpreter trainers would agree that, in the initial phase of learning consecutive interpreting, no notes should be taken (Seleskovitch 1999, 64; Setton and Dawrant 2016a, 146); and trainees should be required to do a lot of *gist-recall* or memory exercises, to learn how to retain and recall information without notes (Láng 2002, 143) to get the hang of information processing and become aware of the process of interpreting the message. A superb website called Online Resources for Conference Interpreter Training (ORCIT n.d.), developed for autonomous learning, has a separate section devoted to consecutive interpreting without notes.[7] Besides the site's value in supplementing trainers' materials and allowing trainees to do extra work in an autonomous mode, the ideas, systematically organized into topics in ORCIT, may also be suitable for 'flipped classrooms' – a modern instructional strategy permitting students to consult the learning material before it is introduced in class.

At which stage note-taking should be introduced and how systematically it should be taught are both matters requiring individual trainer deliberation. Due to the arbitrary nature

[6] Chen's paper (2016) also quotes some empirical studies linking note-taking and quality.

[7] See https://orcit.eu/resources/eci-en/story_html5.html.

of notes and the tendency of trainees to rely too heavily on them and, as a consequence, forget to listen, some trainers are reluctant to teach any note-taking system. Nevertheless, if note-taking is taught judiciously, there may be three benefits, as highlighted by Setton and Dawrant (2016a, 143): 1) the taking of notes and the selection of representatives for key ideas seem to enhance the analytical process; 2) notes help relieve the memory of having to store names, numbers, technical terms and lists, allowing more capacities for analysis; and 3) notes allow the interpreter to organize the structure and highlight certain elements with the aim of providing a thorough basis for the rendition phase. What we, as trainers, need to do is warn the students in the first phase of note-taking that their performance will temporarily deteriorate (as confirmed by longitudinal studies, e.g., Alexieva 1994), as well as remind them to be patient and encourage them to practise autonomously. During this period of experimentation, they should focus on the structure and logic of the speech, and this is what trainer assessment should be restricted to. Further aspects such as presentation skills, expressing shades of meaning and other components of consecutive interpreting may be added at a later phase.

What interpreter trainers also need to do is learn to 'grade' speeches in terms of their complexity. Most platforms designed to assist interpreter trainers by making speeches available, such as the Speech Repository or the SpeechPool are already graded (i.e., basic, beginner, intermediate, advanced, advanced test type) but the capability to put together a speech at a given level may come in handy when preparing speeches for entrance or final examinations. Setton and Dawrant's volume (A *Trainer's Guide*) gives us some valuable insights in this respect (see the section on Speech Difficulty Index, SDI (2016b), and one may also wish to read Andres' study on text selection criteria (2014), or consult Besznyák's recent paper (2020), which gives advice on how to increase source text difficulty by analysing, or even carefully inserting, lexical pitfalls.

While trainees are in the initial phase of note-taking, it might be a good idea to let them try their hand at three different techniques, i.e., alternating between a) consecutive interpreting without notes, and b) keyboarding (e.g., applying Gillies' SVO system) and taking down basic notes, and then registering their experiences in a logbook. Setton and Dawrant also highlight that the longer the time trainees spend taking notes, the less they will write (also on account of fatigue), and therefore it might be a useful pedagogical tool to ask them to take notes during a mini-conference and observe how their own note-taking changes over a two-hour period (2016b, 193). Trainees need to be constantly reminded of Gile's Effort Model and keep in mind that the less they note, the more capacity they will be able to save for listening and analysis.

If we were to take stock of what trainers should encourage their trainees to note down, the list would feature the following components – not presented in order of importance: a) the main ideas – segmented by lines; b) the speaker's opinion; c) names; d) numbers; e) lists f) cohesive devices and link words; g) indication of tense and time; h) major keywords including terms; and i) the beginning and the end of speech (introduction and conclusion).

As a final point, the question of *how much* and *how systematically* to note a speech may depend on another factor: familiarity with the topic: if the interpreter is well informed in one particular field, is at ease with the relevant terminology, and understands how ideas are connected, s/he would have to rely somewhat less on his or her short-term memory than on his or her long-term memory. Besides domain-specific competence (or the lack thereof) being a factor, proper preparation for assignments may play an equally important role in how much an interpreter puts down on paper. Consequently, interpreter training institutions must put as large an emphasis as possible on preparing their trainees for interpreted events and mini conferences, while field trips (see Szabó 2017) may also help students put their skills to the test under pressure and in front of a genuine audience.

3 How Should We Take Notes?

The second frequently discussed and researched area in note-taking is the form of notes. The options available for an interpreter include full words, abbreviations, symbols and drawings of some sort.

3.1 The Form of Notes: Prescriptive Works

3.1.1 Symbols

Most practitioners advise interpreters against using too many symbols, warning that recalling a symbol may use up too much capacity and thus cause a deficit with regard to listening and analysis (e.g., Rozan [1956] 2004, 25; Bowen and Bowen 1984; Taylor-Bouladon 2007). Rozan suggests the number of symbols used to be around twenty, and he put them into four categories: expression, movement, reference and frequent terminology, a basic system adopted by Ilg and Lambert (Ilg 1980, 1982; Ilg and Lambert 1996), who added that interpreters should also use abbreviations they would use in real life. Trainers should encourage such efforts, and contemporary students' natural reliance on symbols borrowed from the digital world, such as emoticons, is a case in point.

As for the form of notes, Heinz Matyssek is often quoted as the author of the most elaborate system attempting to prescribe how notes should be taken down. In his *Handbuch der Notizentechnik für Dolmetscher*, published in 1989, he designed an intricate system of symbols suitable for expressing every linguistic element, and by combining these, all the details of a speech can be noted down systematically. Although the number of symbols prescribed is high, his concept and principles seem to show a fair number of similarities with those of other prescriptive works of his other predecessors, such as Herbert or Rozan. (Sawyer 2004, 24; Ahrens 2005; or Setton and Dawrant 2016b, 203). Matyssek's system has been praised for allowing note-taking to be done language-independently but it has also been critiqued for being too scrupulous (and therefore likened to shorthand) as well as being too enormous an investment "to master to a point when it becomes effortless" (Dingfelder Stone 2014, 148). Albl-Mikasa emphasized its benefits for being a "pattern-based, combinatorial ad recursive system of linguistic symbols" as opposed to Ilg and Lambert's opinion which labelled it as a "third, pictorial and pictorial code superimposed on language" (Ilg and Lambert 1996, 78 cited by Albl-Mikasa 2020, 382). Nevertheless, Matyssek's meticulous notation system has since proved its viability as several generations of German interpreters have learned to use it efficiently.

Matyssek's system also proved its value by serving as a basis for other notation schemes, notably that of Allioni (1989) who worked out the grammar of consecutive interpreting by relying on English and Italian syntactic rules and a reasonable number of symbols. A representative of the Soviet School, Minyar-Beloruchev (1969) also argued for a large number of symbols to avoid interferences from source language notation in the delivery phase.

3.1.2 Simplification

The term simplification is a peculiar one in note-taking. While anything put down on paper in our notes instead of the verbatim might be seen as simplification, including symbols and abbreviations, here by simplification we refer to compressed items on the note pad that express the same thing as a longer, more complex verbal utterance, e.g., instead of *has actually deteriorated* we note *worse* (Gillies 2017, 123), or when we simply write *HI* or *TX* and express greeting and gratitude with more eloquent phrases in the rendition phase. In their volume, Setton and Dawrant provide other great examples such as *achieve visibility with respect to* = *see*, or *there's the possibility that* = *might* (2016a, 160); and one of the present author's activities designed for the interpreting classroom entitled "Keep it short and simple" (KISS) focuses on this specific compression strategy (Szabó 2003, 114–15).[8] To adhere to the KISS-principle, interpreters might rely on the advice given by Ilg and Lambert to use four- or five-letter words he referred to as ZIP-vocabulary (Ilg and Lambert 1996, see more details in 3.1.3 below). A Hungarian practitioner, Láng, also highlights the importance of reduction; to use single words instead of long, more elaborate phrases (2002, 133), a technique that presupposes the proper understanding of the analysis of an idea.

3.1.3 Abbreviations

Abbreviation is another valid and frequently adopted technique to achieve compression or simplification. Its usage is obviously not confined to consecutive note-taking; its benefits are mentioned in various books recommended for general note-taking. It is one of Rozan's basic principles, and he also claims – as did Ilg and Lambert – that four- or five-letter words lend themselves best to notation. As to which of the letters should be noted from a word, opinions differ largely but Becker (1972, 30) insists that from the psycholinguistic perspective the initial letter should be registered as we store both L1 and L2 vocabulary in our mental lexicon on the basis of initial letters. Below is a list of possible abbreviation techniques that are usually recommended by practitioners:

1. Conventional abbreviations we know from before (e.g., from our previous studies) e.g., *NB* – nota bene, *BC* – before Christ, etc. (Herbert 1952, 37; Matyssek 1989, 113);
2. Keeping the first syllable (*GOV* = government, *REP* = representative, etc.) although one needs to be cautious as one syllable may trigger more than one options causing

[8] The volume referred to briefly as the *Recipe Book*, published in 2003 by British Council, consists of two parts: part one has chapters on various topics written by Hungarian practitioners and trainers as well as Franz Pöchhacker who wrote a chapter on research in Interpreting Studies. Part 2 of the volume presents a fair number of ideas and activities suitable either for the interpreting classroom, or for autonomous work to develop a range of interpreting skills.

interference (e.g., ‘exp’ could be expert, export, experience, expect or several other things);

3. Keeping the word stem and indicating the ending in superscript, e.g., production - $prod^{n}$, government – gov^{t}, governance – gov^{ce} (Rozan 2003, 11; Setton and Dawrant 2016a, 162);
4. Using familiar acronyms (e.g., *UN, EU, FBI, CFSP, etc*.), but we may as well invent acronyms on the spot for keywords of the speech, e.g., private health insurance fund – *PHIF.* Some interpreters circle their ad-hoc acronyms to remind themselves of their on-the-spot invention, etc. One should be careful with ad hoc acronyms though, while keywords might be suitable for such impromptu solutions, other words denoting secondary meaning may be difficult to recall in the production phase.
5. Keeping important letters that help denote meaning but omit others, e.g., arpln (airplane), cmtee (committee) or elfnt (elephant) (Nolan 2005, 296);
6. Keeping consonants only (like Owl in Milne’s *Winnie-the-Pooh*) e.g., prdctn, dvlpmnt, gvrmnt etc. – although this technique might not work for everyone as it has been shown that non-English (non-European language) speakers may find it difficult to recognize words without the vowels (Setton and Dawrant 2016b, 184 and also in Minyar-Beloruchev 1969, 211 cited in Siantova, 2015, 48);
7. ZIP-vocab: a collection of short words typically used in British press such as *AID* meaning *assistance, support*, or *KEY* meaning *significant, prominent*. (Ilg and Lambert 1996, 80, as well as Láng 2002, 132);
8. Interpreters studying in Geneva were also advised to use abbreviations borrowed from Latin e.g., *ave, dux, dia, geo, rex, pax, vox* (Ilg and Lambert 1996, 80), although the number of candidates arriving at training institutions with a solid Latin background is generally on the decline.

3.1.4 Visual Representations

Among the techniques of visual representation, the *mind-mapping method* deserves special mention (Windiari 2012). On the ORCIT website there is a fair number of exercises that encourage trainees to remember the logic of the speech by suggesting the use of a mental mindmap. This technique can be used in two ways: as a memo exercise (consecutive interpreting without notes) or by giving them speeches (or at least a part of them) that are possible to represent in the form of a mindmap (also see Gillies 2017, 21–25).

Another, highly peculiar form of note-taking is a so-called *picture-based technique*[9], where interpreters basically make a drawing, or a set of drawings to remember the speech. Needless to say, this technique may be adequate for narrative types of speeches but would be less appropriate, if not wholly insufficient, for more technical speeches laden with abstract terms

9 This video offers an insight into this technique: https://www.glendon.yorku.ca/interpretation/2015/01/11/are-you-looking-for-a-fresh-take-on-consecutive/.

such as speeches with an economic or legal focus. It might be worthwhile to find speeches which would enable trainees to depart from the conventional ("Rozanian") notation moving from left to write, and following the principle of verticality and shifting, speeches that could be recorded by means of a different *visual representation*. Showing such examples to trainees may encourage them to channel more attention into the listening and analysis phase and use any notation, if necessary, thinking out of the box, inspired by the spur of the moment, to record meaning with a unique visual representation.

> *In the long term the idea is to develop a European high-speed railway network with Paris at its centre. A line to the north will reach Brussels, where it can branch out to the east to Cologne, or continue further north to Amsterdam and later even Hamburg. To the south-east the line through Lyon will enter Italy through Turin and reach through Rome and Naples right down to the toe of Italy. And in the south-west a link up with Spain via Barcelona and then to Madrid will make it possible to extend the network down to Seville.*

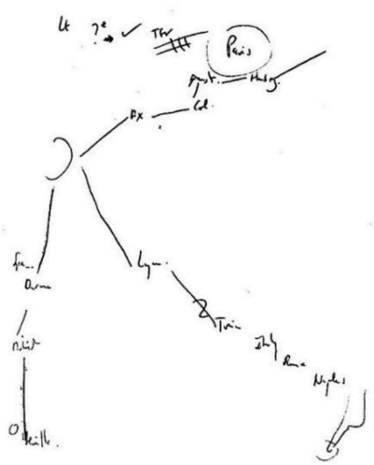


Figure 1. Non-linear representation of a speech. A note prepared by a professional interpreter at the European Parliament in 1999 (Szabó 2003, 134).

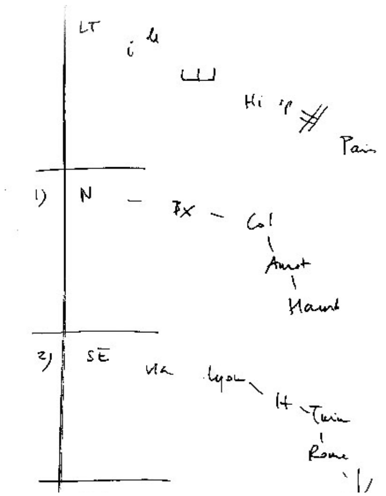


Figure 2. Notes to demonstrate the linear representation of a speech.[10]

To illustrate the difference, Figure 2 shows the notes of the same speech, following Rozan's advice.

3.1.5 Other Considerations Concerning the Form of Notes

As for the form of notes, there are other recommendations put forward by various authors. One of Rozan's principles includes verticality and shifting, while both Becker and Matyssek seem to have a tendency to favour linearity (see examples in Láng 2002, 208–9). Jones argues for a diagonal format claiming that this allows the eyes to move naturally (1998, 50), and

10 Prepared by the current author for the purposes of demonstrating the difference between various visual representations.

Gillies also prefers a diagonal layout saying that it supports the visualization of the structure and as the ideas on the pad "stand out" (2017, 44). The use of the left-hand margin is emphasized by many practitioners (Jones [1998] 2002, 46 or Gillies 2017, 146). In this part of the pad, divided by an imaginary or real vertical line of about two to four centimetres in width, different pieces of information can be recorded, among them link words, dates, or the speaker's personal point of view. Gillies highlights that sometimes the subject (the first element of the SVO structure) can appear on the margin for emphasis, or any other important information that the interpreter may want to stand out (2017, 155).

3.2 The Form of Notes: Empirical Studies

Based on the relevant literature available it is possible to say that one major area of investigation is the proportion of full words, abbreviations and symbols used by interpreters in their notes. In an excellent summary also investigating prescriptive and descriptive works on the subject, Silja Chen (2016) collected empirical studies focussing on the form of notes (among other features) where she attempted to show whether linguistic elements (words and abbreviations) or symbols were more likely to be noted down by the subjects taking part in the research, and if the former, which of the two (words or abbreviation) dominated the interpreters' notes.

Chen's table on the choice of form (2016, 161), which looks at five relevant studies (Lung 2003; Dam 2004a and 2004b; Dai and Xu 2007; Liu 2010; Wang, Zhao, and Wang 2010), clearly shows that in all the studies where this aspect was investigated language prevailed over symbol. Concerning the choice between full words and abbreviations, there was a slight tendency to a preference for full words. These findings are also corroborated by the present author's empirical research conducted in 2004 and summarized in a doctoral dissertation (Szabó 2005), where eight interpreters' notes (four professional and four trainee interpreters) were subjected to close scrutiny not only in terms of their choice of language but also their choice of form. This investigation also found that the majority (45%) of the subjects put down full words, with symbols coming second (39%) and abbreviations occupying third place (16%).

All researchers active in IS would be fully aware that these samples are far from being representative, and they are all conscious of the difficulties and limitations researchers face in Interpreting Studies. One possible solution would be a replication of empirical studies, and it seems that researchers are quite willing to replicate their own or a fellow researcher's studies: in a recent study Olalla-Soler (2020) demonstrated that 46.2% of the respondents have already published replica studies in the field of translation or interpreting studies (52.2% of those studies were conducted in the field of translation and only somewhat less, 47.8% in interpreting).

3.3 How Notes Should be Taken Down: Suggestions for Trainers

Taking the above into consideration, what advice could be given to trainers? First, they should provide trainees with ample opportunities to be acquainted with all four options (full words, abbreviations, symbols, and visual representations), trying their hands at all types, mixed or unmixed, with various text types and different language directions. Autonomous learning also needs to play a key role in the process of trainees formulating their own individual notation style, although the trainer may not want them to experiment without any guidance. Trainers running a course at different stages of the curriculum should coordinate their teaching, and discuss who teaches what and in what order (see also Setton and Dawrant's timeline of stages in conference interpreting training: 2016b, 86).

Trainers should be encouraged to assign students useful and interesting exercises: they can practice note-taking with written input (based on newspaper articles), they can use videos (Speech Repository, SpeechPool, or even TED talks). Peer assessment and self-assessment should also feature prominently among their tasks (e.g., field observation tasks specifically designed for this purpose, or observations of self and peers to be entered into a logbook, where ipsative and formative assessment – done both by trainers and trainees – may be valuable tools to reflect on their own development; see further ideas in Szabó 2020). Trainees may also be given opportunities to reflect on their own notes in terms of form, i.e., to observe their own ratio of full words, abbreviations and symbols with the aim of raising awareness of such habits. Autonomous note-taking tasks could also be assigned on the basis of dedicated websites, such as ORCIT (see above), the multifaceted Interpreter Training Resources,[11] or the training materials compiled and made available by the European Commission's DG Interpreting,[12] to name but a few.

Trainers may also show their notes and highlight some of the features discussed. In online classes the screen-sharing function may allow all students to take a close look at the trainer's notes by linking a graphic tablet (such as an iPad or a specific drawing tablet) with the whiteboard function, or linking another device with a camera showing the real-time note-taking of the trainer.

As to general issues concerning *how to note* Gillies offers a shortlist with some basic advice featuring words such as clarity, minimality, etc. – trainers might want to take these recommendations as a starting point and offer it as a distilled set of advice. In the present author's experience, specific tasks focusing on zipping and simplification yield very good results in the long run (see, Szabó 2003, 114-117), and therefore it might be worth giving it an extra emphasis. Most importantly, however, students should remember that they are the only ones that need to work from their notes, it is they who should be able to make sense of them, and the notes should work as a cue to jog their memory right then and there.

4 In What Language Should We Take Notes?

The choice of language in note-taking is just as important one as the previous two issues and it bears an equally great relevance for training.

4.1 The Choice of Language: Prescriptive Works

This issue has been visited and revisited a fair number of times, also by the current author (Szabó 2005, 2006). One of the most frequently applied aspects concerning the choice of language is the distinction between source language (SL) and target language

---

11 See https://interpretertrainingresources.eu/consecutive.

12 See https://ec.europa.eu/education/knowledge-centre-interpretation/training-material_en.

(TL). Several suggestions have been put forward to take notes in the TL (Herbert 1952; Rozan [1956] 2002; Seleskovitch and Lederer 1989; among others), highlighting that here processing, (including code-switching) takes place already during the listening and analysis phase, allowing the interpreter a) to move away from the SL's surface structure to avoid interference, and b) to pay increased attention to the reformulation in the TL. This postulate was confirmed by Andres, following a series of empirical investigations (2002) and also by Jones ([1998] 2002) relying on his professional experience as a conference interpreter.

In contrast, there has been an equally large group of experts (pl. Kirchhoff 1979; Ilg 1988; Alexieva 1994; Gile [1995] 2009) advocating the use of the language of the source text emphasizing that it is 'safer' to prepare notes in the incoming language as in this phase there is considerable cognitive load on account of the various activities carried out simultaneously (i.e., listening, analysis, taking notes, activating one's memory and coordinating all the above). In his effort model of consecutive interpreting (2009, 175–79), Gile deems taking notes in the target language to be cognitively more demanding because the operations given above require a great deal of capacities. Setton and Dawrant (2016a, 151) agree that listening and note-taking are "more effort-intensive" and determined by the speaker's speech tempo, unlike delivery. Gile's suggestion to overcome the saturation problem is to abandon the single-language approach and take notes in SL when the incoming speech is more difficult and the cognitive load is heavy, and switch to TL notation when there is reduced pressure (Gile 2009, 179). This suggestion has been adopted by the AIIC when advising that the language of notes should be the TL when it is possible, and SL when it is necessary (AIIC 1994, 21). Setton and Dawrant also argue for TL notes, adding that in the delivery phase interference might be a hazard (2016b, 489); meanwhile, some suggest that notes should be taken down in the TL because this allows trainees to get some initial practice in simultaneity on account of the parallel text processing, which may be an ideal method of preparation for early simultaneous interpreting (Setton and Dawrant 2016a, 151).

4.2 Choice of Language: Empirical Research

One of the first empirical experiments into the language of notes was conducted by Seleskovitch ([1975] 2002), involving 13 interpreters and focusing on the cognitive dimensions of the interpreting process (Ahrens 2015, 285). Lambert, relying on the feedback of 16 interpreters, conducted a study (1989) in which she concluded that consecutive interpreting yielded deeper processing than simultaneous, as notes strongly supported information retention. In 1998, Kalina conducted a thorough study with a focus on identifying interpreter strategies, and having also analysed a high number of notes, she concluded that note-taking was both possible and essential as long as the notes were adequately structured and tailor-made to students' needs. In another study involving rare video-documentation of note-taking, Andres (2002) recorded 14 experts and 14 novices and concluded that a time lag (décalage) had a profound impact on note-taking and subsequent target text delivery, indicating capacity management problems.

A set of systematic research analysis was initiated by Dam (2004a and 2004b), later to be followed by several replicated studies, to further explore language choice in note-taking. She found that besides an apparent preference for the target language (2004a), the examined subjects showed a marked tendency to use their *A language* (2004b) irrespective of the task (source vs target), which she attributed to the better mastery of the mother tongue, and therefore a faster and more straight-forward option she later described as "the language of least effort" (2010, 78).

As one of the first replications of Dam's research, Szabó (2006) looked at a group of eight interpreters with Hungarian A and English B and found that students preferred to take notes in English regardless of the direction, and possibly owing to the fact that English is morphologically less complex and thus lends itself to more economical note-taking. Some other papers, mostly written at master's level, replicated the same inquiries, including Mari (2010) with German and Japanese, Garlaschelli (2013) as well as Curcio (2013) with German and Italian, Stecher (2016) with French and German, with two doctoral dissertations examining the same issues, Frey (2007) with English and Japanese and more recently Chen (2017a) with English and Chinese. Interestingly, Chen came up with similar results to those of Szabó, and also identified typological differences (Chinese being distinctly different from English) as well as a clear preference for English assuming that English letters are simpler and faster to write than Chinese characters (2017a, 16).

Chen has produced some other valuable papers dealing with note-taking over the past few years, but one of her greatest merits lies in her summary of other relevant works written in Chinese, and therefore unavailable to European scholars. As a result of her work it has been revealed that Dai and Xu (2007) found source and A language dominance, while Wang, Zhao and Wang (2010) detected source language preference with very few symbols used in the notes (Chen 2016, 160).

González (2012) surveyed three different groups (10 novices, 10 advanced students and 10 professionals) and found that the more experienced the subject, the more likely he/she is to take notes in the target language, as this can free up more capacity for code-switching in the listening phase. Baselli (2012) already involved C language into the investigation of the issue but noticed little if any impact of this on the notes. Błaszczyk and Hanusiak conducted a study in 2010 with a similar focus involving English and Polish which showed that C may appear as a third language in notes. The author of this paper can confirm this conclusion: several of her other subjects in the same study (Szabó 2006) used C language words (mainly German and French) and also some of her students with different working languages regularly used English words in their notes. Short English words (such as *and, but, so, if, tho*, etc.) might surface in notes not taken by an interpreter with an English B, and they may function as quasi symbols (Jones [1998] 2002, 53), although interestingly and somewhat incredibly, Hungarian does have similarly short and economical link words (*és*, *de, így, ha*, *bár*, etc.) that often function as alternatives.

What conclusions can we possibly draw from all this? Owing to the small number of empirical studies which also involve only a limited number of subjects, there is still a lot of work to be done. What seems to be certain is that the choice of language depends on various factors including directionality, proficiency, the difficulty of the task at hand, familiarity with the topic or, in fact, education (how the interpreter was trained).

4.3 Choice of Language: Suggestions for Trainers

When it comes to the language of notes in the training of interpreters, in it hard to tell what advice trainers should follow. Even the authors of the most systematically compiled handbook on interpreting training (Setton and Dawrant 20016a and 2016b) sound somewhat perplexed when they write that "individual interpreters will find what works best for them". In fact, the best advice we may give to trainees should be as general as possible, so as to leave them with enough room to develop their own individual systems. First, they should be acquainted with the options (source vs target, A versus B and, depending on their language combination, some reliance on English and/or on their C language(s)). Then they should be encouraged to experiment and try out ideas that seem to work for others: they may use a mixed notation language, put down ad hoc symbols for keywords of the speech, use TL when the speech is easy to follow and fall back on the source language when the cognitive load is high. Overall, they should also adhere to the principle of KISS on the language front, and attempt to economize as much as possible, whichever language feels more convenient for achieving this end.

5 Conclusions

Note-taking is one of the fields in the training of conference interpreters where opinions tend to be curiously mixed. Most trainers would probably agree that there is no universal, one-size-fits-all approach, since note-taking appears to be highly individualized. The role of the trainer, therefore, may be to provide trainees with a wealth of relevant information obtained from two sources: advice given by practitioners and data offered by empirical research. Once familiar with the techniques available to choose from, and having spent a fairly long time practising both autonomously and with peers, trainees will be able to embark upon their own, individual notation system.

The present study revisited three key areas which form the backbone of note-taking and which tend to lack a clear consensus as regards: 1) *what and how much* should be noted down; 2) *how* notes should be put down: –in the form of full words, abbreviations, symbols or drawings; and 3) *in what language* – in the source or in the target language, in A or B language or, irrespective of the direction, in an economical language such as English.

In relation to the first question, *how much and what*, this paper reiterated that notes should be introduced at a later stage of the initial phase of consecutive training after a longer period of consecutive training without notes. When introducing note-taking, Rozan's principles are recommended as a good starting point and trainees may add new aspects (left-hand margin, speaker's opinion, indication of time, etc.) step by step. Gist recall and memory exercises should be retained all throughout this period to help trainees remember that the listening and analysis effort should be of primary importance. In this section, the importance of the grading of speeches was also highlighted, as was the fact that excessive note-taking may be detrimental to understanding the message.

Secondly, the paper reinvestigated the question of *how*, i.e., the *choice of form* in note-taking. First, suggestions for using symbols were revisited, then ideas for simplification were presented including a detailed description of eight common abbreviation techniques, and a few ideas were also put forward to experiment with different forms of visual representation. The technique of economical paraphrasing was also stressed. Empirical data here could be used to explore how other interpreters record information, something which may help trainees study their own ratios of the use of full words, abbreviations and symbols, thereby potentially achieving more conscious note-taking. Here the use of journals and logbooks was recommended, so as to enable both formative and ipsative assessment, carried out both by trainers and trainees themselves.

The third area re-examined in this paper concerned consecutive interpreters' *choice of language* in their notes. Here, neither prescriptive works nor empirical studies may clearly help trainers decide what advice they should give trainees about the language of notes. Again, similarly to the form of notes, students should be acquainted with the various options (source vs target language, A vs B language, a few judicious items from C language(s), and English, as an economical option) to find out, after extensive experimentation, which alternative suits the individual best. Trainees should be reminded that mixed-language notes may be equally useful, and that economizing – in whichever language feels most feasible – should be a priority.

Any paper on note-taking needs to include a few words on technology, which is expected to shape the future of note-taking techniques and may trigger changes in consecutive interpreting training curricula. Tablet interpreting is now standard practice among professional interpreters; there have been several studies published in the topic (among them Goldsmith and Holley 2015, Goldsmith 2017, 2018) and practitioners can even consult a tablet interpreting manual (Dreschel 2017)[13]. It is only a matter of time until tablets find their way into consecutive interpreting classrooms, and this process has probably been accelerated by the pandemic as trainers started use a larger range of digital devices in their online training courses.

With or without state-of-the-art technology, note-taking is a highly complex and individual activity which does not offer clear patterns and conveniently direct routes leading to complete its mastery. It is hoped that new empirical research, including both replicated studies and newly designed investigations, will shed some new light on the topic, offering new food for thought for trainers and trainees alike.

References

Ahrens, Barbara. 2005. "Rozan and Matyssek: Are They Really That Different? A Comparative Synopsis of Two Classic Note-Taking Schools." *Forum* 3 (2): 1–15. https://doi.org/10.1075/forum.3.2.01ahr.

—. 2015. "Note-Taking." In *Routledge Encyclopaedia of Interpreting Studies*, edited by Franz Pochhacker, 283–86. London: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315678467.

AIIC. 2019. "Glossary: Note-Taking." https://aiic.org/site/world/conference/glossary.

—. 1994. *Interpreter Training Workshop*, Poznan, 8–10 April, 1994. Geneva.

Albl-Mikasa, Michaela. 2020. "Note-Taking." In *Routledge Encyclopaedia of Translation Studies*, edited by Mona Baker and Gabriela Saldanha, 380–85. London: Routledge.

Alexieva, Bistra. 1994. "On Teaching Note-Taking in Consecutive Interpreting." In *Teaching Translation and Interpreting* 2, edited by Cay Dollerup and Annette Lindegaard, 199–206. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/btl.5.28ale.

[13] Or a recent one available here: https://techforword.com/p/the-tablet-interpreting-manual.

Allioni, Sergio. 1989. "Towards a Grammar of Consecutive Interpretation." In *The Theoretical and Practical Aspects of Teaching Conference Interpretation*, edited by John Dodds and Laura Gran, 191–97. Udine: Campanotto.

Andres, Dörte. 2002. *Konsekutivdolmetschen und Notation*. Frankfurt: P. Lang.

—. 2014. "Easy? Medium? Hard? The Importance of Text Selection in Interpreter Training." In *To Know How to Suggest… Approaches to Teaching Conference Interpreting*, edited by Andres Dörte and Martina Behr, 103–24. Berlin: Frank & Timme.

Baselli, Valentina. 2012. "Which Language do Interpreters Use in Consecutive Interpreting?" In *Proceedings in Advanced Research in Scientific Areas*, December 3–7, 2012, 1252–56. Milan.

Becker, Wilhelm. 1972. *Notizentechnik*. Germersheim: BBK Gesellschaft für moderne Sprachen.

Besznyák, Rita. 2020. "Tolmácsolási gyakorlószövegek graduálása lexikai csapdák elemzésével." In *Iránytű a tolmácsolás oktatásához. A kompetenciafejlesztés új fókuszai* [*Compass to the Training of Interpreters: New Perspectives on Competence Development*], edited by Csilla Szabó and Mária Bakti. Szeged: Juhász Gyula Felsőoktatási Kiadó.

Błaszczyk Piotr, and Dariusz Hanusiak. 2010. "The Choice of Language for Note-Taking for Consecutive Interpreting: A Polish Perspective." *MikaEL Kääntämisen ja tulkkauksen tutkimuksen symposiumin verkkojulkaisu – Electronic Proceedings of the KäTu Symposium on Translation and Interpreting Studies* 4.

Bowen, David, and Margareta Bowen, eds. 1990. *Interpreting: Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Cardoen, Hanne. 2013. *The Effect of Note-Taking on Target-Text Fluency*. Leuven: CETRA.

Chen, Silja. 2016. "Note-Taking in Consecutive Interpreting: A Review with Special Focus on Chinese and English Literature." *The Journal of Specialised Translation* 26 (1): 151–71.

—. 2017a. "Note-Taking in Consecutive Interpreting: New Data from Pen Recording." *Translation & Interpreting* 9 (1): 4–23. https://doi.org/10.12807/ti.109201.2017.a02.

—. 2017b. "The Construct of Cognitive Load in Interpreting and Its Measurement." *Perspectives* 25 (4): 640–57. https://doi.org/10.1080/0907676X.2016.1278026.

Chuang, Li-ling. 2008. "Note-Taking Know-How: A Processing Perspective on Consecutive Interpreting." *Spectrum: Studies in Language, Literature, Translation, and Interpretation* 2: 93–101. https://doi.org/10.1080/0907676X.2016.1278026.

CIRIN. 2021. "CIRIN Bibliography." https://www.cirinandgile.com/Bibliohome.html.

Curcio Rossella. 2013. "Die Notationssprache beim Konsekutivdolmetschen aus dem Deutschen ins Italienische." MA thesis, University of Vienna. http://othes.univie.ac.at/29453/1/2013-08-26_0704339.pdf.

Dai, Weidong, and Haiming Xu. 2007. "An Empirical Study of the Features of Interpreters' Notes in Chinese-English Consecutive Interpreting: The Examples of Professionally Trained and Unprofessional Interpreters." *Foreign Language Teaching and Research* 39 (2): 136–44.

Dam, Helle V. 2004a. "Interpreters' Notes: On the Choice of Form and Language." In *Claims, Changes and Challenges in Translation Studies*, edited by Gyde Hansen, Kirsten Malmkjær, and Daniel Gile, 251–61. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/btl.50.21dam.

—. 2004b. "Interpreters' Notes on the Choice of Language." *Interpreting* 6 (1): 3–17. https://doi.org/10.1075/intp.6.1.03dam.

—. 2010. "Consecutive Interpreting." In *Handbook of Translation Studies*, edited by Yves Gambier and Luc van Doorslaer, 75–79. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Deng, Yangping. 1991. "Consecutive Notes: An Artist's Tool." In *Collected Essays on Translation*, edited by Chih Long Liu, 284–92. Hong Kong: Commercial Press.

Dingfelder Stone, Maren. 2014. "The Theory and Practice of Teaching Note-Taking." In *To Know How to Suggest… Approaches to Teaching Conference Interpreting*, edited by Andres Dörte and Martina Behr, 145–66. Berlin: Frank & Timme.

Drechsel, Alexander. 2017. *The Tablet Interpreter*. https://static1.squarespace.com/static/52d4015ce4b0eab6f2d76b6f/t/594b8b7a414fb54310f5957d/149812313.

EMCI. 2013–2021. "Welcome to the European Masters in Conference Interpreting!" https://www.emcinterpreting.org/.

Frey, Shoko. 2007. "Konsekutivdolmetschen und Notation im Sprachenpaar Englisch-Japanisch. Eine empirische Untersuchung." PhD diss., University of Vienna.

Garlaschelli, Maddalena. 2013. "Der Einfluss der Ausgangssprache auf die Wahl der Notationssprache beim Konsekutivdolmetschen." MA thesis, University of Vienna. http://othes.univie.ac.at/29787/1/2013-09-23_0849586.pdf.

Gile, Daniel. (1995) 2009. *Basic Concepts and Models for Interpreter and Translator Training*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/btl.8(1st).

Gillies, Andrew. 2004. *Conference Interpreting: A New Students' Companion.* Vol. 7. Krakow: Tertium.

—. 2017. *Note-Taking for Consecutive Interpreting: A Short Course.* 2nd ed. London: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315648996.

Goldsmith, Joshua. 2017. "Tablet Interpreting: Consecutive Interpreting 2.0." *Translation and Interpreting Studies. The Journal of the American Translation and Interpreting Studies Association* 13 (3): 342–65.

Goldsmith, Joshua, and Josephine C. Holley. 2015. "Consecutive Interpreting 2.0: The Tablet Interpreting Experience." MA thesis, University of Geneva.

González, Marta Abúin. 2012. "The Language of Consecutive Interpreters' Notes: Differences across Levels of Expertise." *Interpreting* 14 (1): 55–72. https://doi.org/10.1075/intp.14.1.03abu.

González, Roseann Dueñas, Victoria Félice Vásquez, and Holly Mikkelson. 1991. *Fundamentals of Court Interpretation: Theory, Policy, and Practice*. Durham: Carolina Academic Press.

Herbert, Jean 1952. *The Interpreter's Handbook: How to Become a Conference Interpreter*. Genève: Librairie de l'Université.

Hiraoka, Mari. 2010. "Erlernen von Konsekutivdolmetschen im Selbststudium. Eine qualitative Studie für das Sprachenpaar Japanisch-Deutsch." MA Thesis, University of Vienna.

Ilg, Gérard. 1980. "L'interprétation consécutive: les fondements." *Parallèles* 3: 109–36.

—. 1982. "L'interprétation consécutive: la pratique." *Parallèles* 5: 91–109.

—. 1988. "La prise de notes en interprétation consécutive. Une orientation générale." *Parallèles* 9: 9–13.

Ilg, Gérard, and Sylvie Lambert. 1996. "Teaching Consecutive Interpreting." *Interpreting* 1 (1): 69–99. https://doi.org/10.1075/intp.1.1.05ilg.

Jones, Roderick. (1998) 2002. *Conference Interpreting Explained*. Manchester: St Jerome. https://doi.org/10.1075/intp.3.2.05mac.

Kalina, Sylvia. 1998. *Strategische Prozesse beim Dolmetschen: Theoretische Grundlagen, empirische Fallstudien, didaktische Konsequenzen*. Tübingen: Günther Narr.

Kirchhoff, Hella. 1979. "Die Notationssprache als Hilfsmittel des Konferenzdolmetschers im Konsekutivvorgang." In *Sprachtheorie und Sprachpraxis*, edited by Walter Mair and Edgar Sallager, 121–33. Tübingen: Günther Narr.

Lambert, Sylvie. 1989. "Information Processing among Conference Interpreters: A Test of the Depth-of-Processing Hypothesis." In *The Theoretical and Practical Aspects of Teaching Conference Interpretation*, edited by John Dodds and Laura Gran, 83–91. Udine: Campanotto.

Láng, Zsuzsa. G. 2002. *Tolmácsolás felsőfokon: A hivatásos tolmácsok képzéséről*. [Advanced Interpreting: Training Professional Interpreters.] Budapest: Scholastica.

Liu, Jianjun. 2010. "Note-Taking Characteristics of English Majored Undergraduates in Chinese-English Consecutive Interpreting: An Empirical Study Based on Students' Consecutive Interpreting Notes." *Foreign Language World* 2: 47–53.

Lung, Rachel. 2003. "Taking 'Notes' Seriously in the Interpretation Classroom." In *La evaluación de la calidad en interpretación: investigación*, edited by Ángela Collados Aís, María Manuela Fernández Sánchez, Daniel Gile, and Julian Bourne, 199–205. Granada: Comares.

Matyssek, Heinz. 1989. *Handbuch der Notizentechnik für Dolmetscher.* Heidelberg: Groos.

Mead, Peter. 2011. "Co-Ordinating Delivery in Consecutive Interpreting." *Intralinea* 13. http://www.intralinea.org/specials/article/1666.

Minyar-Beloruchev, Rurik K. 1969. *Posledovatelnyi perevod* [Consecutive Interpreting]. Moscow: Voenizdat.

Nolan, James. 2005. *Interpretation: Techniques and Exercises*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Olalla-Soler, Christian 2020. "Practices and Attitudes toward Replication in Empirical Translation and Interpreting Studies." *Target* 32 (1): 3–36. https://doi.org/10.1075/target.18159.ola.

ORCIT. n.d. “Online resources for Conference Interpreter Training.” https://www.orcit.eu.
Rozan, Jean-Francois. (1956) 2004. *Note-Taking in Consecutive Interpreting*. Cracow: Cracow Tertium Society for the Promotion of Language Studies.
Russell, Debra, and Kayoko Takeda. 2015. “Consecutive Interpreting.” In *The Routledge Handbook of Interpreting*, edited by Renée Jourdenais and Holly Mikkelson, 96–111. London: Routledge.
Sanchez, Maria T. 2018. “(Over) Note-Taking in Consecutive Interpreting.” *International Journal of English Language & Translation Studies* 6 (3): 150–56.
Sawyer, David. B. 2004. *Fundamental Aspects of Interpreter Education: Curriculum and Assessment*. Vol. 47. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/btl.47.
Seleskovitch, Danica. (1975) 2002. “Language and Memory: A Study of Note-Taking in Consecutive Interpreting.” In *The Interpreting Studies Reader*, edited by Franz Pöchhacker and Miriam Shlesinger, 121–29. London: Routledge.
Seleskovitch, Danica, and Marianne Lederer. 1989. *A Systematic Approach to Teaching Interpretation*. Luxembourg: Pedagogie Raisonnee de l’interpretation.
—. 1995. *A Systematic Approach to Teaching Interpretation*. Silver Spring: Registry of Interpreters for the Deaf.
—. 1999. “The Teaching of Conference Interpretation in the Course of the Last 50 Years.” *Interpreting* 4 (1): 55–66. https://doi.org/10.1075/intp.4.1.07sel.
Setton, Robin, and Andrew Dawrant. 2016a. *Conference Interpreting: A Complete Course*. Vol. 120. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/btl.120.
—. 2016b. *Conference Interpreting: A Trainer’s Guide.* Vol. 121. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. https://doi .org/10.1075/btl.121.
Siantova, Gabriela, 2015. “Consecutive Interpretation and Note-Taking from the Perspective of Some Translatology Schools and Researchers.” *International Journal of Scientific Research and Innovative Technology* 2 (1): 44–51.
Stecher, Liesa, 2016. “Notes, Notation and Notizen. An Empirical Study on the Choice of Form and Language of Consecutive Notes within the French-German Language Pair.” MA Research Project, London Metropolitan University.
Szabó, Csilla. 2003. *From Preparation to Performance: Recipes for Practitioners and Teachers*. Budapest: British Council.
—. 2005. “Note-Taking Techniques and Strategies in Consecutive Interpreting: An Empirical Investigation of the Choice of Language, Choice of Form and Means of Compression.” PhD diss., University of Pécs.
—. 2006. “Language Choice in Note-Taking for Consecutive Interpreting.” *Interpreting* 8 (2): 129–47. https://doi.org/10.1075/intp.8.2.02sza.
—. 2017. “Real-Life Scenarios and Field Trips in the Training of Interpreters.” In *Interpreting Studies at the Crossroads of Disciplines*, edited by Simon Zupan and Alexandra Nuč, 32–43. Frank & Timme: Berlin.
—. 2020. “Fejlesztő értékelési technikák a tolmácsolás oktatásában. [Formative Assessment Techniques in Interpreter Training].” In Ir*ánytű a tolmácsolás oktatásához. A kompetenciafejlesztés új fókuszai.* [Compass to the Training of Interpreters: New Perspectives on Competence Development.], edited by Csilla Szabó and Mária Bakti. Szeged: Juhász Gyula Felsőoktatási Kiadó.
Taylor-Bouladon, Valerie. 2007. *Conference Interpreting: Principles and Practice*. Charleston: BookSurge Publishing.
Thiéry, Christopher. 1981. “L’enseignement de la prise de notes en interprétation consécutive: un faux problème?” In *L’Enseignement de la Traduction et de l’Interprétation. De la Théorie à la Pédagogie*, edited by Jean Delisle, 99–112. Ottawa: Éditions de l’Université d’Ottawa.
Wang, Wei-Tsong, Dandan Zhao, and Ling Wang. 2010. “An Empirical Study of Note-Taking Characteristics and Output Quality in Interpreting.” *Foreign Language World* 4: 9–18.
Windiari, Luh Ni. 2012. “Note Taking and the Power of Mapping in Consecutive Interpreting.” Udayana University. https://www.academia.edu/1478502/NOTE_TAKING_AND_THE_POWER_OF _MIND_MAPPING_IN_CONSECUTIVE_INTERPRETING.
Yamada, Hiroko. 2018. “Validity of Note-taking for New Consecutive Interpreting Learners: An Empirical Study of University Interpretation Courses.” *Theory and Practice in Language Studies* 8 (11): 1387–96. https://doi.org/10.17507/tpls.0811.02.

Tjaša Mohar
Tomaž Onič
University of Maribor, Slovenia

2021, Vol. 18 (1), 125-137(222)
revije.ff.uni-lj.si/elope
https://doi.org/10.4312/elope.18.1.125-137
UDC: 81'255.4:821.111(71).09-1Atwood M.=163.6

Margaret Atwood's Poetry in Slovene Translation

ABSTRACT

Margaret Atwood is undoubtedly the most popular Canadian author in Slovenia, with eight novels translated into Slovene. Although this prolific author also writes short fiction, poetry, children's books, and non-fiction, these remain unknown to Slovene readers, at least in their own language. Atwood has published as many poetry collections as novels, but her poetry is inaccessible in Slovene, with the exception of some thirty poems that were translated and published in literary magazines between 1999 and 2009. The article provides an overview of Atwood's poetry volumes and the main features of her poetry, as well as a detailed overview of Atwood's poems that have appeared in Slovene translation, with the names of translators, titles of poetry collections, dates of publication, and names of literary magazines. This is the first such overview of Slovene translations of Atwood's poetry. Additionally, the article offers an insight into some stylistic aspects of Atwood's poetry that have proven to be particularly challenging for translation.

Keywords: Margaret Atwood, Canadian Literature, Poetry, Literary Translation, Stylistics

Poezija Margaret Atwood v slovenskem prevodu

IZVLEČEK

Margaret Atwood je nedvomno najpopularnejša kanadska avtorica v Sloveniji; v slovenščini je doslej izšlo osem njenih romanov. Čeprav poleg romanov piše tudi kratko prozo, poezijo, knjige za otroke in neleposlovna dela, jo slovenski bralci poznajo skoraj izključno kot avtorico romanov. Njen bogat opus obsega prav toliko pesniških zbirk kot romanov, a njena poezija slovenskim bralcem ostaja nedostopna, z izjemo tridesetih pesmi izpod peres več prevajalcev, ki so se od leta 1990 do leta 2009 pojavljale v različnih literarnih revijah. Članek najprej predstavi pregled avtoričinih pesniških zbirk in omeni njihove glavne značilnosti, nato podrobno popiše pesmi, ki so doslej izšle v slovenskem prevodu, z navedbo prevajalcev, naslovov pesniških zbirk, letnic objav pesmi in literarnih revij, kjer so prevodi izšli – gre za prvi pregled v slovenščino prevedenih pesmi Margaret Atwood. Članek ponudi še vpogled v nekatere slogovne značilnosti avtoričine poezije, ki predstavljajo še posebej velik prevajalski izziv.

Ključne besede: Margaret Atwood, kanadska književnost, poezija, književno prevajanje, stilistika

1 Introduction

There are not many world-famous authors who write across such a variety of genres as Margaret Atwood. Although Atwood has published as many poetry collections as novels, poetry is not what she is best known for internationally. Besides the highly acclaimed novel *The Handmaid's Tale* and its recent sequel *The Testaments*, Atwood's most read books include novels such as *Surfacing*, *Lady Oracle*, *The Blind Assassin*, *Oryx and Crake*, *The Year of the Flood*, and *The Penelopiad*, all of which have been translated into Slovene. In addition to novels and volumes of poetry, her rich bibliography covers several collections of short fiction, books of non-fiction, including those of literary criticism, then children's books and graphic novels, as well as a few television scripts and a theatre play.

Atwood's writing has been classified by various scholars as well as the media as feminist, eco-feminist, dystopian, or as speculative fiction – the later denomination being preferred by Atwood herself to science fiction (Atwood 2011, 5–6). Her short fiction pieces often escape classification; they can neither be classified as short stories, nor as essays or prose poems. Michelle Gadpaille (2018, 21) calls these "slipstream" fiction, owing to their generic flexibility.

This article focuses on Atwood's poetry and its representation in Slovene translation. Although none of Atwood's poetry volumes has been translated into Slovene, individual poems from a great number of her works have appeared in Slovene translation in various literary magazines. The article first gives an outline of Atwood's poetry collections and describes some features of her poetry, then it provides a detailed overview of Atwood's poems translated into Slovene so far, with an insight into some stylistic aspects of these translations.

2 Poetry, One of Atwood's Many Genres

Atwood's poetic opus consists of eighteen volumes of poetry, including collected works. She published her first volume of poetry, *The Circle Game*, in 1966, which earned her the Governor General's Award, Canada's highest literary award (see Margaret Atwood's Official website). This was followed by *The Animals in That Country* (1969), *The Journals of Susanna Moodie*, and *Procedures for Underground* (both 1970). According to Lothar Hönnighausen (2000, 102), *The Journals of Susanna Moodie*, which recalls frontier women, is among Atwood's most popular poetry collections. It represents "literary heritage for a country short on literary ancestors – particularly foremothers" (Onič, Gadpaille, Blake and Mohar 2020, 40). In the 1970s, Atwood published four volumes of poetry: *Power Politics* (1971), *You Are Happy* (1974), *Selected Poems* (1976), and *Two-Headed Poems* (1978). Hönnighausen argues that *You Are Happy* marks a break from Atwood's early poetry, which often displayed malicious wit, and sometimes even "grotesque pop art" (2000, 107). Two volumes of poetry followed in the 1980s, *Two Stories* (1981) and *Interlunar* (1984). *True Stories* consists of poems that draw "stark portraits of women's abuse and pain" (Slettedahl MacPherson 2010, 107), which Atwood learned of during her work with Amnesty International (Hönnighausen 2000, 10–11). *Interlunar* features Biblical imagery and poems about mythic figures, most of which are reformulated (Slettedahl MacPherson 2010, 108). In 1986 Atwood published her second volume of collected works, *Selected Poems II: Poems Selected and New, 1976–1986*, which was followed by *Selected Poems 1966–1984* (1990), and *Margaret Atwood Poems*

1965–1975 (1991). In the next volume, *Morning in the Burned House* (1995), and in the compilation *Eating Fire: Selected Poems 1965–1995* (1998), which also includes new poems, Atwood retreats "from overt mythologizing to deceptively domestic scenes" (Onič et al. 2020, 40). Another compilation, *Selected Poems 1965–1995*, was published in 1998. Domestic imagery reappears in Atwood's penultimate volume, *The Door* (2007). Some poems in this collection appear to be autobiographical (Slettedahl MacPherson 2010, 108). Atwood's most recent volume of poetry was published in 2020, titled *Dearly*. In her review of the book in *The Guardian*, Kate Kellaway (2020) writes that the volume, which Atwood dedicated to her partner Graeme Gibson Green, "is a reckoning with the past that comes from a place of wisdom and control".

Apart from these eighteen poetry collections, Atwood's official website maintains another list of poetry publications categorized as "Art & Small Press Editions". Various sources, however, even some approved by Atwood, classify some titles from that list among the "regular" poetry collections, such as *Double Persephone* (1961), *Notes Towards a Poem That Can Never Be Written* (1981), or *Snake Poems* (1983).

For example, the front matter of her most recent poetry collection *Dearly* lists *Double Persephone* under the "Poetry" heading. Between *The Circle Game* and *The Animals in That Country*, three more small press collections were published: K*aleidoscopes Baroque: a poem* (1965), *Talismans For Children* (1965), and *Speeches For Doctor Frankenstein* (1966), and about a decade later the poem "Marsh, Hawk" (1977).

It is a challenge to describe Atwood's poetry in only a few words, for it is extremely diverse – like her other writings. Hönnighausen describes Atwood's poems as "entries into a kind of artistic logbook", and her writing of poetry like an "irresistible, ongoing process of perception, reflection, and aesthetic organization" (Hönnighausen 2000, 97). Branko Gorjup (2006, 130) agrees with Sherrill Grace that Atwood's work contains "'violent duality' of oppositional forces"; however, he believes that Atwood also shows how to transcend this duality. He further argues that physical and psychological space, and "the mapping of the world and the psyche" have a central place in Atwood's poetry (2006, 130). As regards the themes, Slettedahl MacPherson argues that the "problematic relationship between the sexes" is a recurring theme in all Atwood's oeuvre; however, she also spotlights Atwood's comic, ironic voice (2010, 104). The author further argues that Atwood is primarily a "free-verse poet", and that by balancing vision and voice, Atwood creates "intellectually rich poems" that consist of only a few lines (Slettedahl MacPherson 2010, 104). Atwood's poems often only appear to be simple, and "a clear voice leading the reader through imagery to a place of discovery, and then, just as calmly, snatching the discovery away" (Onič et al. 2020, 40).

3 Segments of Atwood's Oeuvre in Slovene Translation

None of Margaret Atwood's books of poetry have been published in Slovene as an integral collection; instead, the translations of individual poems have been published in Slovene literary and poetry journals. So far, as many as 40 poems have been translated by six different translators. They were published on seven different occasions in four journals and on one website. Ten of these poems, which were published on the *Airbeletrina* website are, unfortunately, no longer available. All Slovene translations of Atwood's poetry appeared between 1990 and 2009, which seems late considering that Atwood's first poetry collections came out in the 1960s, and by 1990 she had published more than a dozen. However, the delay with which Atwood's work began to trickle into Slovene does not only refer to her poetry. The first literary work by Atwood was only translated into Slovene in 1987, almost three decades after the beginning of the author's prolific writing career. This was the novel *Lady Oracle* (Slov. *Preročišče*), which Atwood published in 1976.

The first Slovene translations of Atwood's poetic oeuvre were two poems published in 1990 in the literary journal *Mentor: mesečnik za vprašanja literature in mentorstva*, a monthly addressing the issues of literature and mentorship. The poems, "A painting of one location on the plain" from the collection *Interlunar* (1984) and an untitled poem ("The accident has occurred…") from *Power Politics* (1971), were included in a five-page essay "Potovanje brez konca na obzorju" (Engl. "A Journey No End at the Horizon") that presented the author's life and work; it also included translations of three pieces of short fiction, "The Page", "Murder in the Dark", and "Horror Comics", all from the collection *Murder in the Dark* (1983). The two poems and three pieces of short fiction were translated by Staša Grahek, who also wrote the accompanying text. The arrangement of the five pieces as a first taste of Atwood, complemented by short commentaries, seemed appropriate, since this Canadian author was still relatively little known to the non-English speaking Slovene audience at that time.

In 1997, the literary journal *Dialogi* published two poems, "Notes from Various Pasts" and "This is a Photograph of Me" from Atwood's early collections *The Animals in That Country* (1968) and *The Circle Game* (1964), respectively. These two poems formed part of a larger section on modern Canadian poetry which included translations of poems by several other Canadian poets: Milton Acorn, George Bowering, Al Purdy, John Newlove, and Bill Bisset. All sixteen poems in the selection were translated by Marcello Potocco, who also contributed brief footnotes containing useful information about the authors, as well as an essay outlining the development of anglophone Canadian poetry from the beginning of European settlement to the then present (cf. Potocco 1997). In the introduction, Potocco explains that the primary purpose of his essay is to extend the readers' knowledge of Canadian poetry beyond a handful of famous authors, among which he counts Margaret Atwood.

Three years later, the same journal (*Dialogi*) published an additional six Atwood poems, which were also translated by Marcello Potocco. This selection reaches back to Atwood's early collections and demonstrates the intention of being representational: while "After the Flood, We" and "Journey to the Interior" belong to *The Circle Game* (1964), the collection already represented in the previous *Dialogi* selection, the other four poems, "Further Arrivals", "Procedures for Underground", "They are hostile nations", and "November" are from four different and chronologically consecutive collections: *The Journals of Susanna Moodie* (1970), *Procedures for Underground* (1970), *Power Politics* (1971), and *You Are Happy* (1974). In a long final footnote, the translator explains that he intentionally selected poems from the author's earlier collections, since in those "Atwood emerges in her most distinctive light: somewhat surreal, with the central theme of the persona split between creating a (Platonist) pattern – a centre, and a chaotic outer world"[1] (Potocco 2000, 90).

---

[1] The footnote is written in Slovene; the quotation translated by T.O.

Atwood's poems next appeared in Slovene translation in 2007. The literary journal for poetry *Rp./Lirikon* published eight poems by two translators: "A Sad Child", "February", and "Manet's Olympia" by Marjana Karer; and "You Fit into Me", "Postcard", "Bored", "Siren Song", and "Night Poem" by Urška Zupanec. The first three are from the *Morning in the Burned House (1995)* collection, and each of the other five comes from a different collection: *Power Politics* (1971), *Morning in the Burned House (1995),* and *You Are Happy* (1974), which have been previously represented in Slovene translation, while *True Stories* (1981) and *Two-headed Poems* (1978) have not. Zupanec added the English originals to the translated poem titles. Moreover, in the case of the typically Atwoodian four-lined poem "You Fit into Me…", she preserved the original version – it appears on the same page, right next to the translation. This is rather unusual – except in the cases of bilingual editions – yet in this case it makes considerable sense, since the translatability of this poem, which will be discussed in the following section, is extremely low. The eight poems translated by Karer and Zupanec received a nomination for the local literary prize Lirikonov zlat (Engl. Lirikon's golden coin), which is awarded for achievements in 21st-century poetry translation from or into Slovene (Ustanova Velenjska knjižna fundacija 2001–2020). The translators are free to choose the material for translation and submit it to an open call.

In the same year, 2007, another selection of 10 poetry translations appeared on the literature distribution and publication website *Airbeletrina*, supported by the Beletrina publishing house, the Slovene Ministry of Culture, and the Slovene Book Agency. The poems were translated by Barbara Jurša and were all selected from the collection *Power Politics* (Barbara Jurša, email to author, February 17, 2021). Unfortunately, these poems are no longer available on-line.

The most recent publication of Atwood's poems in Slovene translation appeared in the literary journal *Poetikon* in 2009. This was a selection of twelve poems from her collection *The Door* (2007). The translator Barbara Jurša seemed to have moved away from the apparent previous tendency of attempting to represent the poet's oeuvre by selecting poems from various collections, and towards an approach more focused on a single collection. Moreover, when the translated poems were published in 2009, Jurša chose Atwood's most recent poetry volume. The translations come with a brief foreword listing Atwood's literary and non-literary achievements; for example, her presidency of the Canadian PEN, and her membership in Amnesty International and in the Canadian Green Party (Jurša 2009, 140).

From this brief overview and Table 1, which compiles data regarding Atwood's poetry translations into Slovene, we can see that eleven major collections of her poetry are represented in Slovene – in some cases with only a single poem, while in the case of *The Door*, as many as twelve translated poems are available to the Slovene reader. This imbalance seems to reflect the strategy governing the selection of the poems to be translated: *The Door*, as a recent collection, dominates in terms of the number of translated poems, while the earlier poems are minimally, yet consistently sampled. The translations of the early poems offer an insight into the poet's early style, while also making the reader aware of the existence of the early collections, testifying to Atwood's extensive poetic oeuvre. Among the 18 poetry collections listed on Atwood's official website, six mostly provide selections of poems previously published in earlier collections. These figures do not include the collections with less impact that Atwood's official site lists as

"Art & Small Press Editions" – these are collections such as *Double Persephone* (1961), *Speeches For Doctor Frankenstein* (1966), *Notes Towards a Poem That Can Never Be Written* (1981), *Snake Poems* (1983), etc. – but from among the remaining 12 collections, 11 are represented in Slovene translation; the most recent collection *Dearly*, which was published only in 2020, has so far not been translated. This means that from this angle, Atwood's poetry is adequately represented in Slovene, although given the rank and capacity of this Canadian literary giant, pursuing further translations of her poetry would be most welcome.

Table 1. Margaret Atwood's poems in Slovene translation, arranged by date of publication in Slovene literary journals.

Translator, Journal, Year of Publication	**Poetry Collection, Year of Publication**	**Poem Title (English)**	**Poem Title (Slovene)**
Staša Grahek, *Mentor*, 1990	*Interlunar*, 1984	A Painting of One Location on the Plain	Slikanje prizorišča v naravi
	Power Politics, 1971	(untitled)	
Marcello Potocco, *Dialogi*, 1997	*The Animals in That Country*, 1968	Notes from Various Pasts	Zapiski iz raznih preteklosti
	The Circle Game, 1964	This Is a Photograph of Me	Na tej fotografiji sem jaz
Marcello Potocco, *Dialogi*, 2000	*The Journals of Susanna Moodie*, 1970	Further Arrivals	Naslednji prihodi
	Procedures for Underground, 1970	Procedures for Underground (Northwest Coast)	Pravila za podzemlje (Severozahodna obala)
	The Circle Game, 1964	After the Flood, We	Po poplavi, midva
	The Circle Game, 1964	Journey to the Interior	Potovanje v notranjost
	Power Politics, 1971	They are hostile nations	To so sovražni narodi
	You Are Happy, 1974	November	November
Marjana Karer, *Rp./Lirikon 21*, 2007	*Morning in the Burned House, 1995*	A Sad Child	Žalosten otrok
		February	Februar
		Manet's Olympia	Manetova Olimpija
Urška Zupanec, *Rp./Lirikon 21*, 2007	*Power Politics*, 1971	You Fit into Me	You Fit into Me; Pašeš vame
	True Stories, 1981	Postcard	Razglednica
	Morning in the Burned House, 1995	Bored	Dolgčas
	You Are Happy, 1974	Siren Song	Spev siren
	Two-headed Poems, 1978	Night Poem	Nočna pesem
Barbara Jurša, *AirBeletrina*, 2007	*Power Politics*, 1971	10 poems or poem sections, currently unavailable	

Barbara Jurša, *Poetikon*, 2009	*The Door*, 2007	Gasoline	Bencin
		Heart	Srce
		The Singer of Owls	Sovji pevec
		Secrecy	Skritost
		It's Autumn	Jesen je
		Nobody Cares Who Wins	Nikomur ni mar, kdo zmaga
		War Photo	Vojna fotografija
		War Photo 2	Vojna fotografija 2
		Possible Activities	Možne dejavnosti
		Ten O'Clock News	Poročila ob desetih
		White Cotton T-Shirt	Bela bombažna majica
		Enough of These Discouragements	Dovolj je te malodušnosti

4 Stylistic Aspects of Translating Atwood

Translating Atwood's poetry is by no means an easy task, for its apparent simplicity is deceptive. The multi-layered interpretive potential is frequently complemented by playful linguistic creativity, unexpected deception, and original punning, all of which pose problems for the translator. A perfect example of several of these characteristics is the opening poem from Atwood's collection *Power Politics*, "You Fit into Me". The four-liner is not even long enough to possess an independent title, yet the objective possibilities for its translation are extremely low; it cannot be rendered into Slovene without losing its double meaning, its recursive structure as well as its linguistic playfulness:

> you fit into me
> like a hook into an eye
> a fish hook
> an open eye (Atwood 1972)

Despite its brevity, the poem has two distinct parts, the duality of which Slettedahl MacPherson (2010, 105) relates to the binary concept of innocence and experience. The first part is built around a central simile, in fact, an ordinary cliché: two people fitting together like a hook into an eye is a rather non-poetic collocation suggesting a perfect match. A hook and an eye are two parts of a closure, usually metal or hard plastic, used for fastening clothes together – so there is nothing unusual about this plain, yet significant simile. In the second part, however, the unsuspecting reader realizes s/he has been deceived: by adding a single adjective to each of the items in the phrase, the poet thwarts the comfortable interpretation of an ordinary scene and forces the reader to re-conceptualize their perception entirely. A fishhook and an open eye twist the initial simile and imply an extremely painful relationship that with its blunt and straightforward choice of words creates a powerful and physically painful tactile image for the reader.

The main translation challenge in this poem is to preserve the twisted simile, since it stands prominently at the centre of the poem, paving the way for the leading interpretations. The translator into Slovene faces an unbridgeable divide, since the central concept of the "hook and eye" does not have a corresponding bipolar counterpart in Slovene; it can be done either with the help of a description, or it can be translated "per partes", as has been done in the existing Slovene translation ("trnek", "oko"), but the syntagm does not carry the single unified reference to the garment-clasping equipment as it does in English. Moreover, both items in the phrase – which does not function in an idiomatic way – spoil the upcoming twist upon their first mention:

> pašeš vame
> kot trnek v oko
> ribiški trnek
> odprto oko (Atwood 2007, 126)

The Slovene translation of the "hook ("trnek") can only mean "fishhook" ("ribiški trnek"), while the "eye" ("oko") will be perceived as a human eye. In theory, "oko" does have other dictionary meanings, like the sprouting place on a potato ("oko krompirja") or grapevine ("oko vinske trte"), but no context is created to evoke an alternative reading, similar to the "hook and eye" notion in the original that could deceive the reader. In fact, Slovene would be more prone to use a different bodily (dead) metaphor, i.e., "uho" ("an ear") to refer to a ring-like metal, wooden or plastic object that takes a hook-like counterpart, an everyday example being the eye of a needle, which in Slovene is "the ear of a needle" ("šivankino uho"). This consequently disables many interpretative dimensions that in English may be perceived as a given.

This brings us to another frequently noted characteristic of Atwood's poetry that presents a translation challenge: her elliptical discourse creates ambiguity and is, according to Slettedahl MacPherson (2010, 106), often responsible for the elusiveness of definite interpretation. Even though it is not an axiomatically unresolvable element, it still requires a linguistically skilled translator who is aware of the interpretative openness of the original and committed to preserving the feature in the translation. This aspect can be observed in the second part of "You Fit into Me"; and is further illustrated by the poem "Heart" from the collection *The Door*. While the opening consists of short but still full sentences, Lines 4, 5 and the beginning of Line 6 are phrases and sentence fragments:

> Some people sell their blood. You sell your heart.
> It was either that or the soul.
> The hard part is getting the damn thing out.
> A kind of twisting motion, like shucking an oyster,
> your spine a wrist,
> and then, hup! it's in your mouth. /…/ (Atwood 2007)

The absence of conjugated verbs moves the text away from a connected narrative and creates a fragmented discourse with gaps, reminiscent of leaps in the stream of thought. This is a stylistic element of discourse that significantly influences perception and should therefore be preserved in translation as much as possible. According to Mozetič (2004), translators into Slovene are frequently tempted to fill these gaps and create a smooth flow of thought for the reader,[2] as is partly the case in the translation of "Heart":

> Nekateri prodajajo svojo kri. Ti prodajaš svoje srce.
> Lahko si izbiral: bilo je to ali duša.
> Gre za nekakšno ukrivljeno gibanje, kot pri luščenju ostrig,
> tvoja hrbtenica oblikuje zapestje
> in nato je, hop!, srce v tvojih ustih. /…/ (Atwood 2009, 142)

In this excerpt, there are several additions that Mozetič (2004) calls explicitation. The addition of the verb "gre za" ("it is about…" or "it is a…") explicitates the nominal phrase in the original. Similarly, the following line contains the verb "oblikuje" ([your spine] "shapes" [the wrist]), which also deprives the Slovene reader of the task of connecting the loose items by themselves. In the last line of the excerpt, the translation adds the noun "srce" ("heart"), while in the original, the poet uses only the pronoun "it", which Slovene can accommodate in the verb. A particularly notable addition is the sentence "Lahko si izbral:" ("You had a choice:"), which, apart from explicitation, opens another translation issue that is not limited to Atwood's poetry but appears frequently in translation from English into Slovene: this is the speaker's (or addressee's) gender, which English finds easier to retain unspecified or concealed than Slovene. While predicative adjectival phrases and tense-forming past participles in English do not disclose the gender, the translator needs to choose between the masculine or the feminine forms in Slovene, thus committing to the speaker's gender. The translator of the selected poems from *The Door* often chooses the feminine forms, which seems a natural choice, considering that some poems in this volume have a strong autobiographical tone, and the voice of the persona is easily equated with that of the poet. In the explicative addition "Lahko si izbral", however, the translator chose the masculine form, which can be read as the generic "ti" (literally "you", in formal English frequently represented as "one": "one could choose"), meaning it is masculine in form but can refer to men and women. Although this masculine form should not be a distraction, a simpler solution in this case could be to eliminate the addition. Additions or, rather, explicitations also appear at the end of the poem:

> /…/ and you stand listening to all this
> in the corner, like a newly hired waiter,
> your diffident, skilful hand on the wound hidden
> deep in your shirt and chest,
> shyly, heartless. (Atwood 2007)

[2] Explicitation may not be entirely unfavourable; Gadpaille and Zupan (2020) comment on explicitation bridging the text and paratext in Shakespeare's historical plays.

/…/ ti pa stojiš v kotu in poslušaš
vse to kot na novo najet natakar
in tvoja plaha, spretna dlan počiva na rani, skriti
globoko v tvoji srajci in tvojih prsih,
stojiš tam, sramežljivo in brez srca. (Atwood 2009, 142)

The antepenultimate line contains the added predicator "počiva" ([skilful hand] "rests" [on the wound]), while the last line contains two such cases of explicitation: one is the added, in fact, loosely repeated "stojiš tam" ("you stand there"), and the other is the added conjunction before the last item, which changes "shyly, heartless" into "shyly and heartless". The latter is particularly problematic, since it tends to add a certain closure to the poem, which in the original ends abruptly and with a sense of incompletion, which is in line with the persona's expectation of further criticism. This effect is further backed by the brevity of the line, as well as the asyndetonic quality that can leave the ending open or incomplete. The Slovene translation, instead, prolongs the line and provides a closure suggesting that no further damage can be inflicted on the speaker. Here is an alternative translation by the authors of this paper that better preserves these aspects and thus the style of the original, which is possible by adding some minor grammatical explication (added dashes for the imbedded interjection):

/…/ ti pa stojiš v kotu in poslušaš
vse to kot na novo najeti natakar –
tvoja plaha, spretna dlan na rani, skriti
globoko v tvoji srajci in v tvojih prsih –,
sramežljivo, brez srca.

A similar issue can be seen in at least two places in the poem "War Photo" from *The Door*:

/…/ One leg extended, the other fixed, foot pointed
towards the knee, the arm flung overhead, the hand
relaxed into a lovely gesture
a dancer might well study for years
and never attain. /…/ (Atwood 2007)

The existing Slovene translation adds the conjugated verbs "to have" and "to be" in the first line, turning elliptical sentences, i.e., fragments, into clauses, while preserving the fragments in lines three and four:

/…/ Eno nogo **ima** raztegnjeno, drugo pokrčeno, stopalo **je**
obrnjeno h kolenu, roka zalučana nad glavo, dlan
sproščena v ljubko kretnjo,
ki bi se je plesalka učila lahko učila več let
in je nikoli dosegla. /…/ (Atwood 2009, 147; emphasis added by the authors)

Backtranslation of the first two lines:

> /…/ She has one leg extended, the other fixed, her foot is
> pointed towards the knee /…/

Again, to more closely preserve the author's style, the elliptical syntax should be also preserved in the first line of the translation, for instance:

> /…/ Ena noga iztegnjena, druga pokrčena, stopalo
> obrnjeno h kolenu /…/

Gadpaille (2014, 174) points out Atwood's use of irony in her book of literary criticism titled *Survival*, "which is not always detected or appreciated", meaning that readers, particularly European ones, tend to take her too seriously. Translators therefore have a difficult task: they need to both detect the irony and preserve it. Irony and black humour also feature in Atwood's latest poetry volume, *Dearly*, although the recurring themes of the poems are aging and death. Let us look at a poem from this collection titled "At a Translation Conference", which aligns with our theme. As Atwood explains, the inspiration for this poem came from her visit to Japan, where she learned that "the word for 'No' was too abrupt in Japanese for women to say – it sounded rude – but there were ways of saying 'No' without using the actual word, and they were understood" (Buna 2020). This is how the poem begins:

> /…/ In our language
> we have no words for he or she
> or him or her.
> It helps if you put a skirt or tie
> or some such thing
> on the first page.
>
> In the case of a rape, it helps also
> to know the age:
> a child, an elderly?
> So we can set the tone.
>
> We also have no future tense:
> what will happen is already happening.
> But you can add a word like *Tomorrow*
> or else *Wednesday*.
> We will know what you mean. /…/ (Atwood 2020, 66)

Beside irony and black humour, such as can be found in Lines 3–6 of the first stanza, or in Lines 4–6 in the third, there is also elliptical language in the second stanza, where the translator into Slovene might be tempted to use explicitation. Another translation challenge in this poem is the appearance of personal pronouns in the first stanza: while the English language distinguishes only between two cases (he/him; she/her), Slovene has six (for the masculine form, for example, "on/njega/njemu/njega/pri njem/z njim"), with the second and the fourth cases often being the same. The potential translation of "he/him" into Slovene as "on/njega" thus bypasses the other existing forms in Slovene. The instances of such relatively simple issues that tend to pose translation difficulties suggest that Atwood's latest poetry seems to confirm what has been previously established, i.e., that the simplicity of her poems is only apparent.

5 Conclusion

Although Margaret Atwood is by far the most famous Canadian author in Slovenia, this is mostly on account of her novels. Her poetry, on the other hand, together with her short fiction and non-fiction, is still relatively unknown to Slovene readers in their own language. This overview of Slovene translations of Atwood's poetry has shown that some poems from various collections have appeared in Slovene over the last thirty years, and while the penultimate collection, *The Door*, has had one-fifth of its poems translated and published in Slovene, the others are mostly represented by one or two. A stylistic analysis of some of the poems that have been translated revealed several issues that Slovene translators of Atwood's poetry face, such as grasping the multi-layered interpretive potential of her poems, preserving their often ambiguous elliptical discourse without recurring to explicitation, and preserving their black humour and irony. Owing to its implicit rather than explicit nature, poetry is more open to multiple interpretations and is therefore more challenging for translation than prose. Atwood has stressed this characteristic of poetry in a recent interview: "Poems do not assert. They explore. One of the things they explore is language. In a legal contract, you want all the words to have one meaning and one meaning only. In a poem, words often have several meanings" (2020). Pilar Somacarrera, the translator of Atwood's poetry volume *Power Politics* into Spanish, reveals that her approach to Atwood's poems was pragmatic rather than theoretical. It included a stylistic analysis of the poems and the reviewing of the existing criticism on the material; it also took into account the poems' political and feminist contexts as well as "the multiple readings that the poems could offer" (Somacarrera 2006). Somacarrera concludes that it is possible and necessary to translate Atwood into Spanish but that "*snow* must remain *snow*,[3] that is the Canadian and feminist dimensions of her source text must reverberate in the Spanish versions" (2006). The reason why none of Atwood's poetry volumes has so far been published in Slovene is probably not the lack of translators willing to accept the challenge, for we have seen that there have been several up for the challenge, but more the ranking of poetry among literary genres and readers. If the novel is the queen among genres, poetry is only for gourmets, and those never reach the same ballpark, let alone outnumber the readers and buyers of longer prose, where the book market is rather small. And if poetry does get published, original poetry comes before translations. Fortunately, there are literary magazines, which are interested in publishing poetry (and short fiction), and it is thanks to these that Atwood's poetry has not been completely overlooked by the Slovene literary readership.

3 Somacarrera alludes here to section V from Atwood's poem "Two Headed Poems", in which the persona says that it is impossible to describe snow, "there could be no translation" (Atwood 1987, 29).

References

Atwood, Margaret. 2020. *Dearly*. London: Chatto and Windus.
—. 2020. "The World We Think We See Is Only Our Best Guess: A Conversation with Margaret Atwood." Interview by M. Buna. *Poetry Foundation*, November 18, 2020. https://www.poetryfoundation.org/harriet-books/2020/11/the-world-that-we-think-we-see-is-only-our-best-guess-in-conversation-with-margaret-atwood.
—. 2013–2021. "Margaret Atwood." http://margaretatwood.ca/.
—. 2011. *In Other Worlds*. New York: Double Day, Random House.
—. 2009. "Srce." Translated by Barbara Jurša. *Poetikon* V (25/26): 142.
—. 2009. "Vojna fotografija." Translated by Barbara Jurša. *Poetikon* V (25/26): 147.
—. 2007. "Pašeš vame." Translated by Urška Zupanec. *Rp./Lirikon21* III (2+3): 126.
—. 2007. *The Door*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart.
—. 1987. *Selected Poems II: Poems Selected & New, 1976–1986*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
—. 1972. *Power Politics.* Toronto: Anansi.
Gadpaille, Michelle. 2018. "Sci-Fi, Cli-Fi or Speculative Fiction: Genre and Discourse in Margaret Atwood's 'Three Novels I Won't Write Soon'." *ELOPE* 15 (1): 17–28. https://doi.org/10.4312/elope.15.1.17-28.
—. 2014. "Thematics and Its Aftermath: A Meditation on Atwood's Survival." *Primerjalna književnost* 37 (3): 165–77.
Gadpaille, Michelle, and Simon Zupan. 2020. "Interpreting and Translating Shakespeare's Heraldic Terminology: 1 Henry IV and 2 Henry VI in Slovene." *Annales, Series Historia et Sociologia*: 28 (2): 309–25. https://doi.org/10.19233/ashs.2020.02.
Gorjup, Branko. 2006. "Margaret Atwood's Poetry and Poetics." In *The Cambridge Companion to Margaret Atwood*, edited by Coral Ann Howells, 130–44. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Hönnighausen, Lothar. 2000. "Margaret Atwood's Poetry 1966–1995." In *Margaret Atwood: Works and Impact*, edited by Reingard M. Nischik, 97–119. Rochester: Camden House.
Jurša, Barbara. 2009. "Margaret Atwood." *Poetikon* V (25/26): 140.
Kellaway, Kate. 2020. "*Dearly* by Margaret Atwood Review – The Experience of a Lifetime." *The Guardian*, November 23, 2020. https://www.theguardian.com/books/2020/nov/23/dearly-by-margaret-atwood-review-the-experience-of-a-lifetime.
Mozetič, Uroš. 2004. "Explicitation and Implicitation as Translation Universals and Their Occurrences in the Slovene Translations of Anglo-American Literary Texts." *ELOPE* 11 (2): 101–14. https://doi.org/10.4312/elope.11.2.101-114.
Onič, Tomaž, Michelle Gadpaille, Jason Blake, and Tjaša Mohar. 2020. "Margaret Atwood, World-Famous but Yet to Be Discovered by Many Slovene Readers." *Acta neophilologica* 53 (1/2): 33–47. https://doi.org/10.4312/an.53.1-2.33-47.
Potocco, Marcello. 1997. "Angleška kanadska poezija, problem identitete in mita." *Dialogi* 1–2: 90–97.
Slettedahl MacPherson, Heidi. 2010. *The Cambridge Introduction to Margaret Atwood*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Somacarrera, Pilar. 2005. "'How Can You Use Two Languages and Mean What You Say in Both?': On Translating Margaret Atwood's Poetry into Spanish." *Traduction, terminologie, redaction* 18 (1): 157–81. https://doi.org/10.7202/014371ar.
Ustanova Velenjska knjižna fundacija. 2001–2020. "UVKF Official website." http://uvkf.si/en/about-uvkf.

Jean Boase-Beier
University of East Anglia, UK

2021, Vol. 18 (1), 139-149(222)
revije.ff.uni-lj.si/elope
https://doi.org/10.4312/elope.18.1.139-149
UDC: 81'255.4:821.112.2.09-1Törne V.v.=111

Translating Patterns of Style in 'Hour of the Wolves'

ABSTRACT

For a translator of poetry, it is important to analyse the style of the original poem in order to gain access to the poetics from which the poem arose. I consider here the translation of a German poem, 'Stunde der Wölfe', by Volker von Törne, into English. Stylistic patterns in the original poem include the central metaphor of wolves and many other metaphors: birds, paths and journeys, night and winter. There are images of curtailment, intervention and impediment caused by natural agents such as wolves, hawks, wind and snow. And there are several patterns of repeated sounds. The translator must also look beyond the poem itself, to the context in which the poet was writing, and to the use of metaphor and myth in both languages. Considering the interaction of all these elements allows the translator to find ways of translating that preserve the central images and stylistic patterns.

Keywords: style, poetics, translation, metaphor, context

Prevajanje slogovnih vzorcev v »Uri volkov«

IZVLEČEK

Za prevajalca poezije je pomembno, da analizira slog izvirne pesmi in na ta način pridobi vpogled v poetiko, v okviru katere je pesem nastala. V članku se osredotočam na angleški prevod nemške pesmi „Stunde der Wölfe", pesnika Volkerja von Törna. Stilistične figure v izvirniku so osrednja metafora volkov in številne druge metafore: ptice, poti, popotovanja, noč in zima. Pojavljajo se podobe zastiranja, poseganja in oviranja iz narave, ki jih povzročajo volkovi, sokoli, veter in sneg. Prav tako se pojavlja več ponavljajočih se zvočnih vzorcev. Prevajalec mora poleg same pesmi upoštevati tudi kontekst, znotraj katerega je pesnik pisal, pa tudi rabo prispodob in mitov v obeh jezikih. Šele z upoštevanjem vsega naštetega lahko prevajalec v prevodu ustrezno ohrani osrednjo podobo in slogovne vzorce.

Ključne besede: slog, poezija, prevod, metafora, kontekst

1 Introduction

When we translate poetry, it is particularly important to examine and analyse the stylistic structures and patterns of the source poem, so that they can be carried over into the translation and still be recognized there (see Berman 2012, 248–50; Boase-Beier 2020, 128–67). These structures and patterns will inevitably change in translation, but it is crucial that they should not disappear, because they arise from the poetics of the original poet. They play a central role in the reading of the translated poem, where they allow the new readers access to the poetics of the original poet, filtered through the words of the translator, and transformed by that translator's particular interpretation.

I understand "poetics" as the set of beliefs and attitudes held by a poet (or other writer) about the possible ways of expressing in words whatever she or he wishes to say. The poetics of a particular poet always relate to the poet's world view: poetic style is always "mind-style" (Fowler 1977, 103). That is, the patterns of style in the poem, including its metaphorical and other structures, result (intentionally or unintentionally) from patterns of thought. When a translator performs stylistic analysis of the original poem, this is a way of gaining insight into the poetics that informed the writing of the poem, in order to create the new poem from the same basis.

The poem I am considering here is Volker von Törne's 'Stunde der Wölfe', translated into English as 'Hour of the Wolves' (see Boase-Beier and Vivis 2017, 108–9). One of the advantages of discussing one's own translation is that it is possible (though only to some extent) to discuss the reasons for decisions taken, and to make clear the basis for both the analysis of the source text and the way the translated text has been constructed.

2 Real and Metaphorical Wolves

"Wolves" in this poem could be understood as the actual animal, of the family *canis lupus*, but the juxtaposition with "hour of" in the title suggests a metaphor, and indeed the wolf is a likely candidate for metaphorical use, given its importance in everyday idioms, such as "to throw to the wolves", "to keep the wolf from the door" or "to cry wolf", as well as in folk tales and popular stories such as 'Little Red Riding Hood', or Frederick Marryat's 1839 story *The White Wolf of the Hartz Mountains* (Marryat 2004), or Jack London's *White Fang* (London 2019). These examples are of expressions and stories familiar to English speakers, but they do not necessarily originate in English. Wolves are important creatures of myth and legend in many cultures, and idioms to do with wolves exist in many different languages (see Biedermann 1992, 387–89).

Metaphor is one of the central structuring elements of poems and other literary texts, but it does not merely work within the text. As many writers since Lakoff and Johnson (1980) have shown (see, e.g., Lakoff and Turner 1989; Kövecses 2002; 2005; Gola and Ervas 2016), metaphor is a basic structure of thought, and plays an important role in communication in both literary and non-literary contexts. In order to understand how it works in a particular poem, and how it can be translated, we first need to understand how it works outside the poem. The connotations of wolves in everyday language, in popular culture, in myth and legend, and the way images of wolves are used, all play a role in understanding what they stand for in von Törne's poem.

The poem follows here in my English translation (Boase-Beier and Vivis 2017, 9):

> Hour
> Of the wolves, and
> The songs of the girls in
> The village
> Fell still
>
> The flight
> Of the dove cut
> Across by the hawk, the
> Swallows transported
> The light
>
> Voices
> Like calls, from away
> In the darkness, wind
> Drove snow over
> The path

Reading the first lines of the original poem – "Stunde / Der Wölfe / Die Lieder der Mädchen / Verstummten" – prior to translation, the translator asks: Why "Stunde der Wölfe"? What is the hour of the wolves? What are the wolves and what do they stand for?

Wolves have a long history of interaction with humans; indeed, there has been interaction between humans and wolves, as far as we know, ever since wolves first existed in their modern form, around 40,000 years ago. Some wolves gradually became domesticated from at least 15,000 years ago to form, eventually, the many types of domestic dog, also *canis lupus* in most taxonomies (see Pierotti and Fogg 2017, 7, 24–26). Like most animals, wolves have contradictory associations in human culture. In Scandinavian and German myth, wolves are the creatures that witches ride on. In Jewish and Christian myth, in particular, they often represent evil, from which shepherds protect their real and metaphorical flocks. They can be nurturing animals, as in the legend of Romulus and Remus, who founded Rome, and they are often seen as fearless, or even sacred (for example, in Japanese and Ainu myth; see Walker 2008, 7–9). They are revered in the origin myths of Turkish and Mongolian cultures (see Findley 2005, 38–39). In spite of these contradictory connotations, wolves are, in Western tradition, usually symbols of destruction and danger, and they are familiar figures of fear in many children's stories, such as the Grimms' *Fairy Tales*, European traditional stories, including 'Little Red Riding Hood', collected by the Brothers Grimm and first published in German in 1812 (see Brothers Grimm 2011).

While all these associations formed part of the background against which Volker von Törne wrote 'Stunde der Wölfe', there are more specific cultural elements relevant to the time and place of writing that also form part of the context of the poem, and need to be taken into account in its translation.

Von Törne wrote this poem in the late 1970s; it appeared in his collection '*Kopfüberhals*' (literally "head over neck"; an inversion of a common German idiom usually rendered in English as "head over heels") in 1979 (see von Törne 1981). Von Törne was the son of a unit commander in the SS (Schutzstaffel, literally "protection squadron", the Nazi paramilitary organization) and had been exposed to German Nazism as a small child in the late 1930s. When the war ended in 1945, von Törne, then eleven years old, gradually became aware of the evils of Nazism and the collective guilt of the German people. Determined, as he grew up, that people must not forget what had happened, he became an early member, and later a director, of the Christian left-wing organization *Aktion Sühnezeichen Friedensdienste* (Action Reconciliation – Service for Peace) that pledged to make reparation wherever possible for the war and oppression that had started in Germany.

Much of his poetry expresses his personal feelings of guilt as well as the guilt that he felt all Germans should take upon themselves after the Holocaust, and there is often a strong sense of the need to understand that we cannot simply go back to a time of innocence, however much we might wish to. For von Törne, the innocence of his childhood was always tainted in retrospect with his later knowledge of what had actually been happening when he was a child. His poems often juxtapose a longing for innocence with a sense that it is never possible to regain it.

The poem 'Hour of the Wolves' is thus also to be seen in the context of the aftermath of the Second World War in Germany, a catastrophe that profoundly affected the post-war generation, guilty only by association, to which von Törne belonged.

The wolf metaphor was in fact common in the mythology that the Nazis had tried to create about themselves. Hitler's military headquarters in what is now North Poland, in the Masurian Woods, an area von Törne knew well, and that features in several of his poems, was called "Wolfsschanze" (wolf's lair); other headquarters in Belgium were called "Wolfsschlucht" (wolf's gorge); the plan to create a resistance force was referred to as "Operation Werewolf", and Hitler liked to point out that his name, Adolf, came from "edel" (noble) and "Wolf". The connotations the Nazis hoped to evoke were those of strength and a warrior-like character. The wolf's more negative connotations, often perhaps in allusion to the Nazis' own use of the metaphor, are sometimes used in Holocaust literature; for example, *Nackt unter Wölfen* (Naked Among Wolves) is the title of a well-known novel of 1958 by Bruno Apitz, set in the Buchenwald concentration camp where Apitz had been imprisoned.

Von Törne was very influenced as a poet by Bertolt Brecht, and especially by the latter's use of everyday language, idiom and metaphor. Brecht used the image of the wolf a great deal, almost always with negative connotations (see Mennemeier 1982, 91–105). *Wolfspelz* (wolfskin; an inversion of "a wolf in sheep's clothing") was an earlier collection of von Törne's poetry (see von Törne 1981). In giving a poem the title 'Hour of the Wolves', von Törne is therefore situating it within a broad set of cultural and literary connotations of wolves as well as in the more specific context of the Holocaust and Holocaust writing. The phrase "hour of the wolves" also has a very exact metaphorical meaning, that relates to the well-known expression "entre chien et loup" in French: the twilight hour, the hour between the domestic and the wild, between the light of day and the darkness of night.

This is a poem that thus suggests something happening at (real or metaphorical) twilight. The poem describes a time in a village, imagined or real, at which songs go quiet, the light disappears, voices can be heard in the distance, the path – perhaps the way forward or back to the village – is blocked by snow.

3 Patterns of Style and their Translation

The stylistic elements of a poem always work together in the text, as their cognitive counterparts worked together to shape the poetics that formed the basis from which the poem was written. The metaphor of the wolf, with all the connotations it draws from usage in everyday idiom, in legend, and in the specific context of the Holocaust, is thus part of a network of stylistic features, all of great concern to the translator.

A translator can identify three strands of the network in the original poem of which the translation is given above:

(i) a set of animal metaphors

(ii) a series of interventions and impediments

(iii) a number of patterns of sound

Analysing these strands, each of which represents a stylistic pattern, and considering the way the wolf metaphor fits into each one, helps determine how the poem can be translated into English and what adjustments have to be made so that the whole stylistic network can be preserved.

With respect to (i), we note that idioms are not merely haphazard figures of language. They are "products of our conceptual system" (Kövecses 2002, 201), and are often based upon conceptual metaphors, that is, metaphors that form part of our cognitive make-up, and that structure the way we think by bringing together two domains of knowledge. Thus, argument is often associated with war or death with night. Conceptual metaphors are usually written in capitals: ARGUMENT IS WAR; DEATH IS NIGHT.

Many conceptual metaphors occur across a number of different cultures, though others appear to be culture-specific (Kövecses 2005, 2–5). Idioms and stories in both English and German indicate that the two languages and cultures share many conceptual metaphors that give rise to expressions relating to wolves as representing danger. The image of the "hour of the wolves", though there is not in fact an idiom in German or English comparable to "entre chien et loup", is in both languages easily interpretable as an hour at which the darkness approaches and danger comes, with a loosening of the ties of the domestic. The songs of the girls “verstummten”: they became dumb, or fell silent. This suggests a sudden cessation of sound caused by outside intervention, rather than a decision to stop singing.

The wolf metaphor is part of a series of animal metaphors in the poem. Goatly (2007, 125–32) maintains that expressions comparing humans to animals are generally negative. In part this is because they reduce the complexities of humanity to the level of other animals, suggesting a lack of the emotions we attribute to humans. Kövecses (2002, 124–25) says that such metaphorical uses are instances of a broader conceptual metaphor, PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS, and are negative because they relate to the “Great chain of being”, a view of the world in classical and mediaeval thought that put God at the top of the chain, followed by angels, then humans, and with animals below (see Lakoff and Turner 1989, 166–69; Musolff 2010, 16).

In this poem, all the other animal metaphors take birds as their source domain. The three bird metaphors in the second stanza are again common to both German and English: “doves and hawks” is a commonly-used metaphor in both languages that refers to peace-makers and aggressors, in a military, political or economic context. Swallows are often used to suggest the air and the light, or the coming of spring: one swallow does not make a summer in English, as in German; this is a very old proverb that possibly derives from Ancient Greek (Biedermann 1966, 332). Swallows also symbolize repentance, life after death, and heaven (Biedermann 1966, 332–33). Birds are frequent symbolic elements in von Törne’s poems, where they generally carry their common connotations: crows symbolize oracles and portents, doves peace and love, eagles victory and renewal, vultures death. The dove is also a Christian symbol of the Holy Spirit, and in another poem, ‘On Paths of Ashes’, von Törne specifically rejects any suggestion of Christ-like status by stating that “There was no dove descending to rest upon me” (Boase-Beier and Vivis 2017, 57)

From the point of view of translation from German into English, these animal metaphors taken in isolation would appear not to pose particular problems, because their usage is common to both languages, and von Törne does not generally invest animal metaphors with any particular personal meaning. However, they cannot be taken in isolation: the metaphor of the wolves, like those of the birds, is part of another stylistic pattern: that of a set of interventions that occur throughout the poem; this is point (ii) in the list of stylistic patterns given above. The hour of the wolves causes the songs of the girls to fall still. The reader is likely to interpret this as some danger which enters the village and silences the girls. Similarly, the dove’s flight, which suggests peaceful progression, is bisected by the hawk, that is, an aggressive presence cuts across it. Swallows, instead of bringing light and hope, carry it away. Swallows fly off just before dark and leave European countries just before winter, so dark and winter are both expected, and indeed both have come by the final stanza, when snow blows across the path, presumably cutting it off. Both dark and snow are common images in poems of the Holocaust (see Boase-Beier 2017, 156), where they often suggest death, and also attempts to cover up killing. The conceptual metaphor DEATH IS NIGHT, mentioned above, is discussed by many writers on metaphor (e.g., Lakoff and Johnson 1989, 8; Kövecses 2002, 44). Snow can suggest death because snow comes in winter and DEATH IS WINTER is also a conceptual metaphor, related to the broader metaphor A LIFETIME IS A YEAR (Lakoff and Turner 1989, 18, 28), just as DEATH IS NIGHT is related to A LIFETIME

IS A DAY (Lakoff and Turner 1989, 28). The cutting-off movements described in the poem thus themselves relate to a set of metaphors of life and death.

The metaphor of the wolf, then, is both an element in the pattern of animal metaphors and also an element in a broader pattern of metaphorical natural agents (wolves, hawk, swallows, darkness, wind, snow) that interrupt or end the normal processes of life. It is when we understand these common metaphors – of animals and other natural phenomena – in the context of their interventions in the movements described in the poem that we are able to access further possible meanings, and to see greater consequences for translation. If metaphors, especially those that arise from common conceptual metaphors, translate easily, particularly between languages like German and English with similar mythological and cultural traditions, this is not true of described movement, which is often echoed in syntax. The syntax of English is very different from the syntax of German.

In order to process the series of movements occurring in the poem the reader needs to take a perspective. This is likely to be that of the narrator, but there is only one clue to the narrator's position in the English version given above, and that is the expression "from away" in the third stanza. The German has "fern" (far) here, and also has "fort" (away) in the second stanza: "fort trugen/Die Schwalben/Das Licht" (the swallows transported the light). However, "fort" is not a free-standing adverb here but the separated prefix of the verb "forttragen" (to carry off) and, as part of the verb, is deictically weak, in that it does not necessarily denote a movement away from the narrator's position, though it implies it, as does "transported". "From away" in the third stanza is deictically much clearer: it indicates that the sound is being produced at a distance from where the narrator is located. Beyond these two expressions, the narrator's presence is implied only by the fact that someone must hear the sudden silencing of the songs at the end of the first stanza, and interpret the voices as "like calls" in the final stanza. The reader is likely to take the perspective of someone standing fairly near to the village at the start of the poem (close enough to hear songs cut off), and being further away at the end.

The narrator in this final stanza hears "Stimmen wie Rufe", that is, voices that sound like calls. "Ruf", like the word "call" in English, is also used of the sound made by a bird. The voices heard in the last stanza are ambiguous. They might be the calls of the birds: either of the hawks, which suggest the aggressors, or of the doves, which suggest the victims, the girls. They might be the latter's calls for help. Seen from the narrator's perspective, it is actually the movement of the sound of the girls' voices to reach the listening narrator's ears that is cut off. The interpretation of sounds as calls also suggests a call to action such as that felt very strongly by von Törne throughout his life, a call to atone for wrongs. At the end of the poem it seems that the position of the speaker is now beyond the village, and that it is not possible to return because the path is blocked by snow. The picture becomes clearer when we see that the snow is performing the same action as the wolves, the hawk, the swallows and the wind: it is cutting sideways across an imagined trajectory.

The sense of movement in the poem is related to another conceptual metaphor, LIFE IS A JOURNEY (Lakoff and Turner 1989, 3–4; Kövecses 2002, 70–71). Lakoff and Turner (1989, 3–4) discuss how we understand this metaphor in Robert Frost's poem 'The Road Not Taken' (Frost 2018, 132) where we see the roads as ways to live one's life. It is similar here: the narrator is a traveller (as von Törne was), difficulties and dangers are natural agents (wolves, hawk, swallows, darkness, wind and snow), and so on. Kövecses follows Lakoff and Turner in assuming that LIFE IS A JOURNEY is a "special case of the more general metaphor PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS" (Kövecses 2002, 70), and in this sense the place von Törne was aiming for in his travels was, like the path the narrator follows, somewhere where we will all have learned from the past. This is not to say that the narrator in the poem *is* von Törne. It is, however, important to recognize that it is von Törne's poetics that inform the poem. Personal history, as Kövecses (2005, 242) has noted, affects the source domains we choose for our metaphors, and von Törne, in choosing to write of wolves, darkness, hawks and doves, snow, and a blocked path, was both reflecting other Holocaust poetry and no doubt also using his own experiences of childhood innocence, of his holidays in the Masurian Woods, where real wolves have never been extinct and metaphorical wolves lurked between 1941 and 1944, as he later came to realise. If the journey the narrator undertakes and the reader imagines is on a path cut off by wind and snow, this suggests either a difficult journey to a future that acknowledges the guilt of the past, or an inability to return in imagination to the source of the danger: the attack of wolves that cut off the voices in the village, causing them now to sound like calls.

The metaphor of movement along a path, especially movement that is impeded, is not an isolated interpretation that is only relevant to this poem. Many of von Törne's poems such as 'Leaving', 'Paths' or 'On Paths of Ashes' (Boase-Beier and Vivis 2017, 27, 29, 57–59) are about journeys, and this is not surprising, given the many journeys and lecture-tours he took part in, in order to try and atone for what his country, and specifically his own father, had done. That he never felt fully able to atone was one source of his guilt.

The syntax in the German poem signals the movement of outside agents acting upon the narrator's trajectory, and this is most obvious in the curious structure of the second stanza. The first half of the stanza is the phrase: "Den Flug der Taube kreuzte der Habicht", literally "the flight of the dove (object) crossed the hawk (subject)", that is, the hawk crossed the dove's flight. While it is perfectly possible in German to begin a sentence with the object, here "the flight" (den Flug), the effect of doing this is to foreground the dove's flight, and its interruption, thus making it parallel with the girls' songs in the first stanza. English cannot easily put the object first in active constructions, so the English translation of the phrase, in order to foreground the dove's flight, has to be in the passive. To avoid introducing too many words (e.g., "was cut across") and thereby losing the tightness of the rhythm, the English translation can easily omit the auxiliary: "The flight of the dove cut across by the hawk". "Cut across" is used for "kreuzte" (crossed) because it emphasizes the interruption to the movement, which might otherwise be less obvious in the more standard syntax of the English version. The word "kreuzte" in the German poem, a verb derived from the noun "Kreuz" (cross), just as in English "to cross" is derived from the corresponding noun, has many connotations. In Middle High German it meant "to crucify". Whether or not this fact is known to a German reader of the original poem, the connotations of peace falling victim to aggression are still present. A cross in both German and English is a symbol of intersecting paths, and it plays a part in many religions apart from its specific significance in Christianity as a symbol of the Crucifixion of Christ. The hook-cross (Hakenkreuz) or swastika was adopted by the Nazis from an ancient symbol found in many cultures that represented a moving or turning cross. The use of "kreuzte" thus more specifically suggests the Nazi misappropriation of a sacred symbol, that led to its being associated with hawks rather than with doves. To "cross" in English is both to cut across a path or trajectory in a movement from the side, and also to frustrate someone in their attempt to do something, or, as "cross out", to erase or invalidate something. Though the structures differ slightly in the two languages, the connotations are similar, as is the image the verb gives rise to in the reader's mind. The second meaning, to invalidate or frustrate an action, is especially evident in the final stanza, where this verb is not present, but the movement is the same.

The final point noted above, (iii), the series of sound-patterns, is of particular concern to the translator aiming to preserve the way different stylistic patterns interact. The most striking figure of sound in the German poem is the regular rhythm, with its connotations of song, which relies on a series of two-syllable words, such as "Stunde", "Wölfe", "Mädchen", whose obvious equivalents – hours, wolves, girls – are monosyllabic in English. Monosyllabic words in the German original, such as "Flug", "Licht", "Weg", are supplemented by definite articles so that "der Flug" (the flight), "das Licht" (the light) and "den Weg" (the path), for example, can easily fit the pattern. The problem with English is that the definite article cannot change form to indicate case or gender. Instead of "der", "das", "den" in the above noun phrases we would always have "the". This would make the translation clumsily repetitive and would thereby distract from the patterns of repetition that do seem central to the poem. So the translator needs to find a way to introduce variation, and this is done in the translation here by moving the articles to different positions in the line. The effect is different from the German, which begins each line in the second stanza with a different form of "der", but it avoids the pointless foregrounding of the article. It also allows the addition of extra syllables where needed to keep the rhythm regular.

Another pattern of repetition is in the etymologically related words "Stimme" (voice) and "verstummten" (fell silent), which, in their similarity of form, are echoed in other words of different origin – "Stunde" (hour), "Schwalben" (swallows), "Schnee" (snow) – to give an alliterative pattern. There is assonance in "Schnee - wehte - Weg" (snow – blew – path) in the third stanza and further alliteration in "wehte - Wind - Weg" (blew – wind – path) in the same stanza.

As indicated by the rough equivalents just given, these sound patterns are not easily echoed in English, yet they are important. In a poem of only thirty-six words in German, twenty-six have already been identified in this brief discussion as forming part of central metaphorical or phonological patterns, and they give a striking density and intensity to the short poem, making it seem as much about repetitive thought as about a journey, and thus linking repetitive thought and memory with the image of a journey that cannot be retraced. That is, the repeated sounds can be seen as instances of iconicity (see Fischer and Nänny 1999). When patterns of style are understood as iconic in that they suggest in their form a specific meaning that the words alone do not convey, they need to be treated with particular care by the translator (Boase-Beier 2020, 119–24). The dense repetition in rhythm, assonance and alliteration in this poem is likely to be understood by the translator as suggestive of repeated thoughts, of memory, and also of guilt. So it is not so much that the translator needs to compensate for the possible loss of sound patterns – as though they were mere poetic embellishment – as that the poem needs to achieve a similar stylistic density, and the sound patterns a similar ability to be read as iconic. The English translation uses assonance and alliteration where it occurs naturally: "village – fell – still – call", "flight – light", "drove – snow – over". One could object that the patterns are different, since the German alliteration and assonance patterns more clearly underline the linking of voice with silence and the agency of nature. But such interpretations are not fixed in either language, and it is up to the translator to decide to what extent a particular interpretation is justified on the basis of von Törne's other work, and the stylistic evidence. For any interpretation, however, the density of stylistic patterns will be important, because it is so striking in the original.

4 Conclusion

Important as the various stylistic patterns in the poem are in order to get a sense of its poetics, and in order to write the translation on the basis of its reconstructed poetics, a poem is also *about* something. That is, it is not only a network of interacting stylistic patterns. The poem discussed here is, in a very fundamental sense, about wolves. Its title uses the connotations of wolves and their place in stories, legends, idioms, symbols, and recent history, in order to set a somewhat sinister tone, and the poem goes on to echo the imagined actions of wolves in those of other natural agents as day turns to night and winter comes.

The stylistic patterns I have described as structuring the original poem, and also the translation, begin with the wolves, and lead to other animal metaphors. The actions of wolves lead also to metaphors of journeys, paths, and progress cut off, underlined by the syntactic patterns of the German poem. Repeated sounds that suggest the repetitive thought of memory further interact with the various metaphors and with the images of natural agents that act as impediments to the path the narrator appears to be following.

Many elements of the stylistic analysis of the source poem rely upon the research undertaken by the translator. Here, that research involved examining and understanding the geographical, historical and literary situation in which von Törne was writing, discovering how he used metaphors, and how his use differs from other uses of similar metaphors, and to what extent conceptual metaphors might differ across cultures. It involved research into zoological, cultural, literary and mythological aspects of wolves, since they appear to be a central metaphor.

On the basis of such research and analysis it is possible to give solid evidence for many aspects of the translator's interpretation of the original poem. But it remains an interpretation, with which the resulting translated poem will be consistent.

There are many other points in the translation besides those discussed here that I could give as instances where I have attempted to ensure a pattern is kept, a movement or intervention reflected, a conceptual metaphor brought into the English text. But a translation is more than an attempt to recreate patterns, or to compensate for them where English does not readily comply. It is much more the case that all the patterns in the original, including the metaphors, movements and sounds discussed here, together create a sense of a complex poetics. The translation is written out of an idea of how this poetics, von Törne's poetics, with all its personal, historical, contextual and cognitive resonances, might have looked.

References

Apitz, Bruno. 1958. *Nackt unter Wölfen*. Halle: Mitteldeutscher Verlag.

Berman, Antoine. 2012. "Translation and the Trials of the Foreign." Translated by Lawrence Venuti. In *The Translation Studies Reader*. 3rd ed., edited by Lawrence Venuti, 240–53. London: Routledge.

Biedermann, Hans. 1992. *The Wordsworth Dictionary of Symbolism*. Translated by James Hulbert. Ware: Wordsworth Editions.

Boase-Beier, Jean. 2017. "Holocaust Poetry and Translation." In *Translating Holocaust Lives*, edited by Jean Boase-Beier, Peter Davies, Andrea Hammel, and Marion Winters, 149–66. London: Bloomsbury.

—. 2020. *Translation and Style.* 2nd ed. London: Routledge.

Boase-Beier, Jean, and Anthony Vivis, trans. 2017. *Volker von Törne: Memorial to the Future.* Todmorden: Arc Publications.

Findley, Carter Vaughn. 2005. *The Turks in World History.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Fischer, Olga, and Max Nänny, eds. 1999. *The Motivated Sign*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Fowler, Roger. 1977. *Linguistics and the Novel*. London: Methuen.

Frost, Robert. 2018. *Selected Poems of Robert Frost*. New York: Sterling.

Goatly, Andrew. 2007. *Washing the Brain: Metaphor and Hidden Ideology*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Gola, Elisabetta, and Francesca Ervas. 2016. *Metaphor and Communication*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Grimm, Brothers. 2011. *Grimms' Fairy Tales*. London: HarperCollins.

Kövecses, Zoltán. 2002. *Metaphor: A Practical Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

—. 2005. *Metaphor in Culture: Universality and Variation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lakoff, George, and Mark Johnson. 1980. *Metaphors We Live By*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.

Lakoff, George, and Mark Turner. 1989. *More Than Cool Reason: A Field Guide to Metaphor*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

London, Jack. 2019. *The Call of the Wild, White Fang and Other Stories*. New York: Penguin.

Marryat, Frederick. 2004. *The White Wolf of the Hartz Mountains*. Whitefish: Kessinger Publishing.

Mennemeier, Franz Norbert. 1982. *Bertolt Brechts Lyrik*. Düsseldorf: Bagel.

Musolff, Andreas. 2010. *Metaphor, Nation and the Holocaust: The Concept of the Body Politic*. Hoboken: Taylor and Francis.

Pierotti, Raymond, and Brandy Fogg. 2017. *The First Domestication: How Wolves and Humans Coevolved*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

von Törne, Volker. 1981. *Im Lande Vogelfrei: Gesammelte Gedichte*. Berlin: Verlag Klaus Wagenbach.

Walker, Brett. 2008. *The Lost Wolves of Japan*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

ELOPE

Snježana Veselica Majhut
University of Zagreb, Croatia

2021, Vol. 18 (1), 151-167(222)
revije.ff.uni-lj.si/elope
https://doi.org/10.4312/elope.18.1.151-167
UDC: 81'25[004.774:338.48](497.5)

Did You Try Our Good Smoked Ham? Assessing the Quality of Translation as Cross-Cultural Mediation on Croatian Tourist Board Websites

ABSTRACT

Tourist discourse has been recognized as a specialized type of cross-cultural communication. Thus, successful translation of tourist texts assumes that translators act as cross-cultural mediators on a number of levels. The rather low quality of translation in the tourism sector has been pointed out by several Translation Studies scholars. However, not much systematic empirical research on the quality of translation in this sector has been carried out. This paper analyses a corpus of multilingual websites produced by Croatian tourist boards. In the analysis of the data I rely on the criteria for assessing translation quality of web translation developed by Pierini (2007), and place a special focus on the achievement of pragmatic level equivalence between source and target texts as a major criterion of successful cross-cultural communication in the translation of tourism discourse.

Keywords: translation quality, tourist discourse, multilingual websites

Ste poskusili našo okusno prekajeno šunko? Ocenjevanje kakovosti prevoda kot medkulturnega posredovanja na spletnih mestih Hrvaške turistične skupnosti

IZVLEČEK

Turistični diskurz je prepoznan kot posebna vrsta medkulturne komunikacije, zato uspešen prevod turističnih besedil predpostavlja vlogo prevajalcev kot medkulturnih posrednikov na več ravneh. Precej nizko kakovost prevodov v turističnem sektorju so izpostavili številni prevodoslovci, a kljub temu v tem sektorju ni bilo izvedenih veliko sistematičnih empiričnih raziskav o kakovosti prevodov. V članku je analiziran korpus večjezičnih spletnih mest Hrvaške turistične skupnosti. Pri analizi podatkov se zanašam na merila ocenjevanja kakovosti spletnih prevodov, ki jih je razvila Pierini (2007), ter se pri tem posebej osredotočam na doseganje pragmatične stopnje ekvivalence izvirnih in ciljnih besedil kot glavnega merila uspešne medkulturne komunikacije v prevodih turističnega diskurza.

Ključne besede: kakovost prevodov, turistični diskurz, večjezična spletna mesta

1 Introduction

In his seminal book on the language of tourism, Dann (1996, 6) predicted that it would soon become "a language of cyberspace", and the widespread use of the Internet for tourism promotion over the last decades is aptly described as the "migration [of tourism texts] to the web" (Francesconi 2014, 5).

The broad aim of this study is to explore the quality of translations into English of Croatian tourist boards' promotional material published on the web. It consists of two parts: first, in a brief overview of the approaches to assessing translation quality, both in the academic community and the translation industry, the emphasis is placed on the model developed by House (1997, 2015), whose key concepts, such as "overtly erroneous" errors and "covertly erroneous"[1] errors, are used in the analysis of the corpus and on the framework for quality assessment of translations of tourism texts on the web proposed by Pierini (2007). Next, Pierini's definition of quality is presented, followed by the formulation of the criteria for assessing quality in the analysed corpus. The outlined criteria that take into account the specific features of translating tourism promotional texts on the one hand, while on the other the specific features of translating texts for the web are applied in the qualitative analysis of the corpus of texts published on Croatian tourist boards' websites.

For the purposes of this research a small-size corpus consisting of six source texts (STs) and six target texts (TTs) published on the websites of Croatian tourist boards was compiled. In order to compile a sample of comparable texts that would be manageable for conducting a qualitative analysis, I focussed on pages that address the theme of gastronomy. Gastronomy has recently gained a growing importance in the promotion of tourist destinations. Among other factors, this is due to the fact that today's "new tourist" is constructed as an active participant in the experience of travelling and visiting destinations. At the same time, as has been pointed out by tourism studies scholars (Van Westering 1999), gastronomy and culture are closely intertwined. Consequently, it seems plausible to assume that texts related to gastronomy written for the purposes of tourism promotion will contain a large number of culturally specific references or exotisms, which presents a challenge for the translator in terms of cross-cultural transfer. The corpus is described in more detail in Section 4.3.

The formulated criteria are applied on the corpus of authentic translations in order to test the criteria and their validity for assessing the quality of tourism texts translations on the web, and to shed light on the quality of real-world translations of this type.

2 Features of English Tourism Discourse

Since Dann's pioneering study on the language of tourism various aspects of the language used in the tourism sector have been continuously researched from a wide range of perspectives. Due to space restrictions, I will mention just a few contributions that may illustrate a range of perspectives brought together in the study of tourism discourse: the features of the discourse of tourism as a type of specialized discourse (Calvi 2006; Cappelli 2006 and 2008; Gotti

[1] For the sake of simplicity, in the analysis I will refer to overt and covert errors instead of using House's terms.

2006; Nigro 2005, 2012); linguistic strategies prominent in tourism discourse (Mocini 2005, 2013; Francesconi 2008; Agorni 2012, 2016; Manca 2016); multimodal analysis of various digital genres (Yui Ling Ip 2008; Francesconi 2014; Denti 2015) and the use of tourist texts in EFL and translation teaching (Gandin 2016). Although the literature on tourism discourse is vast, only a few studies have focussed on Croatian tourism discourse, mainly from the perspective of critical discourse analysis (Fox 1999, 2004, 2007).

In its communication the tourist industry inevitably relies on translation. As Sulaiman and Wilson (2019, 38) point out, tourism promotional materials are "perhaps one of the most translated types of texts in the world today". Accordingly, various aspects of translation of tourism texts have attracted considerable interest among translation scholars (Agorni 2012, 2016; Cappelli 2008; Francesconi 2014; Hatim 2004; Hickey 2004; Kelly 1997; Manca 2016; Pierini 2007, 2009; Snell-Hornby 1999; Sumberg 2004; Valdeón 2009).

Especially pertinent to my study are insights gained by empirical research into the discursive and linguistic features of tourism texts written in English. Dann provides the first systematic approach to the language of tourism, emphasizing its promotional function, which "attempts to persuade, lure, woo and seduce millions of human beings, and, in doing so, convert them from potential into actual clients" (1996, 2).

One of the most prominent linguistic features of English tourism discourse is the use of an informal style, i.e., a tendency to use short and simple sentences. Another important feature documented in previous research on English tourism discourse is the use of "ego-targeting" devices, i.e., the employment of "lexical devices typical of a conversational style" such as the use of first and second person (plural and singular) pronouns, interjections, possessive adjectives and pronouns, which allow for direct addressing of readers. (Dann 1996, 185–88). It should be pointed out that these features are even more accentuated in the texts that appear online, which seek to reinforce the impression of interpersonal communication (Janoschka 2004, 24).

On the lexical level, its most prominent feature is the recurrent use of highly positive evaluative adjectives (*outstanding*, *spectacular*, *exotic*, *colourful*), which are often used as absolute superlatives (for example, *the most exciting*, *the most thrilling*, *the most spectacular*) or in superlative structures. A fine example of the typical use of adjectives is provided by Durán Muñoz:

> Let us explore *the most thrilling*, *electrifying* and *mind blowing* adventurous activities [. . . .][2] (2019, 355)

In addition, evaluative adjectives are often combined with pre-modifying adverbs that intensify their meaning, such as *truly unique experience*, *absolutely spectacular*, *highly experienced instructor* (see Durán Muñoz 2019, 356). Further, such adjectives are often used cumulatively, as in the following examples extracted from the English web 2015 corpus:

[2] Italics are included by Durán Muñoz. The examples are extracted from the ADVENCOR corpus of texts in English, compiled by Durán Muñoz.

> Every villa at this hotel offers views of the *spectacular and breathtaking* ocean and has direct access to the lagoon. (www.maldivesbeachresorts.org)

or

> The Beauty of Plett is *breathtaking and absolutely spectacular*. (https://www.southafrica.to)

This feature is closely related to Dann's notion of euphoria (1996, 65), i.e., the tendency of the language of tourism "to speak only in positive and glowing terms of the service and attractions it seeks to promote" using superlatives, hyperboles and other linguistic devices to emphasize the uniqueness of the destination.

3 Translation Quality

The thorny issue of the evaluation of translation quality has been addressed from a number of perspectives and with a number of distinct goals, characterized by a lack of consensus on what constitutes quality in translation[3]. In the academic context, the interest in quality assessment is often motivated by the needs of translator training: how to evaluate translations in order to be able to assess them and give feedback to students and novice translators. On the other hand, the processes of globalization and digitization have brought about an unprecedented surge in demand for translation, in particular from and into English. Owing to recent technological advances it has become possible to respond to the ever-growing global demand for translated texts. However, it seems that the surge in the volume of translation activity has not resulted in the marginalization of the discussion on quality in the industry sector. Rather, the increase in the demand for translation is complemented with the emphasis on translation quality issues.

Due to space limitations, I will briefly present only House's model of translation quality assessment (1997, 2015), as some of its major concepts are used in this research.[4] House's model was introduced in 1977, and revised in 1997 and 2015, with its main categories remaining in place. The main concepts underpinning her model are the typology of translations (*overt* and *covert translation*), the concept of *cultural filter* and the classification of translation errors. Overt translation is particularly suitable for texts that are specifically tied to the source culture, such as political speeches, sermons, literary texts, etc. As House (2015, 54) explains, *covert translation* is:

> a translation which enjoys the status of an original source text in the target culture. *The translation is covert because it is not marked pragmatically as a translation text of a source text but may, conceivably, have been created in its own right*. (My emphasis)

In House's words, tourism texts are among those that lend themselves to covert translation, whose function is "to imitate the original's function in a different discourse frame" (1997, 29). Such texts present "more difficulties, and many more subtle, cultural translation problems than those encountered in the case of overt translation" (1997, 56). In a covert

---

3 As it is pointed out by Colina, "[t]he lack of consensus on how quality may be evaluated stems to a large extent from disagreements over the concept of translation and from the controversial and relative nature of quality, which is ultimately assessed on the basis of social, historical and culturally based values and priorities" (2020, 458).

4 For comprehensive overviews of other "academic" or "theoretical" models see Depraetere (2011) and Drugan (2013).

translation, translators have to apply *cultural filters* in order to account for "different cultural presuppositions" and meet "the needs of the target language addressees in their cultural setting, and in order to keep the textual function equivalent in source and target cultures" (1997, 56). In short, the application of House's fully developed and revised model includes an analysis of the ST in order to establish its function and textual profile and a comparison of the ST and the TT at three levels: language/text, register and genre. An analysis of the ST profile is conducted in order to provide a "statement of function". The same process is then carried out for the TT, and both ST and TT profiles are compared, which produces a statement of mismatches or errors that can be categorized as covertly (at the level of register and genre) or overtly (denotative meaning at the text level) erroneous errors. It is at the end of this process that a statement of translation quality can be made.

3.1 Approaching Quality in Translations of Tourism Texts

A number of authors (Duff, 1981; Newmark 1991, 1993; Nord 1991; Kelly 1997; Snell-Hornby 1999; Pierini 2007; Durán Muñoz 2011) address the quality of tourism text translations, which is generally considered to be deplorable. Duff (1981) and Newmark (1991) point to the poor quality of translations of tourism texts, and argue that this is due to the fact that translation of tourism materials is often done into the translator's non-native language. On the other hand, Nord (1991), Snell-Hornby (1999) and Kelly (1997) see the reason for poor quality in the fact that very often tourism texts are not translated by professional translators.

According to Durán Muñoz (2011, 40), non-professional translators are engaged because the language of tourism is not recognized as a specialized discourse, the dominant attitude being that "anyone can do it because it is very easy". Pierini shares this view and emphasizes that

> [t]he complexity of promotional tourist discourse *is underestimated* by clients and translators: it may appear to be *deceptively easy* to translate with its extensive use of general language; yet, it is a specialized discourse with specific linguistic/cultural features. (2007, 99). (My emphasis)

Challenges for translators also stem from the fact that tourism materials are strongly culture-bound (see Snell-Hornby 1999). On the content level, this is evident in a considerable difference in "information load" between STs and TTs. ST readers have better background knowledge about the destination promoted than TT readers. Therefore, there is a need for "the adaptation of information load" (Kelly 1997, 36), taking care that added information is "dosified in some way to prevent an overload which could lead to a breakdown in communication" (1997, 36). Further, there is a difference in the kind of information that source and target readers expect to find in tourist brochures, which depends on their previous textual experience, i.e., on "the reader's knowledge of text conventions firstly in her own language and culture" (1997, 36). As for the differences at the level of style, Kelly emphasizes her "targeteer" position, according to which a successful translation would entail adaptation to the stylistic conventions of texts written in the target language (TL). Readily observable differences between Spanish and English tourism texts are related to tenor: while in Spanish texts the reader is rarely directly addressed and the relation established is rather formal (marked, for example, by the use of third person singular pronoun *Usted* when readers are directly addressed), in English texts the relationship with the reader is less formal, as is visible in the frequent use of personal pronouns and imperatives.

Snell-Hornby (1999) also sees the problem in the lack of adaptation in translations of tourist brochures. She argues that though operative function is dominant in tourist brochures, the effect of tourist texts is a result of "an interplay of all three textual functions: informative, expressive and operative." (1999, 96). Her analysis of a multilingual tourist brochure for a Spanish hotel shows that all three translations (into English, German and French) can be described as "literal transcodings containing elementary language errors in grammar, lexis and syntax. They all lack coherence and textual cohesion and for that reason alone fail to function as texts" (1999, 98). These deficiencies could be overcome with a holistic approach to translation in which "the task of the translator [is] not to find an individual equivalent for each of the devices, but to create a text, based on the given information, which would rouse the burning desire in the target reader's mind to visit the place advertised" (1999, 100).

3.2 Quality in Translations of Tourism Texts on the Web

According to Francesconi (2014, 5), "migration to the web" is a major aspect of contemporary tourism communication, closely linked to the enhancement of its multimodal character accompanied with interactive features, enabled by the potentials of the web 2.0 technology. Some aspects of the fact that traditional channels of communication have been replaced with digital channels have already received scholarly attention (Yui Ling Ip 2008; Francesconi 2014; Denti 2015). However, not much attention has been paid to quality in the translation of tourism texts published on the web, though the translation industry depends heavily on the translation of web content.

Despite the multimodal character of online content, the language content published on the web is of crucial importance for the success of communication, and consequently of business. Cappelli illustrates this point by citing a research project conducted in Germany on the websites of several banks, which found "that the linguistic quality of the website is perceived iconically in line with the supposed quality of the business or service offered" (2008, 98). A good case in point is provided by Munday (2004, 209) in his discussion of translating advertising texts:

One example given is that of Electricité de France, which spent over £100,000 on advertising space but just £60 on the translation of the copy. Failure to stress the purpose of the translation, and failure to employ a native speaker, meant that unidiomatic phrases such as "EdF offers competitive energetic solutions" appeared in the TT, undermining the professional image of the company.

4 Aims and Methodology

The aim of this study is to explore the quality of tourism text translations from Croatian into English published on the web taking into account the specific features of translating for the web on the one hand, and of translating tourism promotional texts on the other.

The necessary prerequisite for assessment of translation quality is the definition of what is assumed to constitute quality and the formulation of criteria to be applied.

4.1 Working Definition of Translation Quality

As has already been pointed out, a general and universally applicable definition of translation quality is unattainable. In this study, I have adopted Pierini's (2007) working definition of quality tailored to translations of texts belonging to a specific discourse (tourism) and specific medium (the web). In her study of a corpus of UK and Italian web sites she argues that in web translation "linguistic criteria, which still remain relevant, are no longer the only parameters on which assessment can rely" (2007, 91). In line with this, the author defines translation quality of translated tourism texts on the web as follows:

The TT shows a good quality when it is a native-like text, well-written according to the genre style and web writing style, achieves the intended effect (persuasion), and does not exhibit unintended effects (humour, offence). (2007, 92)

Several important elements of the above definition need to be discussed. It is readily observable that a high priority is given to the language quality of a translation. In my view it does not refer only to the compliance with lexico-grammatical conventions of the TL. "A native-like text" also assumes that the TT patterns exhibit features of a similar text type written in the TL, i.e., that it exhibits the salient features of tourism discourse in English, as described in Section 2. In other words, a TT of good quality should not contain either "overt" or "covert" errors.

Another requirement postulated by Pierini's definition is that the TT follows both culture-specific genre conventions and the conventions of web textuality. The requirement that a translation of good quality should not produce unintended effects, such as humour and offence, is based on a generally accepted view that clumsy translations of tourism texts often provoke unintended humorous effects or may be offensive to members of the target culture. Numerous examples of unintended humour found in such translations circulate on the anecdotal level beyond translation scholars' circles.

4.2 Criteria for Assessing Translation Quality of the TT

Starting from the definition presented above, I formulated the following criteria to be used in the assessment of translation quality of the TTs in the corpus:

1. absence/presence of "overt" errors
2. attainment of functional equivalence between the ST and TT
3. use of cross-cultural mediation strategies[5]
4. web readability

[5] The first three criteria are also in line with Munday's view of three main theoretical points in the discussion of translation of advertising texts: the focus on the target audience, the purpose or *skopos* of the translation, and the fact that adverts are a clear example of cross-cultural transfer (2004, 204). It should also be pointed out that Munday (2004, 206) concludes that "persuasive effect must remain a central concern for translators of adverts, and for translation theorists, too."

The first criterion, related to the correct use of the TL seems to be a self-explanatory category, which does not need to be further elaborated before it is operationalized in the analysis.

The second criterion refers to the relation of equivalence between a ST and its corresponding TT, conceived as the achievement of the same communicative purpose of the ST and TT. According to Pierini (2007, 91), the desirable relation of equivalence between the ST and TT is that of "pragmatic intertextual equivalence". As Pierini does not further elaborate this concept to show how it differs from "functional equivalence", advocated by the proponents of functionalist approaches, I have decided to use the term "functional equivalence", in an attempt to minimize terminological overlaps, not uncommon in Translation Studies.[6] Returning to House's model (see Section 3), the desirable translation of a tourism text is an example of "covert translation", which requires the use of "cultural filters" to account for cultural differences between the two linguistic communities.

In terms of their textual functions, the texts in the corpus are "info-promotional" texts or materials.[7]

The criterion of the use of cross-cultural mediation strategies refers to the mediation of SC-specific *realia or exotisms*, which have a specific function in tourism texts. Translators have to take into account that *realia* contribute to the dimensions of authenticity and strangerhood (see Dann 1996), and consequently have a specific role in tourism discourse.

The last criterion, website readability, is related to web communication and is usually emphasized as an important element of web design, which has an impact on how users process information. The standard definition of web readability found in the literature is "a measure of how easy it is for visitors to read and understand text on a web page" (https://www.hotjar.com/conversion-rate-optimization/glossary/website-readability/).[8]

The rules on how to write for the web are based on empirical studies on how people actually read the texts on the web, with the main difference between reading printed texts and web texts being in that people scan the content on the web instead of reading it thoroughly. This insight leads to the demand for short, chunked texts as a standard in writing for the web. Experts on web usability have summed up their insights into a number of guidelines that recommend the use of highlighted keywords, meaningful subheadings, bulleted lists, and short paragraphs containing a single idea (see Garrand 2006).

As some of these elements are related to technical aspects of web design (for example, font size, line width and length and the use of typographical devices) and are not assumed to be in the domain of translators, in the analysis only language-related aspects of website readability will be examined: the length and complexity of sentences, segmentation of the text into chunks and the use of subheadings.

---

6 The term "functional equivalence" is also used by House and defined in the following way: "As a first requirement for this equivalence, it is posited that a translation text has a function equivalent to that of its source text" (2015, 23).

7 See Valdeón (2009).

8 Similar definitions are found in other sources. For example, Rello, Pielot, and Marcos Rello (2016, n.p.) define readability as "the ease with which a reader can read and understand a written text".

4.3 The Corpus

The sample of ST and TT pairs analysed consists of six pairs of texts related to gastronomy, published on Croatian tourist board websites. I decided to choose the websites of Croatian local tourist boards, which are subordinated to the national Croatian Tourist Board, and whose main task is to contribute to the promotion of tourism in their regions. The decision to select the texts from tourist board websites is based on the assumption that tourist boards, as official bodies whose explicit task is to promote tourist destinations, will pay closer attention to the textual material published on their websites than smaller, private-owned entities. For example, my preliminary research has shown that smaller, private-owned organizations often rely on Google Translate or do not even translate the content of their pages. Therefore, the websites of tourist boards are selected as examples of sites providing human translations. With regard to the choice of particular websites, I selected those of the destinations that were rated as the most successful in 2018 and 2019.[9]

In short, for the purposes of this research a relatively small corpus of six STs and six corresponding TTs was compiled. The SL corpus contains 1,182 words and the TL corpus 1,491 words. Detailed information regarding the corpus is presented in Table 1.

Table1. The corpus of STs and TTs analysed.

Home Page	ST	TT
www.istra.hr	Top 5 istina o vinu iz Istre (ST1) (364 words)	Top 5 Facts About the Wine of Istria (TT1) (470 words)
www.kvarner.hr	Gastronomija (ST2) (131 words)	Gastronomy (TT2) (179 words)
https://www.dalmatia.hr/	Gastronomija (ST3) (48 words)	Gastronomy (TT3) (81 words)
www.tzdubrovnik.hr	Gastro & lifestyle (ST4) (331 words)	Gastro & Lifestyle (TT4) (391 words)
https://zadar.travel/hr	Gradska tržnica (ST5) (208 words)	City Market (TT5) (256 words)
https://www.hvarinfo.com/hr/gastronomija-i-restorani-na-hvaru.html	Hvar (ST6) (100 words)	Hvar (TT6) (114 words)

5 Results

5.1 Absence/Presence of "Overt" Errors

In his section I analyse the problems related to the correct use of English, i.e., the presence of obvious language mistakes. Typos and grammar mistakes create the impression of unprofessional translation. The chunk of the text on the city market in Zadar (TT5) illustrates this kind of errors:

9 According to the data published by the Croatian Bureau of Statistics, the counties that registered the highest numbers of tourists in 2018 and 2019 were Istria County, the Primorje-Gorski kotar County, Split-Dalmatia County, Dubrovnik-Neretva County and Zadar County (https://www.dzs.hr/Hrv_Eng/publication/2019/04-03-02_01_2019.htm).

Example 1

Tržnica na Poluotoku zajedno s ribarnicom, smješteni pod povijesnim Bedemima zadarskih pobuna koji su na UNESCO-voj liste svjetske baštine, zato je odavno neodvojiv dio zadarskog urbanog identiteta.	The market, together with the fish market on the Peninsula, *are* located below the historical City Walls that *are a part of the UNESCO World Heritage List*. That's exactly why they are an *inseperable* part of the urban identity of Zadar.

The TT contains an obvious spelling mistake (*inseperable*), a grammar mistake (the plural of the verb "be" *are located* instead of *is located*), the latter probably being a consequence of the mechanical copying of the Croatian plural *smješteni* into English and an unidiomatic expression (*are a part of the UNESCO World Heritage List*). Nevertheless, while these elements definitely do not enhance the impression of the TT, it cannot be claimed that they lead to the break in communication. Similar overt errors are found in another chunk from ST5–TT5.

Example 2

Kakva graja i kakvo šarenilo. Kupuje se i prodaje na svim mogućim jezicima - pisao je još 1888. godine pariški putopisac Pierre Bauron.	What a chitchatter, what a variety. People buy and sell in all sorts of languages – noted *in the early 1888* by the travel writer Pierre Bauron.

In Example 2, the incorrect use of the definite article before the year 1888 can be observed. However, in addition to this, the TT contains an error in the rendering of the precise meaning of the ST. The Croatian adverb *još* in *pisao je još 1888. godine* does not refer to the beginning of the year but to the fact that the French travel writer made the quoted observation as long ago as 1888. Therefore, the correct rendering in English is *noted/wrote as long ago as 1888*. The function of this segment of the ST is to emphasize that the history of tourism in Zadar, and consequently the appeal of Zadar as a tourist destination, goes far back in time. Consequently, in the TT this aspect is toned down.

The chunk quoted in Example 2 raises some other issues in addition to the breach of grammatical rules. The word *chitchatter* (or chitter-chatter) refers to light, informal conversation. The Croatian word *graja* refers to a state of great, noisy activity. The English lexical repertoire has several possibilities which aptly convey the intended meaning: *hustle and bustle*, *hubbub*, *hurly-burly* etc. The reference to the author of the quotation, Pierre Bauron from Paris, is rendered without the mention of his origin. It is assumed that for the TT reader the reference to Bauron does not have much relevance, which makes this omission acceptable, particularly if we keep in mind the need to prevent information overload (see Section 3.1). *Šarenilo* literally means *diversity* or *variety*, but in Croatian this word has strong connotations of liveliness and colourfulness. It is used in the ST, instead of *raznolikost* or *šarolikost*, to emphasize the abundance of various colourful products offered on the market stalls. By the use of *variety* (the quality of not being the same, uniform or monotonous) for *šarenilo* the intended effect is again downplayed. The suggested translation, which would aim to achieve the same effect as the ST might be: *What a hustle and bustle! How colourful and lively! People sell and buy in all languages of the world – wrote French travel writer Pierre Bauron as long ago as 1888.*

In Example 3 I will focus both on obvious language mistakes ("overt errors") but also on the adaptation of the TT to the generic conventions of tourist promotional texts written in the TL ("covert errors").

Example 3

Na izgled sasvim običan kolač, torta boje čokolade ili pak krema, ničim ne odaje zagonetni sastojak.	On the first look just *an regular cake* with *an* colour of chocolate or cream *does not reveal the secret flavour*.
Tek nakon nekoliko trenutaka, ako duboko udahnete, *osjetiti ćete* možda čak i nepoznati erotični miris koji mami zalogaj.	*Only after few moments if you breathe deeply* you will sense *maybe even unknown* erotical smell which makes you want for more.
U okusu hvarske lavande *osjetiti ćete* svu draž i ljepotu otoka Hvara, božansku snagu i užitak.	In the taste of Hvar *lavander*, *you will sense the beauty and the strength of the island*.

Three chunks of Croatian text presented in Example 3 are extracts from ST 6, in which the "Lavender cake", a specialty of the island of Hvar is described, with a clear intention of persuading the reader to taste the cake. The text in English abounds in elementary language mistakes, such as the use of *an* before *regular* and *colour*, the omission of the indefinite article before *few moments* and the clumsy word order in *Only after few moments if you breathe deeply you will sense...* instead of *If you breathe deeply* (or better *if you take a deep breath*) *after a few moments*.... Grammatical errors can also be noticed in the Croatian ST (consistent use of *osjetiti ćete* instead of *osjetit ćete*). At the lexical level, errors that seriously compromise the rendering of the intended message are observed. The intention of the first sentence in Example 3 is to say that the cake does not grab attention by its appearance, but that what makes this seemingly ordinary cake special is the "mysterious ingredient", i.e., lavender. Therefore, *ordinary* instead of *regular*, *betray* instead of *reveal* and *ingredient* instead of *flavour* should have been used. Further, in the second chunk *Tek nakon nekoliko trenutaka, ako duboko udahnete*...is clumsily rendered because of the word order literally transferred from the Croatian ST. In addition, a nuance related to the sweet aroma of lavender, *osjetiti ćete možda čak i nepoznati erotični miris koji mami zalogaj* is inadequately rendered, due to the literal transcoding of the words. The suggested improvement would be *If you take a deep breath, after a few moments you'll feel the erotic, maybe unfamiliar erotical scent, which will (surely) make you take a bite!*.

The sentence making up the last chunk of the ST is translated in the manner that downplays the intended effect of the ST, i.e., the creation of the sense of euphoria, an important feature of the language of tourism (see Section 2). The lexical elements used in the ST *draž i ljepotu otoka Hvara*, *božansku snagu i užitak* are not rendered in the TT, but omitted in the simplified translation. The rendering which would preserve these features might be: *The taste of Hvar lavander will let you feel all the charm and beauty of the island of Hvar, its divine strength and allurement*.

Example 4, taken from the webpage of the Tourist Board of Splitsko-Dalmatinska županija (ST3–TT3), illustrates the translation in which "overt" errors result in the incomprehensible segment of the TT.

Example 4

U uskoj vezi s geografskim bogatstvom Splitsko-dalmatinska županije je i bogatstvo njene gastronomije. *Na nevelikom području susreću se suprotnosti prožimajući okuse prošlih vremena i kreativne kuhinje današnjice*; arome netaknute prirode s dva zrna soli...	Geographical richness of Split-Dalmatia County is closely related to the wealth of its gastronomy. *On a small area there are facing the contradiction of past time flavor and the creative cuisine of today*; aroma of pristine nature with two grains of salt...

The ST sentence in italics means that many contrasts co-exist on a relatively small geographical area because the flavours of the past are merged with today's creative cuisines. The rendering in the TT *On a small area there are facing the contradiction of past time flavor and the creative cuisine of today* seems to be a segment of un-postedited machine translation, making hardly any sense in English. The suggested translation might be: *On this small area you'll find so many contrasts as the flavours of the past times mix with today's creative cuisines*.

5.2 Achievement of Functional Equivalence

The criterion of functional equivalence enables us to pinpoint covert errors in the TTs. This means that these elements do not constitute a breach of the TL norms but rather mismatches in the dimensions of register and genre.

ST1, published on the website of the Tourist Board of Istria, is an example of the consistent use of rhetorical devices typical for info-promotional texts, which facilitates the translator's need for interventions. As can be seen in Example 5, the reader is repeatedly and directly addressed through the use of questions and imperatives, and is thus invited to take part in the suggested activities.

Example 5

Jeste li probali istarsku malvaziju, teran,...?	*Have you ever tried* Istrian Malvasia, Teran,...?
Jeste li znali da je vino, pogotovo ono crno, jako dobro za vaše zdravlje?	*Did you know* that wine, especially the red one, can benefit your health?
Saznajte koji wellness hoteli nude ovaj pomlađujući tretman.	*Find out* which wellness hotels offer this rejuvenating treatment.

Example 5 shows that the translator of TT1 closely followed syntactic structures used in ST1, and consequently produced the TT that fulfils its communicative purpose in the TL.

Other STs in the corpus do not exhibit consistent use of rhetorical devices that are expected to be used in the similar texts in the TL. However, it is particularly interesting to note that in such cases the translators did not intervene trying to adapt the text but literally followed the ST. Example 6 illustrates this claim.

Example 6

Posjetitelji domaćih konoba žele kušati izvorna domaća jela, dobar pršut, sir iz ulja, salatu od hobotnice....	Those visiting local taverns wish to taste authentic national food, good smoked ham, cheese kept in oil, octopus salad....

As can be seen in Example 6, an extract from a text published on the website of the Tourist Board of the Dubrovnik-Neretva County (ST4) contains a declarative statement in which a number of local specialties on offer in Dubrovnik restaurants is listed. TT4 follows closely the ST's syntactic structure, more suitable for informative texts and lacking persuasive force. In the TT sentence a question or an imperative, both forms directly addressing the readers, could have been used, which would enhance the persuasive force of the entire text. For example, *Have you tasted…?*" or *Visit local taverns and taste….!*. In the other TTs, which cannot be extensively quoted, a lack of adaptation to the conventions of English tourism discourse is evident in the use of expressions belonging to formal register. For example, in the following chunk from TT2 *Whatever cravings you might have, rest assured that you will find a delicious, healthy meal definitely worth your visit, and your return*, in which readers are directly addressed, the phrase *rest assured*, which belongs to the formal register, is to be noticed. Also, contracted forms such as *you'll* instead of *you will*, a strong indicator of informality, are not used.

I will return to Example 6 to show that the translator did not adapt the TT to the features of English tourism discourse with regard to the use of adjectives, a very important lexical-level feature of tourism texts (see Section 2). Thus, *dobar pršut* is translated as *good smoked ham*. In order to adjust the TT to the norms of info-promotional material written in English, *good* could be replaced with an adjective that has more persuasive force, such as *fabulous*, *delicious*, *most delicious*, *tasty*, etc.

5.3 Use of Cross-Cultural Mediation Strategies

In this part I will focus on cross-cultural mediation strategies used to render exotisms (see Nord 1991), abundantly used in tourism promotional materials. As all the texts making up the corpus are related to gastronomy, the majority of such references are names of local foods and dishes, as well as typical tools and utensils. The translator is faced with the challenge of how to render them in the TT. In the corpus the most frequently used strategy is retaining the reference in its original form with an addition of an explanation in brackets. Example 8 illustrates the constraints faced by translators in such cases.

Example 7

[...] arome netaknute prirode s dva zrna soli, koju je preko brda nabacilo jugo, ili miris *komaštre* i *komina* donesen burom.	aroma of pristine nature with two grains of salt, thrown over the hill by the south wind, or the smell of *komin* (a fireplace) and *komaštre* (a chain and a hook for hanging cooking pots over the fire on the fireplace) brought by the northern wind.

At first glance, it is noticeable that the TT is substantially longer than the ST, owing to the explanations added in brackets by the translator. *Komaštra* and *komin* are strongly coloured dialectal expressions used in the ST to enhance the impression of authenticity. They are retained in the TT, at the risk of information overload on the one hand, and on the other of producing a text not suited to the requirements of web textuality. It is also interesting to note that the translator did not pay attention to the fact that in the English text the word *komaštra* instead of *komaštre* (the form for the genitive case) should be used, as English does not have morphological forms for grammar cases.

Another interesting example of the use of this strategy is given below.

Example 8

Još jedna posebnost Istre je da se s teranom priprema *istarska supa, tradicionalni napitak s pečenim kruhom, malo papra, šećera i maslinovog ulja u bukaleti*, izvrsna za hladne ili kišovite zimske dane kada se uz ognjište okupe prijatelji i obitelj.	Another specialty of Istria is the preparation of *„Istrian supa" (soup) with Teran, traditional meal with the baked bread, a little bit of pepper, sugar and olive oil in „bukaleta" (an Istrian pitcher)*. It is a perfect meal during colder or rainy winter days when friends and family can gather around the fireplace.

While the segment is correctly translated, the problem of *istarska supa* is not adequately solved. The ST contains a description of the dish, as the author assumed that SL speakers would also need an explanation of what *istarska supa* is. While the ST clearly says that *istarska supa* is a traditional beverage (*tradicionalni napitak*), in the TT it is rendered as a *traditional meal*, which may be dangerously misleading for TT readers, who will probably expect that they will be served a meal. The problem for the translator might have been caused by the misconception that the Istrian dialect word *supa* is related to *soup* (*juha* in Croatian). However, the word stems from the dialectal expression *supati*, which means to toss. Actually, *istarska supa* is a drink made of wine and olive oil which is drunk from *bukatela* while some toasted bread is tossed in it.

5.4 Web Readability

An example illustrating the problems related to web readability is taken from ST2–TT2 (Example 10). Both texts are divided into rather large chunks with no subheadings. As can be seen in Example 9, the sentences are quite long and complex.

Example 9

Primorska kuhinja kao i kuhinja njegovih otoka temelji se na ribi, morskim plodovima, voću i povrću te, dakako, maslinovom ulju. (20 words) Uz ove zajedničke karakteristike, tu je još i cijeli niz osobitosti pa ćete u svakom kraju uživati i u ponekom lokalnom specijalitetu. (23 words)	The cuisine of the coastal area (Primorje) and the islands is based on fish, seafood, fruit and vegetables and, of course, olive oil. (23 words). In addition to these common features, there is a whole range of particular features characteristic of different areas, so that each particular area will offer you the possibility of savoring a few local specialties as well. (35 words)

The second sentence in the TT (35 words) does not comply with readability standards, although it could be adapted by the translator to do so by splitting it into two sentences and omitting certain redundancies. For example, *The cuisine of the coastal area (Primorje) and the islands is based on fish, seafood, fruit and vegetables and, of course, olive oil. Different areas offer their unique local specialties. So make sure you try them all.*

6 Conclusion

The aim of this study was to explore the quality of tourism text translations from Croatian into English published on the web, taking into account the specific features of translating for the web on the one hand, and on the other of translating tourism promotional texts. The proposed criteria were applied to the corpus of Croatian STs and English TTs published on the websites of Croatian Tourist Boards. The analysis applying the proposed criteria revealed that the TTs exhibit a number of overt errors, i.e., easily noticeable elementary language mistakes. Further, "covert errors" or mismatches on the level of tailoring a TT to comply with the conventions of TL tourism promotional materials (personalization, the desired (in)formality and the persuasive force of a TT) and with the conventions of web readability were observed. To avoid such mismatches translators have to introduce more radical changes into the text. Though the corpus analysed is relatively small, it is still large enough to provide an insight into the patterns of translators' decisions and to allow for the conclusion that the translators of the TTs were unwilling or unable to leave the "safe haven of a 'straight translation'" (Smith and Klein-Braley 1997, 175), often not producing functionally equivalent TTs.

References

Agorni, Mirella. 2012. "Questions of Mediation in the Translation of Tourist Texts." *Altre Modernità*: 1–11. https://doi.org/10.13130/2035-7680/1963.

—. 2016. "Tourism Across Languages and Cultures: Accessibility Through Translation." *Cultus* 9: 13–27.

Calvi, Maria Vittoria. 2006. *Il linguaggio spagnolo del turismo*. Viareggio-Lucca: Mario Baroni editore.

Cappelli, Gloria. 2006. *Sun, Sea, Sex and the Unspoilt Countryside. How the English Language Makes Tourists Out of Readers*. Pari: Pari Publishing.

—. 2008. "The Translation of Tourism-Related Websites and Localization: Problems and Perspectives." In *Voices on Translation*: *Linguistic, Multimedia, and Cognitive Perspectives,* edited by Annalisa Baicchi, 97–115. Roma: Bulzoni Editore.

Colina, Sonia. 2020. "Quality." 2020. In *The Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*, edited by Mona Baker and Gabriela Saldanha, 458–63. London: Routledge.

Dann, Graham. 1996. *The Language of Tourism. A Sociolinguistic Perspective*. Oxford: CAB International.

Denti, Olga. 2015. "Gazing at Italy from the East: A Multimodal Analysis of Malaysian Tourist Blogs." *Lingue Culture Mediazioni – Languages Cultures Mediation* (LCM Journal), [S.l.], 2 (1): 47–68. https://doi.org/10.7358/lcm-2015-001-dent.

Depraetere, Ilse, ed. 2011. *Perspectives on Translation Quality*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

Drugan, Joanna. 2013. *Quality in Professional Translation: Assessment and Improvement.* London: Bloomsbury.

Duff, Alan. 1981. *The Third Language: Recurrent Problems of Translation into English*. Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Durán Muñoz, Isabel. 2011. "Tourist Translations as a Mediation Tool: Misunderstandings and Difficulties." *Cadernos de Tradução* 27 (1): 29–49. https://doi.org/10.5007/2175-7968.2011v1n27p29.

—. 2019. "Adjectives and Their Keyness: A Corpus-Based Analysis of Tourism Discourse in English." *Corpora* 14 (3): 351–78. https://doi.org/10.3366/cor.2019.0178.

Fox, Renata. 1999. “Jezik turizma: retorika kvalitete.” In *Teorija i mogućnosti primjene pragmalingvistike*, edited by Lada Badurina, Nada Ivanetić, Boris Pritchard, and Diana Stolac, 225–32. Zagreb: Hrvatsko društvo za primijenjenu lingvistiku.
—. 2004. “Gastrospeak: Towards Gastronomic Identity of Croatian Tourism.” In *Strategic Partnerships for the Development of Tourist Destinations*, edited by Milan Ambrož, 1–11. Portorož: Visoka šola za turizem.
—. 2007. “Reinventing the Gastronomic Identity of Croatian Tourist Destinations.” *International Journal of Hospitality Management* 26 (3): 546–59. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijhm.2006.03.001.
Francesconi, Sabrina. 2008. “Metaphors of Jewels as Strategies of Persuasion in British Tourist Promotional Texts.” In *Language and Bias in Specialized Discourse*, edited by Guliana Garzone and Paola Catenaccio, 176–86. Milano: CUEM.
—. 2014. *Reading Tourism Texts: A Multimodal Analysis*. Bristol: Channel View Publications.
Gandin, Stefania. 2016. “Teaching and Learning the Language of Tourism as an LSP: Corpus-Based Approaches.” In *New Insights into Corpora and Translation,* edited by Daniel Gallego-Hernández, 93–111. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
Garrand, Timothy. 2006. *Writing for Multimedia and the Web: A Practical Guide to Content Development for Interactive Media*. 3rd ed. Amsterdam: Elsevier.
Gotti, Maurizio. 2006. “The Language of Tourism as Specialized Discourse.” In *Translating Tourism: Linguistic/Cultural Representations*, edited by Oriana Palusci and Sabrina Francesconi, 15–34. Trento: Università degli Studi di Trento.
Hatim, Basil. 2004. “Culture as Textual Practices: The Translation of the Tourist Brochure as a Genre.” In *Pragmatics at Work: The Translation of Tourist Literature,* edited by María Pilar Navarro Errasti, Rosa Lorés Sanz, and Silvia Murillo Ornat, 15–27. Bern: Peter Lang.
Hickey, Leo. 2004. “Perlocutionary Pursuits: Persuading of/that/to.” In *Pragmatics at Work: The Translation of Tourist Literature,* edited by María Pilar Navarro Errasti, Rosa Lorés Sanz, and Silvia Murillo Ornat, 57–79. Bern: Peter Lang.
House, Juliane. 1997. *Translation Quality Assessment: A Model Revisited*. Tübingen: Narr. House.
—. 2015. *Translation Quality Assessment. Past and Present*. London: Routledge.
Janoschka, Anja. 2004. *Web Advertising: New Forms of Communication on the Internet*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
Kelly, Dorothy. 1997. “The Translation of Texts from the Tourist Sector: Textual Conventions, Cultural Distance and Other Constraints.” *Trans* 2: 33–42. https://doi.org/10.24310/TRANS.1998.v0i2.2354.
Manca, Elena. 2016. *Persuasion in Tourism Discourse: Methodologies and Models.* Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
Mocini, Renzo. 2005. “The Verbal Discourse of Tourist Brochures.” *AnnalSS* 5: 153–64.
—. 2013. “The Promotional Functionality of Evaluative Language in Tourism Discourse.” *Lingue Linguaggi* 9: 157–72. https://doi.org/10.1285/i22390359v9p157.
Munday, Jeremy. 2004. “Advertising: Some Challenges to Translation Theory.” *The Translator* 10 (2): 199–219. https://doi.org/10.1080/13556509.2004.10799177.
Nigro, Maria Giovanna. 2005. “The Language of Tourism as LSP? A Corpus-Based Study of the Discourse of Guidebooks.” In *Modern Approach to Terminological Theories and Applications*, edited by Heribert Picht, 187–98. Bern: Peter Lang.
—. 2012. “From Words to Keywords: The Journey from General Language to the Language of Tourism.” *Textus. English Studies in Italy* 25 (1): 105–19.
Newmark, Peter. 1991. *About Translation*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
—. 1993. *Paragraphs on Translation*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
Nord, Christiane. 1991. *Text Analysis in Translation: Theory, Methodology, and Didactic Application of a Model for Translation Oriented Text Analysis*. Amsterdam: Rodopi.
Pierini, Patrizia. 2007. “Quality in Web Translation: An Investigation into UK and Italian Tourism Web Sites.” *The Journal of Specialized Translation* 8: 85–103. https://jostrans.org/issue08/art_pierini.pdf.
—. 2009. “Adjectives in Tourism English on the Web: A Corpus-Based Study.” *CÍRCULO de Lingüística Aplicada a la Comunicación* 40: 93–116.

Rello, Luz, Martin Pielot, and Mari-Carmen Marcos. 2016. "Make It Big!: The Effect of Font Size and Line Spacing on Online Readability." In *Proceedings of the 2016 CHI Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems.* New York: Association for Computing Machinery. https://doi.org/10.1145/2858036.2858204.

Snell-Hornby, Mary 1999. "The 'Ultimate Confort': Word, Text and the Translation of Tourist Brochures." In *Word, Text, Translation: Liber Amicorum for Peter Newmark,* edited by Gunilla Anderman and Margaret Rogers, 95–104. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Smith, Veronica, and Christine Klein-Braley. 1997. "Advertising – A Five-Stage Strategy for Translation." In *Translation as Intercultural Communication: Selected Papers from the EST Congress, Prague 1995,* edited by Mary Snell-Hornby, Zuzana Jettmarová, and Klaus Kaindl, 173–84. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Sulaiman, Zain, and Rita Wilson. 2019. *Translation and Tourism: Strategies for Effective Cross-Cultural Communication*. Singapore: Springer Nature Singapore.

Sumberg, Carolyn. 2004. "Brand Leadership at Stake: Selling France to British Tourists." *The Translator* 10 (2): 329–53. https://doi.org/10.1080/13556509.2004.10799183.

Valdeón, Roberto A. 2009. "Info-Promotional Material Discourse and Its Translation: The Case of the Asturian Tourist Board Texts." *Across Languages and Cultures* 10 (1): 21–47. https://doi.org/10.1556/Acr.10.2009.1.2.

Van Westering, Jetske 1999. "Heritage and Gastronomy: The Pursuits of the 'New Tourist'." *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 5 (2): 75–81. https://doi. org/10.1080/13527259908722252.

Yui Ling Ip, Janice. 2008. "Analyzing Tourism Discourse: A Case Study of a Hong Kong Travel Brochure." *LCOM Papers* 1: 1–19.

ELOPE

Tadej Pahor
Martina Smodiš
Agnes Pisanski Peterlin
University of Ljubljana, Slovenia

2021, Vol. 18 (1), 169-186(222)
revije.ff.uni-lj.si/elope
https://doi.org/10.4312/elope.18.1.169-186
UDC: 81'255:001.4

Reshaping Authorial Presence in Translations of Research Article Abstracts

ABSTRACT

In multilingual settings, the abstract is the only part of the research article that is regularly translated. Although very brief, abstracts play an important role in academic communication, as they provide immediate access to research findings. Contrastive research has revealed considerable cross-linguistic differences in the rhetorical patterns of abstracts. The present paper focuses on how this variation is bridged in translation, by addressing an important rhetorical dimension of academic discourse, authorial presence. Specifically, it examines how authorial presence is reshaped in translated abstracts. An analysis of a small corpus of 150 Slovene research article abstracts from five disciplines and their English translations reveals several interesting types of recurring translators' interventions, most notably the tendency to replace personal authorial references with impersonal structures. Data collected in interviews with four experienced translators of academic texts is used to shed light on potential reasons for interventions with authorial presence in translation.

Keywords: academic discourse, authorial presence, corpus analysis, interview study, translation of abstracts

Preoblikovanje avtorjeve prisotnosti v prevodih izvlečkov znanstvenih člankov

IZVLEČEK

V večjezičnih okoljih je izvleček edini del znanstvenega članka, ki se ga redno prevaja. Čeprav so zelo kratki, imajo izvlečki pomembno vlogo v akademski komunikaciji, saj omogočajo takojšen dostop do izsledkov raziskav. Kontrastivne raziskave so identificirale precejšnje medjezikovne razlike v retoričnih vzorcih izvlečkov. Pričujoči prispevek se osredotoča na to, kako se tovrstne razlike premostijo v prevodu, in sicer na primeru pomembne retorične dimenzije akademskega diskurza, to je avtorjeve prisotnosti v besedilu. Prispevek se ukvarja z vprašanjem, kako se prisotnost avtorja preobrazi v prevedenih izvlečkih. Analiza majhnega korpusa 150 slovenskih izvlečkov znanstvenih člankov iz petih različnih strok in pripadajočih angleških prevodov pokaže nekaj zanimivih ponavljajočih se posegov prevajalcev, med katerimi je najpomembnejša zamenjava osebnih referenc na avtorja z neosebnimi strukturami. Podatki, pridobljeni v intervjujih s štirimi izkušenimi prevajalci akademskega diskurza, osvetlijo potencialne razloge za posege v avtorjevo prisotnost v prevodu.

Ključne besede: akademski diskurz, avtorjeva prisotnost, korpusna analiza, študija na podlagi intervjujev, prevajanje izvlečkov

1 Introduction

Research article abstracts (RAAs) are frequently translated in multilingual contexts, where the source and target texts are published side-by-side. Translation of RAAs is typically carried out for two reasons: to increase the international visibility of local research, or to foster multilingualism in an increasingly monolingual world (cf. Morley and Kerans 2013). As a genre, RAAs perform a key function in academic communication, since they are, as Lorés-Sanz (2016, 133) points out, "a navigating tool, an essential time-saving and information-managing device". Hyland (2003, 258) underlines the importance of the genre because "after the title, it is generally the readers' first encounter with a text and the point where they decide whether to read on and give the accompanying paper further attention, or to ignore it". Juxtaposing them with research articles, Hyland (2003, 258) furthermore identifies the most critical function of RAAs, which is to "persuade readers that the article is worth reading". Nevertheless, their translation remains surprisingly under-researched, although a few studies on translation of academic abstracts (Van Bonn and Swales 2007; Perales-Escudero and Swales 2011; Alharbi and Swales 2011; Lorés-Sanz 2016) have shown considerable shifts in rhetorical patterns in translation. This corresponds to the findings of research into translation of other academic genres from Slovene, a peripheral language, into English, the academic *lingua franca* (see Paradiž 2020 for research grant proposals; Pisanski Peterlin 2016 for research articles), where rhetorical divergences between the source and target texts have been identified above all in terms of the author-audience interaction.

The aim of this paper is to investigate how authorial presence as an element of the author-audience relationship is transformed and reconstructed in translation of academic discourse. Using a corpus of Slovene RAAs and their English translations, and semi-structured interviews, this study examines the translation strategies used in translating authorial references from Slovene into English. In particular, the study addresses the following research questions:

1. How is the authorial voice in translated English abstracts different from that in original Slovene abstracts?
2. What kind of shifts can be identified in translation in different disciplines?
3. What are the translators' reasons for the shifts?

2 Authorial Presence

Over the past few decades, a substantial body of research into the construction of authorial presence in academic discourse has revealed the complexities associated with its discourse functions (Ivanić 1998; Tang and John 1999; Kuo 1999; Hyland 2001, 2002; Taylor and Goodall 2019), as well as variation in authorial presence across languages (Vassileva 1998; Breivega, Dahl, and Fløttum 2002; Mur Dueñas 2007; Molino 2010; Dontcheva-Navratilova 2013; Walková 2018), genres and disciplines (Breivega, Dahl, and Fløttum 2002; Seoane and Hundt 2018; Cheung and Lau 2020). While academic writing has traditionally been viewed as distant and impersonal to avoid associations with subjectivity (Lafuente Millán 2010, 36; Hyland 2001, 207–8), a number of studies have shown that personal authorial references are actually an important element of academic communication. In fact, Hyland (2002, 1091) identifies "the ability of the writer to construct a credible representation of themselves and their work, aligning themselves with the socially shaped identities of their communities" as a key element of pragmatic competence.

To shed light on how authors use authorial references to draw attention to themselves or to obscure their presence, several researchers have attempted to classify the discourse functions of authorial presence in various academic genres. The proposed classifications vary depending on how broadly authorial presence is defined. Thus Tang and John's (1999) classification covers both inclusive (i.e., referring to the author and the audience) and exclusive (referring to the author only) uses of personal authorial expressions. On the other hand, Hyland's (2003) classification, developed using a sample of 80 research articles and 800 RAAs from eight different disciplines, is limited to exclusive use, distinguishing between the following discourse functions: *explaining a procedure*, *stating results or claim*, *elaborating an argument*, and *stating a goal/purpose*.

It is not surprising that a considerable amount of detailed information obtained through empirical research on the role of authorial identity is available for academic writing in English in general and for English RAAs in particular, as English is the indisputable global *lingua franca* of academic communication. Thus Hyland's (2003, 257–58) juxtaposition of the frequencies of use of the discourse functions of authorial presence in two genres, research articles and RAAs, reveals that abstracts follow very specific rhetorical conventions of their own. In RAAs, the most frequently used function of authorial presence was s*tating results or claim,* followed by *stating a goal/purpose* and *elaborating an argument*, while *explaining a procedure* was the least frequent function. Moreover, Hyland's comprehensive corpus studies of academic writing have revealed variations in the expression of authorial presence among different disciplines, with personal authorial references being typically more frequent in the soft fields, i.e., the humanities and social sciences, than in the hard sciences, i.e., science and engineering (Hyland 2001, 2003). Moreover, considerable variation in the preferred forms of authorial presence was also identified: Hyland's (2003) analysis shows that self-mentions in the singular are relatively rarely used in abstracts from the hard sciences compared to self-mentions in the plural form; in RAAs in the soft disciplines, on the other hand, self-mentions in the singular occurred somewhat more frequently than self-mentions in the plural. This difference is partly attributed to the fact that most texts in the hard sciences are multi-authored.

Much less empirical data on this topic is available for other languages, and often the main source of information for the preferred expressions of authorial voice may be language-specific style guides. However, a number of contrastive studies have contributed to a better understanding of how authorial identity is shaped across lingua-cultures. Vassileva's (1998) influential study contrasting authorial presence in linguistics research articles across five languages identified some fundamental differences among English, German, French, Russian and Bulgarian, which have been further explored in subsequent research. Vassileva (1998) showed that while both the first person singular and plural were used to express authorial presence in English and German texts, Russian and Bulgarian texts relied almost exclusively on the plural, and in French texts personal authorial references were relatively rare. Subsequent contrastive studies juxtaposing English and Romance languages revealed similar tendencies: Molino's (2010) analysis showed that personal authorial references were used less frequently in linguistics research articles in Italian than in English, while Mur Dueñas (2007) reported a less frequent use of self-mentions in Spanish business management research articles than in English.

Research focusing on Slavic languages has, on the other hand, confirmed the preference for the plural form in expressing authorial identity (cf., for instance, Čmejrková 2007a for Czech; Bašić and Veselica-Majhut 2016 for Croatian; Walková 2018 for Slovak), which Čmejrková (2007b, 97) attributes to the influence of the Latin rhetorical tradition of using *pluralis modestiae* for self-presentation. Nevertheless, Čmejrková (2007b, 97) also highlights that the singular is increasingly gaining ground in Czech and Slovak academic writing due to the growing influence of English. It is important to note, however, that substantial divergences between the conventions of Slavic languages have also been identified in contrastive research. Balažic Bulc's (2020) corpus study of 160 RAAs in Slovene and Croatian from a range of different disciplines identifies pronounced differences between the two languages in terms of the frequency of self-mentions across the different fields, a striking finding given the systemic similarities between the two languages and the shared history of the lingua-cultures. Surprisingly, Balažic Bulc's (2020) results for interdisciplinary differences among Slovene research articles also show that personal authorial references occur most frequently in the natural sciences, somewhat less frequently in technology and social sciences and relatively infrequently in the humanities. Finally, Balažic Bulc's (2020) data also reveals the first person plural verb as the most frequent form of self-mention in both Slovene and Croatian.

Descriptions of Slovene also suggest that the first person plural is the traditionally preferred form of expressing the authorial voice in academic discourse. Toporišič (2004, 390) claims that the first person plural form can replace the singular to avoid highlighting the doer of the action, pointing out that this is used by some scientists, although he considers this type of use to be old-fashioned. Hladnik's (2002) online edition of his seminal style guide for Slovene underscores a simple, neutral, comprehensible style as the basic convention of Slovene academic writing. The first person plural is proposed as the norm for academic writing, since it includes both the writer and the reader; although the first person singular form is also recommended as the preferred form in the exclusive use (when the reference is to the author only) to avoid the awkward connotation of the *pluralis maiestatis* and glorification of the writer. Furthermore, Hladnik (2002) also discusses the use of two impersonal alternatives to personal authorial references, i.e., the passive voice and nominalization, noting for both that while they have often been proscribed, they cannot be avoided.

In this context, it must be noted that a direct contrastive comparison of personal authorial references may be difficult when systemic differences between languages may play a role in the choice of the form. In addition to deliberately opting for a personal authorial reference, two other reasons may also account for choosing a personal form in Slovene academic writing. The first is that the use of potential impersonal substitutes (the passive, non-finites) is more restricted in Slovene than in English (cf., Blaganje and Konte 1998, 295; Mikolič Južnič 2013, 76), and the second is that a null subject, i.e., a subject expressed only through verbal inflection, is less manifest than an overt subject (cf. Pisanski Peterlin 2016, 280); for similar arguments for Slavic languages in general, see also Walková (2018, 93–94).

3 Methods

A mixed methods approach, combining corpus analysis and semi-structured interviews, was used in the present study to provide complementary quantitative and qualitative perspectives on the process and products of translation of academic discourse.

3.1 Corpus Analysis

The 42,500-word[1] specialized parallel corpus used in the study comprises 150 RAAs in Slovene and their corresponding 150 English translations. The abstracts are from five different disciplines, geography, linguistics, medicine, mechanical engineering and sociology, with 30 Slovene versions and the corresponding 30 English translations for each discipline. Details on the individual subcorpora are given in Table 1 in terms of the number of words.

Table 1. Corpus size with the subcorpora.

	Slovene RAAs	**English RAAs**
Geography	2,777	3,513
Mechanical engineering	4,038	4,790
Medicine	7,345	7,864
Sociology	3,185	3,692
Linguistics	2,414	2,977
Total	**19,759**	**22,836**

The texts were published between 1999 and 2019 in five international peer-reviewed journals (one per discipline), indexed in relevant international databases; all the journals were based in Slovenia. The source texts and their translations were published side-by-side. The abstracts were authored by researchers who were native speakers of Slovene. Data on translation was only available for 52 texts, specifically for all geography abstracts and 22 linguistics abstracts: all were translated from Slovene into English by several translators, some of whom were native speakers of Slovene, while others were native speakers of English. For other texts, no data on translation is available, but it is assumed that the Slovene-to-English translation direction was used, as there was a corresponding Slovene version of the research articles for each of the abstracts. It is also assumed that at least some of the abstracts from the fields of medicine, mechanical engineering and sociology were self-translated, since self-translation of academic writing is a fairly common practice in some disciplines (see Pisanski Peterlin 2019 for more details).

The corpus was analysed using Sketch Engine, a software tool for corpus management and analysis. The Slovene part of the corpus was searched for all occurrences of the first person singular, plural and dual verbs, all case forms of the first person personal pronouns, and all

1 The importance of small corpora for research focusing on genre, pragmatics and translation has already been highlighted in the literature (see Vaughan and Clancy 2013; Koester 2010).

forms of first person possessive pronouns. The English part of the corpus was searched for first person singular and plural personal pronouns (*I, me, we, us*) and for first person possessive pronouns (*my, mine, our, ours*). All the examples identified electronically were subsequently examined manually, and all instances of homographs were removed.

The results for the Slovene and English versions were then examined by the first and third authors to determine whether the instances of authorial expression were retained, added or omitted in translation. The search results were thus classified into the following three categories: a complete match (a corresponding authorial expression was identified in both language versions), a partial match (a different reference to the author, often less overt, was identified in the corresponding text in the other language for instance, such instances were not necessarily identified as authorial references in corpus search) and additions/omissions (no corresponding expression was found in the corresponding text in the other language, the authorial expression was omitted or added in translation). Finally, the expressions of authorial presence were examined by the first and third authors to determine whether language-specific or discipline-specific preferences may be identified in the corpus.

3.2 Interview Study

The interview study was aimed to elicit data on the practices and perceptions of translators in the field of translating academic discourse, with an additional specific focus on their views on authorial presence in translated academic texts. An initial version of the interview guide[2] was developed by the third author, and tested in a preliminary interview with a translator conducted by the second author. The data from the preliminary interview was not included in the study. The interview guide was subsequently revised, and the final version of the interview guide comprised ten open-ended questions. The semi-structured interviews with four translators were carried out between 15 November 2020 and 30 November 2020 via the Zoom videoconferencing platform[3] by the second author. The interview study was part of a larger investigation into the experiences of translators with translation of academic discourse.

The interviewees, two of whom were male and two female, were all translators working from Slovene into English, and had extensive experience with translation of academic texts. Two of the interviewees were native speakers of Slovene, while two were native speakers of English, but all the interviewees were fluent in both languages.

Three of the interviews were conducted in Slovene and one was conducted in English. All four interviews were recorded using the recording function of the Zoom platform, and subsequently transcribed by the second and third authors. The transcripts were reviewed independently by the three researchers to identify emergent themes. A coding framework was devised, tested and refined, and any disagreements were resolved by discussion. Nvivo, a software tool for qualitative data analysis, was used to code the transcripts.

---

2 The English translation of the interview guide is available from the authors upon request.

3 Because of the pandemic restrictions in force in Slovenia in November 2020, it was not possible to carry out face-to-face interviews. Videoconferencing technology was chosen because of its potential to replicate, to some extent, the face-to-face medium (cf. also Archibald et al., 2019 for more details on the use of Zoom in qualitative interview data collection).

4 Results

4.1 Results of the Corpus Study

Table 2 presents the basic data on the occurrences of personal authorial references in all the subcorpora.

Table 2. Personal authorial references in the individual subcorpora.

	Slovene RAAs			English RAAs		
	No.	*Per 100 words*	*Per text*	*No.*	*Per 100 words*	*Per text*
Geography	38	1.37	1.27	22	0.63	0.73
Mechanical engineering	48	1.19	1.60	13	0.27	0.43
Medicine	145	1.97	4.83	56	0.71	1.87
Sociology	48	1.51	1.60	29	0.79	0.97
Linguistics	16	0.66	0.53	6	0.20	0.20
Total	**295**	**1.49**	**9.83**	**126**	**0.55**	**4.20**

A comparison of the raw numbers, normalized frequencies and number of occurrences per text for the Slovene and English versions of the abstracts in Table 2 shows that the number of personal authorial references is considerably higher in Slovene source texts than in the corresponding English translations. This tendency can be observed in all disciplines, although the ratio for the normalized frequencies varies from just under 2:1 in sociology to 4:1 in mechanical engineering.

A direct juxtaposition of the individual instances of personal authorial references in the source and target texts revealed how many of them were retained (complete match), modified (partial match), omitted or added in translation. The results are given in Table 3 from the perspective of Slovene source texts and in Table 4 from the perspective of their English translations. The total number of occurrences and the percentages are provided for each subcorpus.

Table 3. Retention and omission of personal authorial references.

Slovene RAAs				
	Complete match (%)	*Partial match (%)*	*Omissions (%)*	*Total (100%)*
Geography	19 (50%)	2 (5.2%)	17 (44.8%)	38 (100%)
Mechanical Engineering	6 (12.5%)	1 (2%)	41 (85.5%)	48 (100%)
Medicine	34 (23.5%)	11 (7.5%)	100 (69%)	145 (100%)
Sociology	22 (45.8%)	5 (10.5%)	21 (43.7%)	48 (100%)
Linguistics	3 (19%)	2 (12.5%)	11 (68.5%)	16 (100%)
Total	**84 (30.2%)**	**21 (7.5%)**	**190 (62.3%)**	**295 (100%)**

Table 3 shows substantial differences among the five disciplines: more personal authorial references were omitted than retained or changed in translation in three disciplines, i.e., linguistics, mechanical engineering and medicine. In sociology and geography, omissions were still quite frequent, but occurred in just under 50% of the cases.

Table 4. Retention and addition of personal authorial references.

English RAAs				
	Complete match (%)	*Partial match (%)*	*Additions (%)*	*Total (100%)*
Geography	19 (86.3%)	0 (0%)	3 (13.7%)	22 (100%)
Mechanical Engineering	6 (46%)	0 (0%)	7 (54%)	13 (100%)
Medicine	34 (60.7%)	4 (7.1%)	18 (32.2%)	56 (100%)
Sociology	22 (75.9%)	1 (3.5%)	6 (20.6%)	29 (100%)
Linguistics	3 (50%)	0 (0%)	3 (50%)	6 (100%)
Total	**84 (63.9%)**	**5 (2%)**	**37 (34.1%)**	**126 (100%)**

The results in Table 4 show that additions of authorial references were relatively infrequent. While the percentages for additions seem relatively high in mechanical engineering and linguistics, the overall number of occurrences of personal authorial references in the English translations in these two disciplines was too low to draw any significant conclusions. Example 1[4] shows a complete match and that both the form and function are preserved in the English version of the abstract:

> (1a) *Na podlagi strukturnega odziva enosmernega elektromotorja, ki smo ga dobili kot posledico harmonskega vzbujanja magnetnih sil z MKE,* ***smo ovrednotili*** *zvočno polje v okolici enosmernega elektromotorja. 'On the basis of the structural response of the DC electric motor obtained as a result of the harmonic excitation of magnetic forces using FEM,* ***we evaluated*** *the sound field surrounding the DC electric motor.'* (*Mechanical Engineering*)
>
> (1b) *Based on the structural response of the DC electric motor that is the result of the harmonic excitation of magnetic forces, and was calculated with the FEM,* ***we evaluated*** *the sound field surrounding the DC electric motor.* (*Mechanical Engineering*)

The **omissions**, **additions** and **modifications** identified were further examined manually to identify the corresponding structures in the source and target texts. The examination showed that in cases of **omission** the authorial references from the source texts were replaced by the following three impersonal structures:

4 All the examples quoted are from the corpus of research article abstracts used in this study. The Slovene source text examples are marked with the letter *a* and provided with an English gloss in inverted commas, while the published English translations are marked with the letter *b*.

A passive form:

The passive voice was the most frequent impersonal structure to replace a personal authorial reference from the Slovene source text in the English translation in all the disciplines except for linguistics, where the overall total number of occurrences was very low. Example 2 illustrates this type of shift in translation. The shift in translation from a personal reference to the passive voice seems to have been particularly frequent in descriptions of methodology.

> (2a) *Uvodni del* ***smo oblikovali*** *na podlagi dejstev, raziskovalni del pa s pomočjo strukturiranega vprašalnika... '**We formed** the introductory part on the basis of facts, and the research part with the help of a structured questionnaire...'* (*Medicine*)
>
> (2b) *The introductory part **was designed** on the basis of facts, and the research work was carried out using a structured questionnaire...* (*Medicine*)

A metonym:

Some personal authorial references were replaced by a metonymic expression, i.e. inanimate subjects, such as *this study* or *this paper*, as in example (3).

> (3a) *V raziskavi **smo ugotovili**, da so priložnosti za izboljšave pri preverjanih parametrih... '**We found** in the study that there are opportunities for improvement in the parameters investigate...'* (*Medicine*)
>
> *(3b) **The study revealed** that there is much space for improvement regarding the studied parameters of the ASP...* (*Medicine*)

A non-finite form:

Instances of non-finite verb forms, as in example (4), replaced personal authorial references relatively infrequently.

> (4a) *Dno Dobrepoljsko-Struškega polja, kraški ravnik v okolici Ponikev ter okoliška pobočja Male gore, Suhe krajine in Čušperške planote oblikujejo pokrajino, **ki smo jo** po osrednji reliefni enoti **poimenovali** Dobrepoljsko-Struški kras. 'The bottom of the Dobrepolje-Struge polje, the karst plain around Ponikve, and the neighbouring slopes of Mala gora, Suha krajina, and the Čušperk plateau form the Dobrepolje-Struge karst, **which we named** after the central relief unit.'* (*Geography*)
>
> (4b) *The bottom of the Dobrepolje-Struge polje, the karst corrosion plain around Ponikve, and the neighbouring hillslopes of Mala gora, Suha krajina, and the Čušperk plateau comprise the Dobrepolje-Struge karst, **so named** after its central relief unit.* (*Geography*)

However, not all omissions of personal authorial references involved substituting them with an impersonal structure. In several cases, the wording of a passage from the source text was completely altered in translation, leaving out some of the details from the original text, including the personal authorial reference.

> (5a) *Guarana lahko v priporočenih odmerkih poslabša bolezni srca (predvsem motnje srčnega ritma, koronarno bolezen srca, srčno popuščanje) in sladkorno bolezen ter negativno vpliva na zdravje nosečnic, doječih žensk in otrok, **ki jim zato odsvetujemo** uživanje*

guarane. 'Guarana may in recommended doses exacerbate cardiac disease (especially cardiac arrhythmias, coronary heart disease, heart failure) as well as diabetes and may negatively affect the health of pregnant women, nursing women and children whom ***we do not advise*** *to consume guarana.'* (*Medicine*)

(5b) *Guarana in therapeutic doses can exacerbate underlying cardiac disease (especially cardiac arrhythmias, coronary heart disease, heart failure) and diabetes. Furthermore,* ***children, pregnant and nursing women should avoid*** *guarana as well.* (*Medicine*)

Additions were less frequent in translation than omissions; when they did occur, additions were mostly used to replace a passive form in the source text, as in example (6).

(6a) *Najprej* ***so izpostavljeni*** *ključni vidiki neenakosti med spoloma, iz katerih izhajajo argumenti v prid uvedbi UTD. 'First the key aspects of gender inequality that give rise to arguments in support of UBI* ***are highlighted****.'* (*Sociology*)

(6b) ***We first highlight*** *the key aspects of gender inequality that give rise to arguments in support of UBI.* (*Sociology*)

In other cases, a personal authorial reference was added in translation when substantial rewording occurred and certain details were added, as in example (7).

(7a) *Skupini TOT in TVT se med seboj nista statistično značilno razlikovali niti v rezultatih posega, niti v deležu zapletov po posegu. 'There was no statistically significant difference between the TOT and TVT groups with regard to either the results of surgical treatment or postoperative complications.'* (*Medicine*)

(7b) ***Our retrospective study has confirmed*** *that the efficacy and safety of TOT and TVT in the surgical treatment of SUI are comparable.* (*Medicine*)

Modifications, i.e., instances which involved some degree of change, but where the reference to the author was still present, were quite infrequent. In some modifications, only the grammatical form changed, for instance, instead of the first person subject in the original a possessive pronoun was used in translation, as in example (8), or a first person plural subject in the original was replaced by a first person singular subject, or similar. In other modifications, a personal authorial reference was replaced by a less explicit reference to the other (see for instance, example 9), where a first person plural in the original was translated as one, changing the meaning from exclusive reference to the author to generic. Instances such as 9b were not considered to be explicit personal authorial references, but it should nevertheless be acknowledged that some degree of authorial presence was retained in such cases.

(8a) *Čeprav je ocena pojavnosti zaradi retrospektivne analize najverjetneje podcenjena,* ***menimo****, <u>da omenjeni rezultati</u> potrjujejo naša klinična opažanja, da je FNAIT preredko diagnosticirana. 'Even though the evaluation of the incidence is likely to be underestimated due to retrospective analysis,* ***we believe that the results mentioned*** *confirm our clinical observations that FNAIT is underdiagnosed.'* (*Medicine*)

(8b) *We are aware that the obtained incidence may be underestimated due to retrospective analysis of the data; nevertheless,* ***our results*** *confirm our clinical observations that FNAIT is underdiagnosed in our area.* (*Medicine*)

(9a) *Na ravni tvorbeno-pretvorbeno nepredvidljivih postopkov pa* ***smo opredelili*** *devet različnih skupin tvorjenk... 'At the level of unpredictable transformational-generative processes,* ***we have defined*** *nine different groups of derivatives...'* (*Linguistics*)

(9b) *At the level of unpredictable transformational-generative processes,* ***one can define*** *nine different groups of derivatives...* (*Linguistics*)

Because of such formal modifications that occurred in translation, the source and target texts differed to some extent in the use of individual forms of personal authorial reference. These differences are presented in Tables 5 and 6 in terms of the number of occurrences per 100 words, for the Slovene source texts and English translations, respectively.

Table 5. Frequency of forms of personal authorial reference per 100 words in the Slovene source texts.

	1st p. sg. subject	*1st p. pl. subject*	*1st p. du. subject*	*1st p. pl. object*	*1st p. pl. poss.*	*Total*
Geography	0.11	1.15	0.00	0.11	0.00	1.37
Mechanical Engineering	0.00	1.14	0.00	0.02	0.02	1.19
Medicine	0.00	1.80	0.00	0.05	0.12	1.97
Sociology	0.31	0.91	0.16	0.06	0.06	1.51
Linguistics	0.04	0.54	0.04	0.04	0.00	0.66
Total	**0.07**	**1.28**	**0.03**	**0.06**	**0.06**	**1.49**

There were no instances of object pronouns or possessive pronouns for the singular or dual.

Table 6. Frequency of forms of personal authorial reference per 100 words in the English translations.

	1st p. sg. subject	*1st p. pl. subject*	*1st p. pl. object*	*1st p. pl. poss.*	*Total*
Geography	0.09	0.43	0.09	0.03	0.63
Mechanical Engineering	0.00	0.21	0.00	0.06	0.27
Medicine	0.00	0.43	0.01	0.27	0.71
Sociology	0.16	0.51	0.03	0.08	0.79
Linguistics	0.07	0.10	0.03	0.00	0.20
Total	**0.05**	**0.35**	**0.03**	**0.12**	**0.55**

There were no instances of object pronouns or possessive pronouns for the singular.

While the first person plural subject was the preferred form of personal authorial reference in both languages in all the disciplines, a slight shift towards using a 1st person plural possessive pronoun to express authorial presence can be observed in translation. This shift is most pronounced in the abstracts of medical texts, where it accounts for over one third of the cases in English translations, but only 6% of the cases in Slovene originals.

4.2 Results of the Interview Study

The analysis of interview transcripts showed that all four interviewees had substantial experience with translation (from over 10 to over 20 years) of various academic genres (thesis abstracts, research articles, research article abstracts, research proposals were specifically mentioned) from different disciplines, including mechanical engineering, chemistry, Slovene language and literature, Latin language and literature, children's literature, healthcare studies, finance, pedagogy, linguistics, computer science, management and accounting, advertising, history, geography, urban planning, dermatology and medicine. In the context of the present study on authorial presence, the following themes emerged as central from the analysis of interview data: function of authorial presence, cross-linguistic differences, the role of discipline and translators' interventions.

Function of authorial presence

Several different functions of explicit authorial presence emerged in the interviews. Interviewee B expressed the opinion that an overt personal reference to the author in a research article underlines the agency by focusing on the person who carried out the work. Furthermore, she argued that in research grant proposals the first person form is crucial when promises are made. Interviewee D pointed out that it is often important to state the facts objectively and avoid emotion or personal opinion in academic writing, yet he also singled out *nosism* (the use of the first person plural) to highlight teamwork. Interviewee A argued that a personal authorial voice contributes towards making the text more interesting and unique.

Cross-linguistic differences

Three of the interviewees identified the first person plural as a common way of expressing authorial presence in Slovene as opposed to English. Interviewee A attributed this specificity to a tendency of Slovene texts being somewhat more indirect. "I think this collective *we* is used in your [culture] to avoid giving an order, to avoid being direct. So you don't give orders to your reader, but you soften your writing instead. It has to do with the language and the nation."

Similarly, Interviewee B underlined that the first person plural form seems to be preferred in Slovene, while the singular is avoided, as the authors "seem to be almost afraid to say I". She observed that in her experience the first person singular was used more frequently in English. In general, she argued that authorial presence was less "controversial" in English, but she also pointed out that there were also English-speaking authors who preferred a very objective, impersonal writing style, and Slovene-speaking authors who favoured a more personal style.

Interviewee D described the tendency of Slovene to prefer the first person plural from the point of view of translation into English. "I do certainly notice a lot of *nosism* in Slovenian writing, especially the authorial *we*... where one author is using the plural. And that is very peculiar from the standard English textual perspective. The reader is wondering who this *we* is all of sudden, who is the co-author and there isn't one. In most cases that is considered poor style and it's something I'll try to correct."

The role of discipline

All four interviewees referred to certain specific features of various disciplines, also noting that individual authors' preferences may vary considerably, regardless of the discipline, genre or culture. Both Interviewee A and Interviewee D observed that there are substantial differences between the hard sciences and humanities. Juxtaposing the examples of chemistry and the humanities, Interviewee A argued that "in the humanities, we can have nice long sentences with words and phrases belonging to a higher register, whereas that is not the case with chemistry, where you have sentences that are short, concise and to the point." Interviewee D pointed out that in "hard science there's very little authorial voice", compared to a discipline such as participative ethnology, where a more personal writing style may be used. He furthermore noted that there may be variation within a single discipline, depending on the type of research that is reported. "In medicine you can have personal voice as well, if you're doing a case study about an individual patient and you're describing his emotional state, then, of course, you can implement more authorial voice than if it's a study covering a thousand patients or a literature review".

Translators' interventions

All of the interviewees confirmed that some sort of an adaptation was necessary in translation of academic discourse, including sometimes adaptations of the authorial voice. Both Interviewee C and Interviewee B highlighted that they have noted changes in academic writing in Slovene, possibly under the influence of English. Interviewee C reported that many of the texts that she has been asked to translate are already structured in Slovene in such a way as to enable easy translation.

Interviewee B also pointed out that when she intervenes in the text as a translator she attempts to justify those interventions to the authors. She reported that in her experience the authors often say something like "we were taught in school that you have to be completely objective, completely removed in academic discourse".

Similarly, Interviewee C noted that she always asks the author to take a look at the changes to see if he or she agrees with the interventions. Interviewee C was the only one to report an experience with translating her own text. She observed that self-translation also involved a sort of an inner dialogue about the possible changes made in translation, although she did not explicitly refer to authorial presence.

Interviewee B highlighted that a translator has to be consistent in narration: "If you start with a personal, first person 'we tried to do this and that, we therefore analysed'... if you are at that personal level, you have to continue in the same way, so that you don't switch [to a different style] within the same sentence."

Enhancing the fluency and smooth flow of the text were identified as the main reasons for intervening with the style of the text, including making changes to the authorial voice. Interviewee B pointed out that "the author may have written the text in a hurry, and the text needs improvement, and you can do this to make it more fluent." She expressed a strong belief that it was the translators' responsibility or even their duty to make the text fluent and readable. She argued that a number of different pairs of interventions may occur in both directions, such as changing nominalizations into clauses or vice versa, making the sentences shorter or connecting them, changing the active voice into the passive voice or the other way around.

Interviewee A also observed that "as a translator you have to transform [the text] into a softer, more readable form which means that you do not change authorial presence as much as you strengthen it".

Making the text smoother was raised as a reason for intervening by Interviewee D as well: "I will change the author's voice or presence in the text if it seems appropriate. By that I mean … if the author would risk… if it would risk sounding impolite or arrogant. Obviously that's not something an author wants to sound like in a research text." Interviewee D identified the underlying connection between authorial presence and the flow of the text: "What I try to do in a research text is take off the rough edges if I'm adjusting the author's voice. Um, I … my thought is that if the author does have a presence in a text, the author should be some sort of a neutral, sympathetic figure. Not controlling or dominating the text. But if you can tell the author is there, the reader should at least like the person and have a positive attitude towards them." In addition to authorial voice, Interviewee D singled out impersonalization and hesitancy as elements that may be adjusted in translation of academic texts from Slovene into English.

Interviewee D noted that his voice changes when he writes in another language. While he did not have experience with self-translation, he believed that "in theory, if I were translating my own material into another language, I'd be careful to make myself look good, whether that's through looking important or friendly or whatever the norm is in that language if that were an issue in a particular text."

5 Discussion

This study examined how authorial presence is reshaped in translation of RAAs from Slovene into English. The first research question explored how personal authorial references in translated English abstracts differed from those in the original Slovene abstracts. The results of the corpus study revealed considerable divergences in both the frequency and form of personal authorial references between the source and target texts. The normalized frequency of personal authorial references was almost three times greater in the Slovene texts than in the English translations (see Table 2). Not surprisingly, omissions of authorial references were very frequent (over 62% of instances from the Slovene texts were omitted), while additions were relatively rare (see Tables 3 and 4). When omission occurred, the personal authorial reference was most typically replaced with an impersonal structure, such as the passive voice. This seems to directly reflect the more restricted use of the passive voice in Slovene in general compared to English (see, Blaganje and Konte 1998, 295); see also Hladnik's (2002) observation for Slovene that the passive is frowned upon by prescriptivists, although it cannot be avoided in academic writing.

Another important formal shift in translation needs to be noted: while the vast majority of personal authorial references in the Slovene source texts were in the form of the verb in the first person plural, which is very much in accordance with the findings of previous contrastive studies of Slavic languages (e.g., Vassileva 1998; Čmejrková 2007a; Bašić and Veselica-Majhut 2016), the possessive first person plural pronoun replaced some of these verbal forms in English translations. The interview data provides important information about the translators' reasons for this formal shift. Three of the interviewees singled out the need to modify the many first person plural forms found in Slovene academic texts in translation into English one of the key changes in authorial presence. The interviewees suggested that Slovene is less direct, relying more on the collective *we,* whereas the singular form is usually avoided.

The second research question compared the shifts in the expression of authorial presence in individual disciplines. The corpus analysis revealed a considerable cross-disciplinary variation in the use of personal authorial references in both languages, as well as very different approaches to translating these references. These cross-disciplinary differences are very much in accordance with the results of applied linguistics studies focusing on English (most notably, Hyland 2003), and contrastive studies (see, e.g., Breivega, Dahl, and Fløttum 2002; Balažic Bulc 2020). The findings of the interview study confirm the interviewees' awareness of the divergent disciplinary conventions.

The shifts in translation were more pronounced in medicine and mechanical engineering than in the soft fields. Personal authorial references occurred most frequently in Slovene medical abstracts, with almost two instances of such references per 100 words. In their English translations about two thirds of the references were replaced by impersonal structures; impersonalization was particularly noticeable in descriptions of the methodology. When personal authorial references were retained in translated medical abstracts, they were sometimes modified in form, for instance first person plural verbs were occasionally translated using possessives. Medicine as a discipline was specifically addressed by Interviewee D, who pointed out that there was considerable variation among medical texts depending on the type of study described. The translation shifts occurring in mechanical engineering were even more pronounced: over 80% of the relatively frequent authorial references in the Slovene originals were omitted in translation. The English target texts were thus quite impersonal, which is quite similar to Hyland's (2003) findings for mechanical engineering abstracts. In the social sciences, geography and sociology, a far greater degree of retention of personal authorial reference was found; in both disciplines about one half of the references were retained in translation. Interestingly, sociology was also the discipline where the first person singular was used with some frequency, both in the source texts and in the translations. The greater retention of authorial presence in the two social science disciplines may reflect their argumentative nature, as they allow more room for comments and personal opinion. Somewhat surprisingly, both the Slovene linguistics abstracts and their English translations were marked by a very impersonal style and contained few personal authorial references. This is quite distinct from the findings for English reported by Hyland (2003), where self-mentions were found to occur relatively frequently in the applied linguistics abstracts, compared to science and engineering, but similar to the results obtained by Balažič Bulc (2020), who found that self-mentions occurred less frequently in Slovene humanities abstracts (including linguistics) than in the abstracts from the natural sciences, social sciences and technology. It is interesting that Interviewees A and D also expressed their belief that a personal writing style was particularly characteristic of the humanities.

The third research question addressed the translators' reasons for the observed shifts in translation. The interview study underlined a strong acknowledgement of the need to adjust the translation to the conventions of the target culture. The interviewees' responses showed that their main reason for interfering with authorial presence was to enhance the fluency and the flow of the target text. Thus Interviewee B specifically mentioned the translator's responsibility to improve the accessibility of an academic text. While her comment referred to research proposals and their role in obtaining funding, the same principle can also be applied to abstracts. With appropriate interventions, which contribute to adapting target texts to target culture conventions, translated abstracts conform better to the expectations of the target audience. Interviewee A foregrounded a different aspect of interventions with the authorial presence in translation: in his opinion, a more personal, but less collective writing style can make an academic text more interesting. Conversely, Interviewee D stressed that the need for the author of an academic text to sound neutral and not to dominate the text. Although none of the interviewees raised the possibility that different discourse functions realized through personal authorial references may occasionally play a role in the shifts identified in translation, this possibility should not be ignored. The inclusive first person plural may no longer be suitable in the translated texts as the audience of the English texts is much broader (cf. Pisanski Peterlin 2016 for more details on translators' interventions to adapt the text to a new audience).

6 Conclusion

Although RAAs are frequently translated or self-translated in multilingual settings, relatively little is known about the challenges arising in translation of this pivotal academic genre. As they play a crucial role in disseminating new research findings, it seems particularly important to develop a thorough understanding of how the target texts are adjusted to the expectations of the audience in terms of their rhetorical patterns, including authorial presence. Our study has identified several important strategies occurring in translation of abstracts from Slovene into English, including a tendency to reduce the number of personal authorial references and a less pronounced reliance on the first person plural subjects.

In interpreting these findings, several limitations should be considered. The first is the corpus size and composition. While a small, specialized corpus is essential for an initial investigation into rhetorical phenomena, further research on a larger corpus with a wider selection of disciplines would be needed to enhance the validity of the findings. The second limitation is the lack of detail on the translation process available for some of the texts in the corpus. In future studies of translated abstracts, the availability of data on the translators should be one of the factors in selecting the materials for the corpus. Finally, a limitation of the interview study also needs to be noted: although our interviewees had considerable experience with translation of academic discourse, they were not the translators of the abstracts included in the corpus. In future research, additional discourse-based interviews with translators of the abstracts studied could contribute to a better understanding of the translation process and the actual translation decisions.

References

Alharbi, Lafi M., and John Malcolm Swales. 2011. "Arabic and English Abstracts in Bilingual Language Science Journals: Same or Different?" *Languages in Contrast* 11 (1): 69–85. https://doi.org/10.1075/lic.11.1.06alh.

Archibald, Mandy M., Rachel C. Ambagtsheer, Mavourneen G. Casey, and Michael Lawless. 2019. "Using Zoom Videoconferencing for Qualitative Data Collection: Perceptions and Experiences of Researchers and Participants." *International Journal of Qualitative Methods* 18: 1–8. https://doi.org/10.1177/1609406919874596.

Balažic Bulc, Tatjana. 2020. "Self-Mentions as Interactional Metadiscourse Strategies in Slovene and Croatian Research Article Abstracts." In *Academic Writing from Cross-Cultural Perspectives: Exploring the Synergies and Interactions,* edited by Agnes Pisanski Peterlin and Tamara Mikolič Južnič, 55–74. Ljubljana: Ljubljana University Press, Faculty of Arts.

Bašić, Ivana, and Snježana Veselica Majhut. 2017. "Explicit Author Reference in Research Articles in Linguistics in English and Croatian." In *Applied Linguistics Research and Methodology*, edited by Kristina Cergol Kovačević and Sanda Lucija Udier, 271–86. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang Verlag.

Blaganje, Dana, and Ivan Konte. 1998. *Modern English Grammar*. Ljubljana: DZS.

Breivega, Kjersti Rongen, Trine Dahl, and Kjersti Fløttum. 2002. "Traces of Self and Others in Research Articles. A Comparative Pilot Study of English, French and Norwegian Research Articles in Medicine, Economics and Linguistics." *International Journal of Applied Linguistics* 12 (2): 218–39. https://doi.org/10.1111/1473-4192.00032.

Cheung, Yin Ling, and Louwena Lau. 2020. "Authorial Voice in Academic Writing: A Comparative Study of Journal Articles in English Literature and Computer Science." *Ibérica: Revista de La Asociación Europea de Lenguas Para Fines Específicos (AELFE)* 39: 215–42.

Čmejrková, Světla. 2007a. "Variation in Academic Discourse: The Authorial Presence." In *Wissenschaftliches Schreiben Abseits Des Englischen Mainstreams (Academic Writing in Languages Other than English)*, edited by Ursula Doleschal and Helmut Gruber, 21–57. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

—. 2007b. "Predstavitev avtorja v čeških in slovaških znanstvenih besedilih.[The (Re)presentation of the Author in Czech and Slovak Scientific Texts.]" *Jezik in slovstvo* 52 (3–4): 95–105.

Dontcheva-Navratilova, Olga. 2013. "Lexical Bundles Indicating Authorial Presence: A Cross-Cultural Analysis of Novice Czech and German Writers' Academic Discourse." *Discourse and Interaction* 6 (1): 7–24. https://doi.org/10.5817/DI2013-1-7.

Hladnik, Miran. 2002. *Praktični spisovnik ali Šola strokovnega ubesedovanja: Vademekum za študente slovenske književnosti, zlasti za predmet Uvod v študij slovenske književnosti*. Ljubljana: Filozofska fakulteta, Oddelek za slovanske jezike in književnosti. http://lit.ijs.si/spisovn.html.

Hyland, Ken. 2001. "Humble Servants of the Discipline? Self-Mention in Research Articles." *English for Specific Purposes* 20 (3): 207–26. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0889-4906(00)00012-0.

—. 2002. "Authority and Invisibility: Authorial Identity in Academic Writing." *Journal of Pragmatics* 34 (8): 1091–112. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0378-2166(02)00035-8.

—. 2003. "Self-Citation and Self-Reference: Credibility and Promotion in Academic Publication." *Journal of the American Society for Information Science and Technology* 54 (3): 251–59. https://doi.org/10.1002/asi.10204.

Ivanić, Rosalind. 1998. *Writing and Identity: The Discoursal Construction of Identity in Academic Writing*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Koester, Almut. 2010. "Building Small Specialised Corpora." In *The Routledge Handbook of Corpus Linguistics*, edited by Anne O'Keeffe and Michael McCarthy, 66–79. London: Routledge.

Kuo, Chih-Hua. 1999. "The Use of Personal Pronouns: Role Relationships in Scientific Journal Articles." *English for Specific Purposes* 18 (2): 121–38. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0889-4906(97)00058-6.

Lorés-Sanz, Rosa. 2016. "When the Local Becomes International: The Lexicogrammar of Rhetorical Moves in English and Spanish Sociology Abstracts." *Languages in Contrast* 16 (1): 133–58. https://doi.org/10.1075/lic.16.1.06lor.

Mikolič Južnič, Tamara. 2013. “Bridging a Grammar Gap with Explicitation: A Case Study of the Nominalized Infinitive.” *Across Languages and Cultures* 14 (1): 75–98. https://doi.org/10.1556/Acr.14.2013.1.4.
Lafuente Millán, Enrique. 2010. “‘Extending This Claim, We Propose...’ The Writer’s Presence in Research Articles from Different Disciplines.” *Ibérica: Revista de La Asociación Europea de Lenguas Para Fines Específicos (AELFE)* 20: 35–56.
Molino, Alessandra. 2010. “Personal and Impersonal Authorial References: A Contrastive Study of English and Italian Linguistics Research Articles.” *Journal of English for Academic Purposes* 9 (2): 86–101. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jeap.2010.02.007.
Morley, Greg, and Mary Ellen Kerans. 2013. “Bilingual Publication of Academic Journals: Motivations and Practicalities.” *In Supporting Research Writing: Roles and Challenges in Multilingual Settings*, edited by V. Matarese, 121–37. Oxford: Chandos Publishing.
Mur Dueñas, Pilar. 2007. “‘I/We Focus On…’: A Cross-Cultural Analysis of Self-Mentions in Business Management Research Articles.” *Journal of English for Academic Purposes* 6 (2): 143–62. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jeap.2007.05.002.
NVivo Qualitative Data Analysis Software (Version 1.3). 2020. QSR International Pty Ltd.
O’Keeffe, Anne, and Michael McCarthy. 2010. *The Routledge Handbook of Corpus Linguistics*. London: Routledge.
Paradiž, Martina, 2020. “Competing for Funding: Contrasting Slovene and British Genre Conventions in Research Grant Proposals.” In *Academic Writing from Cross-Cultural Perspectives: Exploring the Synergies and Interactions*, edited by Agnes Pisanski Peterlin and Tamara Mikolič Južnič, 144–73. Ljubljana: Ljubljana University Press, Faculty of Arts.
Perales-Escudero, Moisés, and John Malcolm Swales. 2011. “Tracing Convergence and Divergence in Pairs of Spanish and English Research Article Abstracts: The Case of Ibérica.” *Ibérica* 21: 49–70.
Pisanski Peterlin, Agnes. 2016. “Engagement Markers in Translated Academic Texts: Tracing Translators’ Interventions.” *English Text Construction* 9 (2): 268–91. https://doi.org/10.1075/etc.9.2.03pis.
—. 2019. “Self-Translation of Academic Discourse: The Attitudes and Experiences of Authors-Translators.” *Perspectives: Studies in Translation Theory and Practice* 27 (6): 246–60. https://doi.org/10.1080/0907676X.2018.1538255.
Seoane, Elena, and Marianne Hundt. 2018. “Voice Alternation and Authorial Presence: Variation across Disciplinary Areas in Academic English.” *Journal of English Linguistics* 46 (1): 3–22. https://doi.org/10.1177/0075424217740938.
Sketch Engine. Accessed 28 July 2020. https://www.sketchengine.eu/.
Tang, Ramona, and John Suganthi. 1999. “The ‘I’ in Identity: Exploring Writer Identity in Student Academic Writing through the First Person Pronoun.” *English for Specific Purposes* 18 (1): 23–39. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0889-4906(99)00009-5.
Taylor, Helen, and John Goodall. 2019. “A Preliminary Investigation into the Rhetorical Function of ‘I’ in Different Genres of Successful Business Student Academic Writing.” *Journal of English for Academic Purposes* 38: 135–45. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jeap.2019.01.009.
Toporišič, Jože. 2004. *Slovenska slovnica.* Maribor: Založba Obzorja.
Van Bonn, Sarah, and John Malcolm Swales. 2007. “English and French Journal Abstracts in the Language Sciences: Three Exploratory Studies.” *Journal of English for Academic Purposes* 6 (2): 93–108. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jeap.2007.04.001.
Vassileva, Irena. 1998. “Who Am I/Who Are We in Academic Writing.” *International Journal of Applied Linguistics* 8 (2): 163–90. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1473-4192.1998.tb00128.x.
Vaughan, Elaine, and Brian Clancy. 2013. “Small Corpora and Pragmatics.” In *Yearbook of Corpus Linguistics and Pragmatics 2013: New Domains and Methodologies*, edited by Jesús Romero-Trillo, 53–73. Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-007-6250-3_4.
Walková, Milada. 2018. “Author’s Self-Representation in Research Articles by Anglophone and Slovak Linguists.” *Discourse and Interaction* 11 (1): 86–105. https://doi.org/10.5817/DI2018-1-86.

ELOPE

Primož Jurko
University of Ljubljana, Slovenia

2021, Vol. 18 (1), 187-209(222)
revije.ff.uni-lj.si/elope
https://doi.org/10.4312/elope.18.1.187-209
UDC: 81'25:81'371

Semantic Prosody in Translation: Slovene and English ADV-V Combinations

ABSTRACT

Semantic prosody is perhaps the most elusive meaning component established to date, and the present paper is a corpus-driven attempt to elucidate the meaning-forming process in some of the most frequent lexical items in Slovene and English. The underlying methodology is based on the novel top-down approach, which provides a semantically unmotivated point of view and is based on raw data, i.e., frequency of occurrence. The paper features a comparison of the pervasiveness of evident semantic prosody in high-frequency lexical items in Slovene and English, respectively. In closing it also deals with the problems involved in L1-L2 translation of the observed extended units of meaning, where possible translation equivalents exhibit varying levels of (mis)match in their semantic prosodies.

Keywords: semantic prosody, translation, extended unit of meaning, top-down approach

Semantična prozodija in prevajanje slovenskih in angleških parov prislov-glagol

IZVLEČEK

Semantična prozodija predstavlja najtežje določljivo pomensko sestavino, zato je članek osnovan na korpusni raziskavi pomenotvornih procesov pri nekaterih zelo pogostih leksikalnih enotah slovenščine in angleščine. Metodološko se članek naslanja na nov pristop z vrha navzdol, ki temelji na pogostosti sopojavljanja in tako predstavlja semantično nemotivirano alternativo ter dopolnitev dosedanjih raziskav semantične prozodije. Članek prinaša primerjavo razširjenosti izkazane semantične prozodije zelo pogostih leksikalnih enot v slovenščini in angleščini, predstavi pa tudi težave pri prevajanju obravnavanih razširjenih pomenskih enot iz slovenščine v angleščino, kjer ugotavlja različne stopnje (ne)ujemanja semantične prozodije.

Ključne besede: semantična prozodija, prevajanje, razširjena pomenska enota, pristop z vrha navzdol

1 Introduction

The present paper is in many ways a logical continuation of my recent work (Jurko 2017; forthcoming) in the realm of semantic prosody. The paper features a brief survey of the development of the field and its proponents, followed by a comparison of the results of two corpus-driven studies based on the novel top-down approach to Slovene and English ADV-V pairs. One of the studies (the most frequent ADV-V pairs in Slovene) has been published before (Jurko forthcoming) and provides the empirical basis for this contrastively conceived comparison of Slovene and English *extended units of meaning* (presented in more detail below) with an ADV-V pair at their core. The original goal of the present study was twofold: to test the applicability of the top-down approach in a cross-linguistic setting, and to look into the translation process of extended units of meaning.

1.1 The Rise of Semantic Prosody

One of the main insights provided by corpus linguistics over the last 40 years is that words in isolation can no longer be regarded as the sole bearers of meaning, and this time-honoured and somewhat romantic view has been superseded by the idea that most of the time meaning is constructed through context (Rundell 2018, 1). This revelation has proved to be a game-changer, with the paramount importance of context in the meaning-forming process in communication first been observed in the form of collocation (Sinclair 1991, 109). The new focus on exploration of recurring patterns of context and the unprecedented rise to relevance of collocation has brought about far-reaching consequences in numerous fields, notably in L2 lexicography – most prominently in EFL lexicography (Sinclair 1987) and language learning. According to his own account[1] Sinclair was studying just that – a collocation – when he began to realize that there exist regularly recurring patterns beyond these, which gave rise to the extended unit of meaning. This brings us to the main topic of this paper, as an integral part of every extended unit of meaning, so Sinclair (1998, 15) maintains, is semantic prosody.

The notion of semantic prosody has been around for a little less than three decades. The authorship is ascribed to Louw (1993, 157), although it is clear that he was greatly indebted to and remains influenced by the ground-breaking ideas of Sinclair. In order to clarify what semantic prosody is, let us use Louw's wording, which remains one of the most widely used definitions of the term: "the consistent aura of meaning with which a form is imbued by its collocates". However, this rather vague description led to a number of interpretations that continue to persist today, and so semantic prosody still means many things to many linguists. In general terms it refers to favourable or (more often) unfavourable nuance of meaning that is not contained in a single item, but rather in the association of that item with others. Sinclair used the verb *to set in* as a case in point, and claimed that it is contaminated with nouns that are not "desirable or attractive" like *rot, decay* and *decadence* (Sinclair 1987, 155).

Whitsitt (2005) points out in his critique of the notion itself that the study of semantic prosody lacks a firm terminology. Sinclair also attempts to clear the ground and defines it as an "attitudinal or pragmatic meaning" that exists next to "the familiar classificatory

[1] Plenary speech at the Alps-Adriatic Conference on English Language Teaching, 3 June 1994.

meaning of the regular dictionary", i.e., denotation (Sinclair 2004, 23). Stubbs is in favour of the term *discourse prosody*, which he feels is better because "discourse prosodies express speaker's attitude", and are as such evaluative and reflect the speaker's reason for making the utterance (Stubbs 2001, 65). Hunston (2007, 249) therefore sees semantic prosody as a "contentious" term. She refers to the wedge driven between two groups of corpus linguists: one sees semantic prosody as a property of a word (i.e., as an instance of connotation), while the other looks at it as a distinguishing feature of a complex unit of meaning consisting of several co-occurring items. The former group, comprising authors such as Partington (2004), Hunston (2002) and Stewart (2010), thus believe that semantic prosody is a consequence of the spreading of the connotative colouring of a word to its collocates, which is undoubtedly a frequent phenomenon in language and makes a persuasive argument. It is not surprising then that this line of thinking has been successfully transplanted into other non-linguistic fields dealing with communication, such as social psychology (Hauser and Schwarz 2018).

The latter group do not see semantic prosody as property of a single word, its denotation or connotation, but rather as a functional or pragmatic meaning relationship, which is evidenced in all human communication (Sinclair 2004; Siepmann 2006; Hunston 2007; Philip 2011). Instead of conceiving of semantic prosody as a spin-off of the connotation of a single word, they study recurring patterns (with this word at its core, of course) and the way they function in concrete communication. Moreover, there are frequent examples where no connotation is in play, yet semantic prosody abounds, e.g., in the famous *naked eye* in Sinclair (2004, 30), which can under no circumstances be accounted for in terms of connotation. Sinclair was convinced that semantic prosody is that crucial element of real-life communication in claiming that "without it, the string of words just 'means' – it is not put to use in viable communication". In this paper Sinclair's line of thinking, with the extended unit of meaning in its focus, is adhered to and continued.

1.2 The Extended Unit of Meaning

An extended unit of meaning (Sinclair 2004, 30–35) consists of a core and four additional elements: collocation, colligation, semantic preference and semantic prosody. Note that collocation in terms of an extended unit of meaning differs from the usual meaning of a frequently recurring binomial. Here collocation is defined more loosely and stands for the co-occurrence of the core with another word or a string of words. Colligation is to be understood as the association of the core with a grammatical feature, such as a clause type or word class. Semantic preference refers to a range of collocators that all belong to a certain lexical field. And semantic prosody is defined as the pragmatic or functional meaning associated with the whole unit of meaning and is phrasal in nature. Philip (2009) adds a fifth element, semantic association, defined as the psychological sum of secondary meanings surrounding the entire extended unit of meaning (Philip 2009, 4). In order to keep apart the functional and affective nuances of meaning, Philip introduces the notion of semantic association, which is different from both semantic preference (as it deals with secondary meanings, i.e., psychological notions) and semantic prosody (which expresses the function of the phrase or *why* and *how* it means what it does).

An extended unit of meaning often has some overlap in semantic association and semantic prosody. The main reason for such overlap may be the fact that semantic prosody sometimes also expresses some affective meaning, "such as reluctance or frustration or difficulty", as pointed out by Hunston (2010, 56).

1.3 Previous Work on Semantic Prosody from a Bilingual Point of View

As far as cross-linguistic comparisons are concerned, they are much fewer in number and typically involve English. Semantic prosody is an integral part of the text and should not be left out of the bilingual scope: however subtle the semantic prosody component may be, in translation the evaluative part of the source text meaning is of crucial importance. The list of contributions to the field contains comparisons of English with Chinese (Xiao and McEnery 2006; Wei and Li 2014), Portuguese (Berber Sardinha 2000; Lopes 2011), Italian (Partington 1998; Tognini-Bonelli 2001), Danish (Dam-Jensen and Zethsen 2008), Spanish (Munday 2011), French (Kübler and Volanschi 2012) and Slovene (Gabrovšek 2007; Šorli 2012, 2014; Jurko 2017).

2 Methodology

The fundamental trigger for the present work stems from my previous study of Slovene extended units of meaning formed around ADV-V pairs (Jurko forthcoming). That study of semantic prosody in Slovene was conceived with the ambitious goal of being as corpus-driven as possible. With this parameter set as a top priority, it was based on the novel *top-down approach* to semantic prosody. The next section presents a brief description of the key benefits and characteristics of this new way of tackling semantic prosody.

2.1 The Top-down Approach: Semantic Prosody Featured in a New Light

Semantic prosody as a concept owes its very existence to corpus linguistics. Numerous linguists have observed that semantic prosody can only be studied in large corpora, and is virtually inaccessible to intuition (e.g., Louw 1993; Hunston 2002). In recent years corpora have grown in size, reliability and representativeness, so we like to believe that contemporary corpora have avoided the limitations and traps that Biber and Finegan described thirty years ago, and that intuition and introspection have become "balanced by more empirically grounded theorizing based on the facts of usage" (1991, 220). However, there seem to be two important questions about semantic prosody that were never asked: how ubiquitous is it in the first place, and what is the correlation between frequency and semantic prosody – if there is any? The proposed top-down approach to semantic prosody is an attempt to provide at least partial answers to these queries. The term top-down refers to the order of descending frequency and suggests that semantic prosody should be examined systematically in the most frequent lexical items of a language. While semantic prosody has previously been studied in several lexical items that are relatively frequent (e.g., in English: *happen, cause*; in Slovene *situacija*), this is not the case with most of them (e.g., in English: *budge, naked eye, set in, utterly, undergo*; in Slovene: *enačiti, ni videti konca, lahko primeriti*). Apparently, corpus linguists are likely to notice instances or tendencies of semantic prosody while they are working on another property of a lexical item, which is unrelated to semantic prosody

(Sinclair 2004, 30), which accounts for the relatively low overall frequency of lexical items that have been examined for semantic prosody to date. This is of course not the first time that the significance of frequency has been put into the foreground. Louw (2000, 4) suggests that frequency would be a good starting point for approaching semantic prosody. The proposed top-down approach also follows Kjellmer's (2005) call for a semantically unmotivated treatment of semantic prosody, which would lead to more global results.

With the objective of achieving global results the following decisions were taken:

i. The word class of verbs was selected as the general target because they have been underrepresented in comparison to other lexical word classes in studies of semantic prosody so far. This choice was based on a survey of examples in Stewart (2010), which is considered a representative and systematic presentation of work on semantic prosody up to that time: just over a fifth of all items involve a verb (18 out of 86). A quick check of the more recent body of research into the semantic prosody of verbs has shown only a handful of publications: three monolingual (Lindley 2015; Palma Gutiérrez 2019; Wang and Zou 2018), and a cross-linguistic one (Wu and Li 2016).

ii. Instead of looking for particular or 'interesting' lexical items, the list of top ten most frequent verbs in the Slovene reference corpus Gigafida 2.0[2] has been made. After excluding auxiliary, linking and modal verbs the 7th most frequent verb in Slovene has been selected for scrutiny: *povedati* ('tell').

iii. The selected verb has then been expanded into a lexical paradigm consisting of verbs which all share the meaning component 'to express orally'. Thus we have arrived at the list of most frequent Slovene verbs of saying, which are all ranked among the top 30 Slovene verbs in the chosen corpus; these verbs were also subjected to close observation in order to broaden the scope of this study.

iv. At that early stage in our investigation we decided to exploit the SketchEngine® word-sketches of selected verbs as the more reliable option compared to intuition-based selection of word combinations.

As noted above, this paper is based on a previous monolingual study. Therefore the methodologies applied in both studies are in general terms analogous and adhere to the same rigorous principles of selection based on frequency of occurrence. Slovene was selected as the source language, and we were interested in finding possible English translation equivalents for the Slovene units. The main reason for this is the fact that translation into non-mother tongues (also known as encoding or L1-into-L2 translation) is a necessity for all small language communities due to the lack of translators who master the source language and are native speakers of the target language (Pokorn 2009; Hirci 2012). However, L1-into-L2 translation is a difficult task, even for many skilled translators who are most of the time expected or advised (UNESCO 1976) to translate only into their mother tongue (i.e., to decode) on the basis of the so-called *mother tongue principle*, as advocated by, e.g., Newmark

[2] Gigafida 2.0 reference corpus of written Slovene, available at https://www.sketchengine.eu and https://viri.cjvt.si/gigafida.

(1988). Needless to say, it is expected that considering the element of semantic prosody in encoding will greatly contribute to the complexity of this endeavour.

2.2 Selection of Slovene Verbs

The initial step of the survey was to select a broad but manageable category of lexical units that would define our search perimeter. To this end a wordlist of the most frequent verbs in Slovene was produced. Our corpus of choice was the Gigafida 2.0 reference corpus of written Slovene, accessed through the SketchEngine® portal[3], which allowed us to make use of their various tools (first and foremost Word Sketch). Gigafida 2.0 contains 1.13 billion words.

The 7th most frequent verb *povedati* ('tell') was chosen after excluding linking, auxiliary and modal verbs. It was established beforehand that once the best possible (in our case, the most frequent) example of Slovene verbs was selected, this would be analysed and expanded into a set of items covering the given lexical paradigm. The verb *povedati* has thus given us a paradigm of four additional verbs sharing the meaning component of 'express orally', which are typically used to introduce indirect or direct speech. In descending frequency order with their English rough equivalents in parentheses, these are:

- *povedati* ('tell'): 7th most frequent verb in the corpus with a frequency of 728 per million,
- *praviti* ('say, tell', informal): 13th most frequent verb, frequency: 540 per million,
- *reči* ('say'): 15th most frequent verb, frequency: 467 per million,
- *dejati* ('say', literary): 16th most frequent verb, frequency: 441 per million,
- *govoriti* ('speak, talk'): 26th most frequent verb, frequency: 337 per million.

2.3 Selection of English Verbs

As there is currently no reference corpus of English available on the SketchEngine portal, the EnTenTen15[4] web corpus of English was chosen to study English lexical units. It contains 13 billion words. The tenfold disparity in size between the Slovene and English corpora was not considered a hindrance, since the selected verbs belong to the most frequent lexical items in both corpora, and they also have comparable relative frequencies. The selection process was similar to that on the Slovene side: the wordlist of most frequent verbs was created and subsequently checked for verbs of saying. The verb 'say' is ranked the 6th most frequent English verb in the corpus, which is comparable to the Slovene '*povedati*', which is ranked 7th. Next, the extended paradigm of English verbs with the meaning 'to express orally' was created:

- *say*: 6th most frequent verb, frequency: 1,434 per million,
- *call*: 30th most frequent verb, frequency: 446 per million,
- *tell*: 46th most frequent verb, frequency: 351 per million,
- *speak*: 86th most frequent verb, frequency: 208 per million,
- *talk*: 120th most frequent verb, frequency: 164 per million.

---

3 SketchEngine available at www.sketchengine.eu.

4 EnTenTen15 English web corpus, available at www.sketchengine.eu.

Overall, the rankings of English verbs are lower than those of the Slovene ones, which are all ranked in the top 30. The high ranking of the Slovene of verbs of 'saying' is probably attributable to the structure of Gigafida 2.0, 64% of which is texts from newspapers and magazines. However, as noted above their respective frequencies are apparently a closer match (with the exception of say, which is about twice as frequent as its Slovene counterpart) and fall in the approximate range of 200–500 per million. As an additional security the rankings and frequencies of the selected five English verbs were also checked in the older LECMCI[5] corpus, which revealed negligible differences between the corpora:

– *say*: 4th most frequent verb, frequency: 1,865 per million,
– *call*: 28th most frequent verb, frequency: 428 per million,
– *tell*: 34th most frequent verb, frequency: 389 per million,
– *speak*: 107th most frequent verb, frequency: 175 per million,
– *talk*: 125th most frequent verb, frequency: 151 per million.

2.4 Selection of Adverbs

The next stage of the study meant we had to decide to what side of the Slovene verbs we wanted to look for phrase elements. Unlike with English verbs, which can take a modifying adverb in either preceding or following positions, in Slovene looking to the right would mean we are looking for objects of the verbs, i.e., what is being said, told or stated, and is typically expressed by nominal phrases (e.g., 'story, opinion, truth') or that-clauses. It would also mean that the role of the verb in the V+N collocation would be that of a collocator, and the noun would be the base.

Looking to the left of the verb, on the other hand, would have these two consequences:

i. we would be looking for premodifiers of the verbs, i.e., adverbs;

ii. in the ADV-V collocation the role of the verb is that of the base and the adverb acts as the collocator.

The second option was chosen because it appears that there are currently no studies dealing with extended units of meaning with the ADV-V structure at its core. A brief examination of the more recent body of research of semantic prosody of adverbial constructions has shown only a handful of publications: three monolingual (Lindley 2015, Palma Gutiérrez 2019, Wang and Zou 2018), a cross-linguistic (Wu and Li 2016) and a diachronic one (Mendez-Naya 2014). However, they all significantly differ in their take on semantic prosody to the one applied in this work.

2.5 Determination of ADV-V Pairs

The next stage of our survey consisted of selecting the ADV-V pairs for scrutiny. The first step involved making a word sketch of each selected verb. The resulting word sketch provided us with a list of adverbs that premodify the verb in question. This step called for another

[5] LEXMCI Corpus of English, available at https://www.sketchengine.eu.

decision, as in most cases we were looking at a mixed bag of adverbs of time, frequency and manner that needed to be narrowed down. Adverbs of manner were chosen because time and place can be regarded as constants: whatever people 'express orally', they cannot avoid doing so at a given place at a given time, so in terms of semantic prosody the adverbs of time and place would seem to be of less interest. Whether somebody said something *yesterday*, *today* or *repeatedly* will undoubtedly be of less relevance compared to *how* they said it if we are looking for evaluative nuances of meaning in the context.

This is how we have arrived at the final list of ADV-V pairs. A random sample of 100 concordances of each pair was subsequently closely examined for semantic prosody. For each of the five chosen verbs in Slovene and English, their five most frequent adverbs of manner were studied, so a total of 5,000 concordances was manually checked.

The initial step involved determining the overall contextual semantic prosody of each concordance with the ADV-V pair as positive, negative or neutral. The following stage of research consisted of judging whether the ADV-V pair is part of an extended unit of meaning and identifying its elements as set out in section 1.3. This means that we were looking for the following five elements:

– collocation,
– colligation,
– semantic preference,
– semantic association,
– semantic prosody.

It should be noted that in the English part of the survey the element of semantic association has been omitted, as I am not a native speaker of English. Hopefully this component will be amended in a future study involving native speakers, who will be able to provide the psychological associations of the observed English extended units of meaning.

3 Results

The respective ADV-V pairs in Slovene and English below are presented in descending order of frequency of verbs. The Slovene empirical data be presented only in abbreviated form: numeric data tables followed by the semantic prosody of the lexical unit.

3.1 Slovene: Adverb + *povedati* ('say, tell')

The results of five most frequent adverbs of manner acting as a premodifier to *povedati* and their respective frequencies are presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Semantic prosody of adverbs of manner + povedati ('say, tell').

Adverb	Frequency per million words	Positive %	Neutral %	Negative %
jasno ('clear/-ly')	5.37	2	37	61
javno ('publicly')	1.79	6	38	56

odkrito ('frankly')	1.54	3	12	85
glasno ('loud/-ly')	1.26	8	40	52
naravnost ('straight')	0.79	3	33	64

a. *Jasno povedati* ('tell clear/-ly'): the semantic prosody refers to an 'unpleasant opinion or fact shared from a position of authority'.

b. *Javno povedati* ('tell publicly'): the semantic prosody of 'sharing damaging or unpleasant information, often in retrospect as an excuse'.

c. *Odkrito povedati* ('tell frankly'): the semantic prosody of 'unpleasant information often shared out of a sense of duty or responsibility'.

d. *Glasno povedati* ('tell loud/-ly'): the semantic prosody refers to 'expression of suppressed opinions' or 'showing courage to express feelings'.

e. *Naravnost povedati* ('tell straight'): the semantic prosody is identical to that of case 3.1.1.c above (*odkrito povedati*), and refers to 'unpleasant information often shared out of a sense of duty or responsibility'.

3.2 English: Adverb + *say*

The results for the five most frequent adverbs of manner acting as a premodifier to *say* (the 6th most frequent English verb in the corpus) and their respective frequencies are presented in Table 2.

Table 2. Semantic prosody of adverbs of manner + 'say'.

Adverb	Frequency per million words	Positive %	Neutral %	Negative %
simply	1.35	1	98	1
actually	0.86	4	95	1
really	0.85	5	90	5
honestly	0.77	56	28	16
clearly	0.46	4	90	6

The overall tendency of the studied ADV+*say* pairs is that they are used in neutrally nuanced contexts. The exception here is *honestly*, which is used to express a positive disposition of the speaker towards the topic. A random selection of five concordances with the adverb *clearly* is presented in Figure 1. Let us now briefly examine individual ADV-V pairs.

appointments wouldn't work since the constitution clearly	says say	that while The President has to nominate, Congress has
nmand Philemon to emancipate Onesimus; but he clearly	says say	that he won't command Philemon to do anything–instead
it she could travel to the hospital. Immaculee quite clearly	said say	that the group stood by her in that difficult time. This is h
ırown at me. So the post title was – what the Bible clearly	says say	– because that's what I did. I picked clear examples, notl
his attempts to save me from drowning'. The Bible clearly	says say	that God loves us and desires all people to be saved anc

Figure 1. Random concordances of 'clearly+say'.

a. *Simply say*: the colligation of this pair is predominantly that of a 3rd person singular subject in mid-clausal position, frequently in religious texts. Collocation is expressed by subjects as *Jesus, Paul, text, sign, Harry* and by objects as *word, something, hello, name, prayer.* A rather vague semantic preference of religious figures and writings has been established. No semantic prosody could be determined, as the overall meaning appears to follow the denotation, i.e., say something in a simple way and avoid (over-) complicating it.

b. *Actually say*: in terms of colligation this pair is predominantly found in constructions with a 3rd person singular subject of a religious or political nature, often in question form (e.g., *Did God actually say…?*), and a pronominal object. The main collocators can be grouped as religious figures and scriptures (Bible, Jesus, God, Paul, Qur'an), a text (text, law, report, constitution) or a political figure (Obama, Bush, minister, president). The resulting semantic preference has been posited as a religious or political figure or text. Semantic prosody has been determined as 'making a counterclaim by citing a source in a position of authority'.

c. *Really say*: colligation and collocation in this case are almost identical to those in *actually say* above, which is hardly surprising due to similar denotation. The only difference is the relatively frequent use of a 1st person singular subject in negative statements, e.g., *(I) can't really say…* The semantic preference for a religious or political figure or text is also the same as with *actually say*, and the same goes for the semantic prosody of 'making a counterclaim by citing a source in a position of authority'.

d. *Honestly say*: this pair is the only example exhibiting a clearly positive contextual tendency with 56 positive concordances (in contrast to 28 neutral and 16 negative ones). Colligation patterns show a strong predominance of 1st person statements preceded by the modal *can* and followed by a that-clause. The main collocator is the 1st personal pronoun *I*, which is also the semantic preference of the pair. The semantic prosody has been posited as the 'expression of sincere feelings about a pleasurable experience'.

e. *Clearly say*: dominant colligation patterns in this case include 3rd person singular subjects that introduce quotations in the role of objects. Collocators again include religious or political figures (Jesus, God, Paul, Lord, Allah, Obama, Court) and texts (Bible, scripture, report, law, constitution). The semantic preference for a religious or political figure or text has been posited. Semantic prosody in this case has been determined as 'quoting an undisputable source of authority, often to thus win an argument'.

3.3 Slovene: Adverb + *praviti* ('say, be named, be called' + informal style)

The results for the five most frequent adverbs of manner acting as a premodifier to *praviti* (ranked the 13th most frequent Slovene verb) and their respective frequencies are presented in Table 3.

Table 3. Semantic prosody of adverbs of manner + praviti ('be called/named').

Adverb	Frequency per million words	Positive %	Neutral %	Negative %
ljubkovalno ('affectionately')	0.22	100	0	0
podobno ('similarly')	0.19	0	96	4
domače ('locally')	0.16	0	100	0
strokovno ('technically')	0.13	0	100	0
jasno ('clearly')	0.13	0	22	78

a. *Ljubkovalno praviti* ('be affectionately called'): the semantic prosody could not be determined.

b. *Podobno praviti* ('say similarly'): no semantic prosody could be established.

c. *Domače* ('be locally called/known'), and *strokovno* ('be technically called'): the semantic prosody could not be determined.

d. *Jasno praviti* ('clearly state'): the semantic prosody of 'speaking with the knowledge of existing laws or in reference to binding rules'.

3.4 English: Adverb + *call*

The results for the five most frequent adverbs of manner acting as a premodifier to *call* (ranked 30th most frequent English verb) and their respective frequencies are presented in Table 4.

Table 4. Semantic prosody of adverbs of manner + 'call'.

Adverb	Frequency per million words	Positive %	Neutral %	Negative %
commonly	0.87	0	100	0
simply	0.73	0	100	0
usually	0.43	0	100	0
actually	0.31	4	92	4
affectionately	0.28	100		

The overall tendency of the studied ADV+*call* pairs is that they are used in neutral contexts, with the exception of *affectionately*, which is used in positive contexts, as expected. A random selection of five concordances with the adverb *affectionately* is presented in Figure 2. Let us now briefly examine individual ADV-V pairs.

Figure 2. Random concordances of 'affectionately + call'.

a. *Commonly call:* in terms of colligation this pair predominantly appears in passive voice in dependent clauses with singular subjects. In terms of collocation the nouns *family, species, plant* appear. A semantic preference for scientific terms is found, as the obvious role of this unit is to provide common alternative names of such terms. No semantic prosody has been found.

b. *Simply call*: this unit has two denotative meanings arising from the polysemy of the verb, which calls for a separate treatment of both of them (Hoey 2005, 13).

   i. The first meaning that accounts for an estimated 25% of concordances can be paraphrased as 'simply make a telephone call' and is rendered by the colligation of the vocative followed by a noun or number. Collocations are formed with the nouns *office, number, department, police, center.* Semantic preference for a telephone number and an institutional entity has been determined, but no semantic prosody was found.

   ii. The second meaning is found in roughly 75% of concordances and can be rendered as 'simply give something another name' and its colligation patterns include frequent passive constructions preceded by adverbs *often* and *sometimes*. No semantic preference or prosody could be established.

c. *Usually call*: in terms of colligation this pair is predominantly used in passive constructions. No collocations were found and consequently neither semantic preference nor prosody could be established, as this ADV-V pair appears exclusively in neutral contexts.

d. *Actually call*: in terms of colligation this pair is predominantly used in passive constructions. No collocations were found and consequently neither semantic preference nor prosody could be established, as this ADV-V pair predominantly appears in neutral contexts.

e. *Affectionately call*: in terms of colligation this pair is predominantly used in passive constructions, frequently with 3rd person pronominal objects. Collocations with the pair were formed with the nouns *friend, local, fan* expressing an alternative endearing name of a person or inanimate entity. Neither semantic preference nor prosody could be posited.

3.5 Slovene: Adverb + *reči* ('say')

The results for the five most frequent adverbs of manner acting as a premodifier to *reči* (ranked the 15th most frequent Slovene verb) and their respective frequencies are presented in Table 5.

Table 5. Semantic prosody of adverbs of manner + reči ('say').

Adverb	Frequency per million words	Positive %	Neutral %	Negative %
težko ('hard')	4.59	0	91	9
mirno ('calmly/safely')	0.82	14	79	7
tiho ('softly')	0.72	0	95	5
preprosto ('simply')	0.54	2	88	10
odločno ('firmly')	0.46	2	97	1

a. *Težko reči* ('hard to say'):

i. meaning 'to say with difficulty': too low in frequency (0.1 % of observed concordances) and therefore negligible.

ii. meaning 'having trouble deciding on what to say': semantic prosody of 'hesitation and weighing of options' or 'temporary indecision at the moment of speaking'.

b. *Mirno reči* ('calmly/safely say'):

i. meaning 'say something in a calm voice': no semantic prosody could be determined.

ii. meaning 'say something with little danger of being wrong': semantic prosody refers to 'showing confidence in what I am about to say' or 'I have evidence that shows I am right'.

c. *Tiho reči* ('say softly'): the semantic prosody could not be determined.

d. *Preprosto reči* ('simply/just say'): no collocators and hence no semantic preference could be found. Semantic association and semantic prosody could not be determined.

e. *Odločno reči* ('say firmly'): the semantic prosody could not be determined.

3.6 English: Adverb + *tell*

The results for the five most frequent adverbs of manner acting as a premodifier to *tell* (ranked 46th most frequent English verb) and their respective frequencies are presented in Table 6.

Table 6. Semantic prosody of adverbs of manner + 'tell'.

Adverb	Frequency per million words	Positive %	Neutral %	Negative %
really	0.43	0	100	0
simply	0.37	3	90	7
repeatedly	0.25	1	98	1
probably	0.24	0	100	0
actually	0.21	6	71	23

The overall tendency of the studied ADV-V pairs is that they are used in neutral contexts, with the exception of *actually*, of which a quarter are used in negative contexts. A random selection of five concordances with the adverb *repeatedly* is presented in Figure 3. Let us now briefly examine individual ADV-V pairs.

nal and vocational opportunities. These individuals	repeatedly tell	us that they hate to read, primarily because i
y" (Senator Mikulski, October 16, 2012). We were	repeatedly told	that every organization in the country needs
al. The socioreligious communities in India who are	repeatedly told	or reminded about their social rank in society
ı and in a series of interviews early on Tuesday, he	repeatedly told	anchors such as CNN's Chris Cuomo that "w
ɟrammes ("Alex will be down in a minute", we were	repeatedly told	). When he finally arrived, well after our sche

Figure 3. Random concordances of 'repeatedly tell'.

a. *Really tell*: in terms of colligation this pair is frequently preceded by the negative modal *cannot*. Collocators of the pair include *numbers, nobody, science* in the role of the subject, and as the object we found the nouns *story, difference, truth.* No semantic preference or prosody could be established.

b. *Simply tell*: the pair exhibits no clear colligation patterns. In terms of collocation the nouns *story, people, truth* frequently appear in the role of the object, while *story* and *Jesus* are found as subjects. No semantic preference or prosody could be established.

c. *Repeatedly tell*: colligation patterns reveal a predominance of past tense constructions, with approximately half of all concordances in the passive voice. Collocators in the role of the subject include the nouns *official, officer, doctor*, while the nouns *public, reporter, officer, police, media* are found as objects. The semantic preference for an official body or its representative has been posited, while semantic prosody has been defined as 'revelation of a wrong-doing, often expressing annoyance'.

d. *Actually tell*: no dominant colligation patterns have been found. Collocators include the nouns *story, truth* used as grammatical objects. No semantic preference or prosody was posited.

e. *Probably tell*: in terms of colligation the item is frequently preceded by the modals *can, could, would, should* and followed by the 2nd person pronoun *you*. As collocators in the role of the object the nouns *story, truth* are found. Semantic preference and semantic prosody could not be determined.

3.7 Slovene: Adverb + *dejati* ('say')

The results for the five most frequent adverbs of manner acting as a premodifier to *dejati* (ranked 16th most frequent Slovene verb) and their respective frequencies are presented in Table 7.

Table 7. Semantic prosody of adverbs of manner + dejati ('say' + literary style).

Adverb	Frequency per million words	Positive %	Neutral %	Negative %
odločno ('firmly')	0.3	11	81	8
tiho ('softly')	0.2	17	61	22
zadovoljno ('gladly')	0.16	100	0	0
javno ('publicly')	0.15	8	50	42
mirno ('calmly')	0.14	5	85	10

a. *Odločno dejati* ('say firmly'): no semantic prosody was determined.

b. *Tiho dejati* ('say softly'): no semantic prosody was determined.

c. *Zadovoljno dejati* ('say gladly'): no semantic prosody was determined.

d. *Javno dejati* ('say publicly'): no semantic prosody was determined.

e. *Mirno dejati* ('say calmly'): no semantic prosody was determined.

3.8 English: Adverb + *speak*

ADV + *speak* (the 86th most frequent English verb) predominantly appears in neutral contexts, as shown in Table 8. Let us now briefly examine individual ADV-V pairs.

Table 8. Semantic prosodies of adverb of manner + 'speak'.

Adverb	Frequency per million words	Positive %	Neutral %	Negative %
generally	1.58	0	100	0
directly	0.91	0	100	0
strictly	0.56	0	100	0
broadly	0.45	0	100	0
clearly	0.41	19	72	9

A random selection of five concordances with the adverb *generally* is presented in Figure 4.

r local community, need YOUR financial support.	Generally speaking	, funding for social service programs from both
students, like all the others, were there on merit.	Generally speaking	, we came from lower/middle class backgrounc
ɔme examples. Definition of the ranking function:	Generally speaking	, the MMI ranking function was designed to ind
n? Yes, we do. Of course. We fail every day. But	generally speaking	, the forgiveness we have experienced actuall
cut package has had a long and tortuous history.	Generally speaking	, the Democrats in the House have opposed p

Figure 4. Random concordances of 'generally speak'.

Below is a brief presentation of individual ADV-V pairs.

a. *Generally speak* and *broadly speak*: the two pairs are so close in their denotative meanings that it is not surprising that they have matching semantic profiles. In terms of colligation there is a clear preference for a sentence-initial position of the present participle form as a discourse organizer. No collocation candidates were found. As expected, no clear semantic preference or prosody have been determined.

b. *Speak directly*: a strong colligation pattern is found with the prepositions *to, with* followed by a pronoun or personal name. In terms of collocation the pair is relatively frequently used with the nouns *God, Jesus, Lord, voice, word, Obama, Allah*. Despite this, no semantic preference or prosody could be established.

c. *Strictly speak*: inverse in its discourse function to *generally speaking* above, in terms of colligation there is a strong prevalence of the present participle form (often in sentence-initial position), followed by the prepositional phrase *in terms of*. No collocation patterns were found, and thus no semantic preference or prosody either.

d. *Clearly speak*: in terms of colligation there are, as expected, strong patterns with the prepositions *to, of, about*. Collocators include the nouns *God, Lord, Bible, Jesus, word* in the role of the subject, but not in large enough instances to enable identification of the semantic preference or prosody of the unit.

3.9 Slovene: Adverb + *govoriti* ('speak/talk')

The results for the five most frequent adverbs of manner acting as a premodifier to *govoriti* (ranked 26th most frequent Slovene verb) and their respective frequencies are presented in Table 9.

Table 9. Semantic prosody of adverbs of manner + govoriti ('speak').

Adverb	Frequency per million words	Positive %	Neutral %	Negative %
težko ('difficult, hard')	3.17	16	66	18
javno ('publicly')	1.01	1	73	26
dobro ('well')	0.77	3	97	0
tekoče ('fluently')	0.7	0	100	0
odkrito ('frankly')	0.54	3	47	50

a. *Težko govoriti* ('difficult to speak/talk of'): two meanings:

i. meaning 'to speak with difficulty': no semantic prosody was determined.

ii. meaning 'to find it hard to express something due to lack of information': semantic prosody of 'indecision due to lack of information; inability to predict future; opposition to an opinion expressed before'.

b. *Javno govoriti* ('speak publicly'): the semantic prosody refers to 'disclosure of sensitive topics'.

c. *Dobro govoriti* ('speak well'): no semantic prosody was determined.

d. *Tekoče govoriti* ('speak fluently'): no semantic prosody was established.

e. *Odkrito govoriti* ('speak frankly'): the semantic prosody refers to 'showing courage to discuss serious problems or innermost topics'.

3.10 English: Adverb + *talk*

The results for the five most frequent adverbs of manner acting as a premodifier to *talk* (ranked 120th most frequent English verb) and their respective frequencies are presented in Table 10. A random selection of five concordances with the adverb *openly* is presented in Figure 5.

Table 10. Semantic prosodies of adverbs of manner + 'talk'.

Adverb	Frequency per million words	Positive %	Neutral %	Negative %
really	0.39	8	81	11
actually	0.28	13	82	5
openly	0.08	2	22	76
briefly	0.06	2	98	0
directly	0.02	0	98	2

imes at the same time by the same people." When people	openly	talk	about seceding from the United States, "I consider that a p
ıameful tactics (2 Cor 4). Rather by living in his reality and	openly	talking	about it as others ask us about our lives we 'set forth the tr
ıeras capture high-ranking officials at Planned Parenthood	openly	talking	about selling aborted baby cadavers/body parts for profit. I
'hank you so much for sharing your practical solutions and	openly	talking	about some difficult times in your career. Please continue t
industry executives... ZWERDLING: And people would be	openly	talking	about the fact that their guns were being sold to criminals a

Figure 5. Random concordances of 'openly talk'.

a. *Really talk*: in terms of colligation the pair exhibits an expected prevalence of constructions where it is followed by the prepositions *about, to*. As for collocation, the subject of the pair is frequently expressed by the pronoun *nobody,* but no semantic preference or prosody could be determined.

b. *Openly talk*: colligation patterns show a predominance of prepositional phrases introduced by *about, of.* Collocation patterning shows that as grammatical subjects the nouns *leader, politician, celebrity* are frequent, while the nouns *issue, experience, sex, problem, feeling* are found in the role of the object. The semantic preference for an intimate or burdening matter has been found, while the semantic prosody of 'sincere sharing of one's innermost topics with the aim of relief or help' has been established.

c. *Talk directly*: in terms of colligation the pair is followed by a prepositional phrase introduced by *to, with*. No firm collocations were found for the pair, so there is no semantic preference or prosody in this case.

d. *Actually talk*: there are no dominant colligation patterns beside the expected prepositions *about, to, with* following the pair. No collocation patterns, hence no semantic preference or prosody have been found.

e. *Briefly talk*: there are no dominant colligation patterns beside the expected prepositions *about, to, with* following the pair. There are no collocation patterns, so neither semantic preference nor prosody have been found.

4 Discussion

4.1 Comparison of Proneness to Form Semantic Prosody

The empirical part of the study involved the 25 most frequent Slovene and English ADV-V pairs, with the verb belonging to the lexical paradigm with the meaning 'to express orally'. There were three Slovene and one English ADV-V pairs with two meanings, although two of the Slovene items were too low in frequency to allow any observation. This means there was one polysemous pair with two meanings found in each language, so we are looking at a total of 52 ADV-V pairs with distinct meanings. In the Slovene items semantic prosody is expressed in 11 ADV-V pairs (seven negative and four neutral), while no semantic prosody is expressed in 15 ADV-V pairs, as shown in Figure 6.

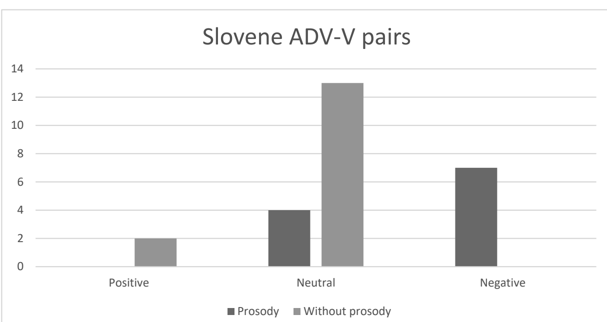


Figure 6. Slovene ADV-V pairs.

In English there are six instances (four neutral, one negative, one positive) of expressed semantic prosody in ADV-V pairs, while no semantic prosody is expressed in 20 ADV-V pairs (19 neutral, one positive), as shown in Figure 7.

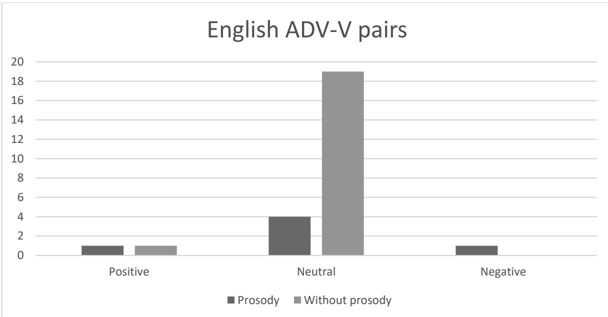


Figure 7. English ADV-V pairs.

On the whole it appears that Slovene ADV-V pairs are nearly twice as likely than their English counterparts to form extended units of meaning and develop semantic prosodies, as shown in Figure 8.

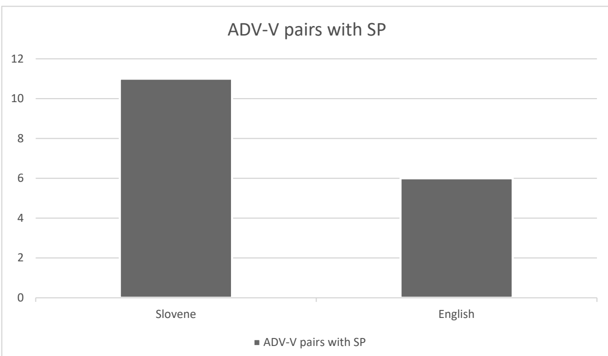


Figure 8. Slovene vs. English ADV-V pairs with semantic prosody.

If we look at the polarity of the discovered semantic prosodies, we can see that Slovene ADV-V pairs support the tendency of semantic prosody to express a rather negative discourse attitude of the speaker/writer (seven out of 11 are negative). However, on the English side the situation is very different, and appears to be nicely balanced when it comes to the parameter of polarity: four out of six ADV-V pairs with expressed semantic prosody were found in neutral contexts, with one in negative and one in positive ones. Although a global uniformity across languages is not likely, future studies on a larger scale than this work will be needed to provide more evidence on this matter.

4.2 Possible Correlation with Frequency of Occurrence?

We next attempted to look for any properties that ADV-V pairs laden with semantic prosody had in common. In terms of their frequency of occurrence, the Slovene units with prosody had a notably higher relative frequency compared to the units where no semantic prosody was expressed. We have calculated the average relative frequencies of both groups, one with semantic prosody (1.91 per million words) and one without it (0.35 per million words), as shown in Figure 9.

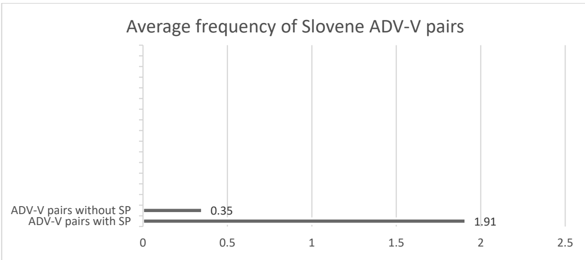


Figure 9. Average frequency per million words of Slovene SP units vs. units with no SP.

The same calculation was done on the English side and again the results are quite dissimilar. Here the average frequency of units with expressed semantic prosody is only marginally higher to that of units without semantic prosody, as seen in Figure 10.

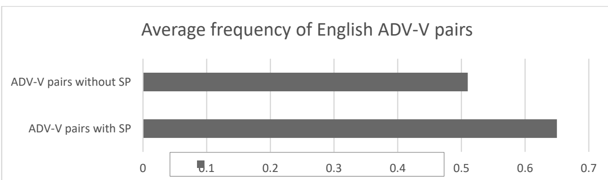


Figure 10. Average frequency of English ADV-V pairs.

The results for the Slovene units encouraged us to hypothesize a correlation between frequency of occurrence and the likelihood for the emergence of semantic prosody. The ratio of average frequencies Slovene units with and without semantic prosody is as high as 5 to 1, while with the English units the ratio is much lower, at 1.27 to 1. One of possible causes for this discrepancy might be the structure of the Gigafida 2.0 reference corpus of Slovene, which contains a very large proportion of newspaper and magazine texts. This particular feature may have pushed the frequency of Slovene verbs a notch or two higher. On the other hand, the English EnTenTen15 corpus was compiled using a variety of web-based texts covering a broad spectrum of topics from a multitude of regional varieties of English (mostly British, but also Indian, American, New Zealand, Canadian and from the .EU web domain). Future work will therefore show whether there is indeed a connection between the frequency of occurrence and semantic prosody, and also whether the structure of the corpus is a relevant variable.

4.3 The Search for Translation Equivalents

As stated above, one of the aims of this work is also to look at possible translation equivalents among the analysed ADV-V pairs. We will be particularly interested to find any matches (or mismatches) in terms of semantic prosody, with Slovene as the source and English the target language. Here is the list of rough candidates for translation equivalence taken from our tables above:

jasno povedati – say clearly
odkrito povedati – say honestly
ljubkovalno praviti – be affectionately called
preprosto reči – simply tell/say

a. *Jasno povedati – clearly say*: at first sight this seems to be a good match, but when we look at the numbers, it starts to look off: the Slovene unit is more than 10-times more frequent than the English one. However, the main discrepancy between them is due to their different semantic prosodies: *jasno povedati* has in most cases the semantic prosody of an 'unpleasant opinion or fact shared from a position of authority', while in *clearly say* this is not expressed. There are, to be sure, many contexts where *clearly say* is an acceptable translation, however if we take a look at the concordance below, it simply will not do.

a lahko vrnila na svoje tamkajšnje položaje. Vendar so Američani jasno povedali , kdo lahko vkoraka v mejno območje. Tja niso pustili e

Figure 11. Concordance of *jasno povedati* with clearly expressed semantic prosody.

A possible alternative translation with the appropriate semantic prosody might be *to make something perfectly clear*, and the next expanded concordance is a good example.

their ports and bases to the American military. </p><p> The myth of "national security," is being foisted on the nations of the Pacific and Southeast Asia to instill fear that China and Russia have evil intentions to dominate the region. The U.S. military has made it perfectly clear their intentions are to encircle China and Russia, to impeded their growth by controlling access to the world's resources, and to dominate the earth through a so-called Pax Americana. In other words, full-spectrum dominance

Figure 12. Concordance of 'make something perfectly clear' with a matching semantic prosody.

b. *Odkrito povedati – honestly say*: although the adverbs are not a clear denotative match, this is certainly a viable candidate. While the frequencies are not so far apart, either, the problem lies again in their respective semantic prosodies: negative for the Slovene unit ('unpleasant information often shared out of a sense of duty or responsibility'), positive for the English ('expression of sincere feelings about a pleasurable experience'). I do not believe there exists a passable translation of the next concordance with *honestly say*.

zanj primerni ustvarjalni seti, preprosti pripomočki za ročna dela, zahtevnejše družabne igre in ne nazadnje tudi računalnik. »Pri vaših letih vam brez vsake preiskave odkrito povem , da se boste morali navaditi živeti z bolečino. Spreminjala vas bo iz dneva v dan. Včasih jo boste komaj čutili, a se bo iznenada spet pojavila, dokler vas lepega dne ne bo skoraj ohromila pri povsem

Figure 13. Concordance of 'odkrito povedati'.

In this case a paraphrase with the adjective/adverb *blunt(-ly)* is probably a better solution.

c. *Ljubkovalno praviti – be affectionately called*: life can also be good sometimes, and here we have a full match. The frequencies of both items are practically identical, and so is the semantic prosody. Although this is not exactly a formidable challenge for a well-versed translator, not all university students of translation would find this a straightforward equivalent.

d. *Preprosto reči – simply say/tell*: in this case the choice of the verb in the English translation equivalent will depend on the context (as always, one might add). What is more, semantic prosody will not stand in the way as it is not expressed in either the source or the target unit.

5 Conclusion

The original goal of the present study was twofold: to test the applicability of the top-down approach in a cross-linguistic study, and to look into the translation process of extended units of meaning. The top-down approach has proved to be a practical alternative to semantically based methodological concepts, although it is probably best seen as a valuable complementary tool that can hopefully contribute to the rapidly developing sphere of corpus linguistics.

In terms of translation of extended units of meaning there are several layers of interconnected problems and this study has barely scratched the surface. Clearly, there are limitations in terms of scope and corpora structure, which should be addressed in future work. It is my firm belief that students of translation should be made aware of the existence of semantic prosody. In particular they are sure to benefit from coming to grips with the meaning-forming process involved in the translation of highly complex lexical items that are so often taken at face value.

References

Berber Sardinha, Tony. 2000. "Semantic Prosodies in English and Portuguese." *Cuadernos de Filogía Inglesa* 9 (1): 93–110. http://www2.lael.pucsp.br/~tony/temp/publications/2000murcia_prosodies.pdf.

Biber, Douglas, and Edward Finegan. 1991. "On Exploitation of Computerized Corpora in Variation Studies." In *English Corpus Linguistics. Studies in Honour of Jan Svartvik*, edited by Karin Aijmer, and Bengt Altenberg, 204–20. London: Routledge.

Dam-Jensen, Helle, and Karin Korning Zethsen. 2008. "Translator Awareness of Semantic Prosodies." *Target: International Journal on Translation Studies* 20 (2): 203–21. https://doi.org/10.1075/target.20.2.02dam.

Gabrovšek, Dušan. 2007. "Connotation, Semantic Prosody, Syntagmatic Associative Meaning: Three Levels of Meaning?" *ELOPE* 4 (1–2): 10–28. https://doi.org/10.4312/elope.4.1-2.9-28.

Hauser, David, and Norbert Schwarz. 2018. "How Seemingly Innocuous Words Can Bias Judgment: Semantic Prosody and Impression Formation." *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 75: 11–18. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2017.10.012.

Hirci, Nataša. 2012. "Electronic Reference Resources for Translators: Implications for Productivity and Translation Quality." *The Interpreter and Translator Trainer* 6 (2): 219–35. https://doi.org/10.1080/13556509.2012.10798837.

Hoey, Michael. 2005. *Lexical Priming*. London: Routledge.

Hunston, Susan. 2002. *Corpora in Applied Linguistics*. *Cambridge Applied Linguistics Series (CALS)*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

—. 2007. "Semantic Prosody Revisited." *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics* 12: 249–68. https://doi.org/10.1075/ijcl.12.2.09hun.

—. 2010. *Corpus Approaches to Evaluation*. London: Routledge.

Jurko, Primož. 2017. "Pragmatic Meaning in Contrast: Semantic Prosodies of Slovene and English." *Perspectives* 25 (1): 157–76. https://doi.org/10.1080/0907676X.2016.1165262.

—. forthcoming. “Semantic Prosody of Slovene Adverb-Verb Collocations: Introducing the Top-Down Approach.” *CORPORA.*
Kjellmer, Göran. 2005. “Collocations and Semantic Prosody: Abstract.” *AAACL 6 / ICAME Conference, 12 – 15 May, 2005, Ann Arbor*. http://robfelty.com/design/archives/corpusconference/abstracts/abstract48.pdf.
Kübler, Natalie, and Alexandra Volanschi. 2012. “Semantic Prosody and Specialised Translation, or How a Lexico-Grammatical Theory of Language Can Help with Specialised Translation.” In *Corpus Informed Research and Learning in ESP: Issues and Applications,* edited by Alex Boulton, Shirley Carter-Thomas, and Elizabeth Rowley-Jolivet, 103–34. Studies in Corpus Linguistics. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
Lindley, Jori. 2015. “A Corpus-Based Cognitive-Functional Study of the Meaning and Use of ‘Always’ and ‘Never’, and Related Phenomena, in American English.” PhD diss., University of California. http://www.escholarship.org/uc/item/36n1j6gp.
Lopes, Maria Cecilia. 2011. “Tradução, padrões e nuances: um estudo de Linguística de Corpus sobre diferentes prosódias semânticas na língua fonte e na língua alvo.” *Revista Brasileira de Linguística Aplicada* 11: 747–72. https://doi.org/10.1590/S1984-63982011000300008.
Louw, Bill. 1993. “Irony in the Text or Insincerity in the Writer? The Diagnostic Potential of Semantic Prosodies.” In *Text and Technology: In Honour of John Sinclair*, edited by Mona Baker, Gill Francis, and Elena Tognini-Bonelli, 157–76. Philadelphia: Benjamins.
—. 2000. “Contextual Prosodic Theory: Bringing Semantic Prosodies to Life.” In *Words in Context: A Tribute to John Sinclair on His Retirement,* edited by Chris Heffer and Helen Sauntson, 48–94. Birmingham: University of Birmingham. http://www.revue-texto.net/docannexe/file/124/louw_prosodie.pdf.
Méndez-Naya, Belén. 2014. “Out of the Spatial Domain ‘Out’-Intensifiers in the History of English.” *Folia Linguistica Historica* 35 (1): 241–74. https://doi.org/10.1515/flih.2014.007.
Munday, Jeremy. 2011. “Looming Large: A Cross-Linguistic Analysis of Semantic Prosodies in Comparable Reference Corpora.” In *Corpus-Based Translation Studies: Research and Application*s, edited by Alet Kruger, Kim Wallmach, and Jeremy Munday, 169–86. London: Continuum.
Newmark, Peter. 1988. *A Textbook of Translation*. London: Prentice Hall.
Palma Gutiérrez, Macarena. 2019. “Semantic Prosody in Middle Construction Predicates: Exploring Adverb + Verb Collocation in Middles.” In *Computational and Corpus-Based Phraseology*, edited by Gloria Corpas Pastor and Ruslan Mitkov, 11755. Cham: Springer.
Partington, Alan. 1998. *Patterns and Meanings: Using Corpora for English Language Research and Teaching*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
—. 2004. “Utterly Content in Each Other’s Company: Semantic Prosody and Semantic Preference.” *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics* 9 (1): 131–56. https://doi.org/10.1075/ijcl.9.1.07par.
Philip, Gill. 2009. “Why Prosodies Aren’t Always Present: Insights into the Idiom Principle.” In *CL2009 Corpus Linguistics Conference,* edited by Michaela Mahlberg, Victorina González-Díaz, and Catherine Smith. Liverpool: University of Liverpool. http://ucrel.lancs.ac.uk/publications/cl2009/.
—. 2011. *Colouring Meaning. Collocation and Connotation in Figurative Language.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
Pokorn, Nike Kocijančič. 2009. “Natives or Non-natives? That Is the Question…: Teachers of Translation into Language B.**”** *The Interpreter and Translator Trainer 3 (2):* 189–208.
Rundell, Michael. 2018. “Searching for Extended Units of Meaning – And What to Do When You Find Them.” *Lexicography Journal of Asialex* 5: 5–21. https://doi.org/10.1007/s40607-018-0042-1.
Siepmann, Dirk. 2006. “Collocation, Colligation and Encoding Dictionaries. Part II: Lexicographical Aspects.” *International Journal of Lexicography* 19 (1): 1–39.
Sinclair, John McHardy. 1987. *Collins COBUILD Advanced Learner’s Dictionary*. London: Collins ELT.
—. 1991. *Corpus, Concordance, Collocation.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
—. 1998. “The Lexical Item.” In *Contrastive Lexical Semantics,* edited by Edda Weigand, 1–24. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
—. 2004. *Trust the Text: Language, Corpus and Discourse*, edited with Ronald Carter. London: Routledge.
Stewart, Dominic. 2010. *Semantic Prosody: A Critical Evaluation*. New York: Routledge.

Stubbs, Michael. 2001. *Words and Phrases: Corpus Studies of Lexical Semantics*. Oxford: Blackwell.
Šorli, Mojca. 2012. "Semantična prozodija v teoriji in praksi – korpusni pristop k proučevanju pragmatičnega pomena: primer slovenščine in angleščine." In *Dvojezična korpusna leksikografija: slovenščina v kontrastu: novi izzivi, novi obeti*, edited by Mojca Šorli, 90–116. Ljubljana: Trojina, zavod za uporabno slovenistiko.
—. 2014. "Pragmatični pomen v dvojezičnem slovaropisju." PhD diss., University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Arts.
Tognini-Bonelli, Elena. 2001. *Corpus Linguistics at Work*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
UNESCO. 1976. "Recommendation on the Legal Protection of Translators and Translations and the Practical Means to improve the Status of Translators." http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=13089&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html.
Wang, Huijuan, and Yufeng Zou. 2018. "The Semantic Features of 'v+adv' in Native English Public Speaking." *Theory & Practice in Language Studies* 8 (12): 1636–48. https://doi.org/10.17507/tpls.0812.09.
Wei, Naixing, and Xiaohong Li. 2014. "Exploring Semantic Preference and Semantic Prosody across English and Chinese: Their Roles for Cross-Linguistic Equivalence." *Corpus Linguistics & Linguistic Theory* 10 (1): 103–38. https://doi.org/10.1515/cllt-2013-0018.
Whitsitt, Sam. 2005. "A Critique of the Concept of Semantic Prosody." *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics* 10: 283–305. https://doi.org/10.1075/ijcl.10.3.01whi.
Wu, Zhong, and Lihua Li. 2016. "A Contrastive Study on Semantic Prosodies of Minimal Degree Adverbs in Chinese and English." In *Semantic Technology – 5th Joint International Conference, JIST 2015, Yichang, China, November 11–13, 2015, Revised Selected Papers,* edited by Guilin Qi, Kouji Kozaki, Jeff Z. Pan, and Siwei Yu, 209–15. Springer.
Xiao, Richard, and Tony McEnery. 2006. "Collocation, Semantic Prosody and Near Synonymy: A Cross-Linguistic Perspective." *Applied Linguistics* 27 (1): 103–29. https://doi.org/10.1093/applin/ami045.

Part III

Book Review

ELOPE

Anamarija Šporčič
University of Ljubljana, Slovenia

2021, Vol. 18 (1), 213-215(222)
revije.ff.uni-lj.si/elope
https://doi.org/10.4312/elope.18.1.213-215

Book Review: *Words, Music and Gender* (Michelle Gadpaille and Victor Kennedy, eds.)

Jack is in his corset, Jane is in her vest… And me, I'm in a rock 'n' roll band

–Lou Reed, "Sweet Jane"[1]

Words, Music and Gender is a collection of 17 contributions by scholars hailing from a variety of academic backgrounds, enabling the volume to cover an impressive array of ways in which gender, words and music intersect and intertwine, affect and challenge each other in relationships that frequently reflect broader societal concerns. The editors, Michelle Gadpaille and Victor Kennedy, are no novices to the field, having not only themselves authored publications on the convergence of language and music (see e.g. Kennedy's *Strange Brew: Metaphors of Magic and Science in Rock Music* from 2013), but presently also delighting us with what is already the fourth monograph in a series of interdisciplinary studies on the matter (succeeding *Words and Music* (2013), *Symphony and Song: The Intersection of Words and Music* (2016) and *Ethnic and Cultural Identity in Music and Song Lyrics* (2017)). The latest tome offers a welcome continuation to this sequence, with its focus predominantly on gender, sexism, misogyny and sexuality in the world of music and music-related literature. The experienced editors were successful in putting together a notably coherent unit wherein individual papers shrewdly follow each other most of the time, in spite of their extremely varied content.

The musical journey begins with the reader being pushed straight into the deep end of the scintillating pool of rock, with what I find to be two of the most compelling undertakings in this collection. Mojca Krevel's lucid exploration of David Bowie's sexual fluidity and gender-bending performances goes beyond the artist's importance as a chameleonic LGBTQ icon, and asserts his position as a transgressive postmodern composite, a pioneer of the non-binary, master of fractal subjectivity and "intrinsic to the formation of identity within the ontological framework of postmodernity" (2020, 7). Equally impassioned and intriguing is Melanija Larisa Fabčič's piece on the rock goddess Kim Gordon, in which the author explores the Sonic Youth singer and guitarist's understanding and use of lyrics (and their delivery in particular) as tools with which to (re)conceptualize gender and deterritorialize it in the Deleuzian sense.

Lessons at the school of rock continue with Dolores Hunsky's absorbing and concise, yet vexatiously less thorough, overview of Joan Jett's career and her contribution to gender equality, and Victor Kennedy's illuminating insight into the Canadian New Wave, which

1 Reed, Lou. 1970. "Sweet Jane." Track 2 on *Loaded*. The Velvet Underground. New York City: Cotillion Records.

provides the reader with many examples of the role the genre (and bands such as Rough Trade and Pukka Orchestra in particular) played in the development of "new forms of personal identity through criticism of older, binary gender and authority roles" (2020, 85). Before venturing into the stereotypically male worlds of rap and metal, a foray into glam metal by Ana Maiken Kores acts as an interesting intermediary that, through meticulous analysis of Mötley Crüe lyrics, exposes the oxymoronic nature of a genre that provides a platform for gender experimentation and is, at the same time, also a breeding ground for extreme misogyny.

Jožef Kolarič acquaints the reader with some examples of homophobia in rap music and argues that the genre is not inherently homophobic, but is likely to exhibit homophobic tendencies due to the influence of the musicians' upbringing and social influences. The author concludes that rap is actually becoming less homophobic – an intriguing hypothesis that is briefly discussed in the paper and will hopefully be further explored by the author in the future. Bojan Kašuba's segment offers a linguistic intermission that would perhaps be better placed as the text linking the musical and the literary parts of the monograph, but *fo' shizzle* makes for an engaging read on new lexical items entering English vocabulary through music.

After this somewhat unfortunately positioned detour, *Words, Music and Gender* takes the reader back to analyses of different musical genres with three contributions that focus on the role of women in music. Tina Ritlop opens a gutsy discussion on female growls and screams in metal with an exciting piece that would nevertheless benefit greatly from being expanded with additional research and examples. The volume narrowly avoids being called out for focusing purely on Western music production by including an informative piece by Marged Flavia Trumper on the Hindustani genre of *thumri* and its role as a tool of affirmation for female singers in Northern Indian society. While such single entries do tend to have the inexorable scent of tokenism wafting about them, Trumper's contribution gives the reader at least a (wonderfully moreish) taste of the vast musical landscapes that are yet to be tackled by scholars to an extent comparable to that of their Western counterparts. Zmago Pavličič concludes the first part of the volume with an original and orderly investigation into the history of female jazz musicians in Slovenia.

The second part of the publication consists of seven texts dealing with music and gender in a literary context, covering diverse examples from prose, poetry and drama. F. Zeynep Bilge and Michelle Gadpaille both sink their proverbial teeth into Shakespeare, one by examining Ophelia's thought-provoking portrayal in a French operatic adaptation of *Hamlet*, the other by uncovering the importance of the Bard's musical puns (in combination with Elizabethan theatrical gender conventions), as "they simultaneously foreground gender difference, draw attention to gender norms and their breach and permit the staging of sexual arousal for both homo- and hetero-sexual viewers" (2020, 211). Ana Penjak, Jason Blake and Tjaša Mohar also delve fruitfully into three distinctly different literary texts (Joyce's classic "The Dead", Miriam Toews's novel *A Complicated Kindness* and Alice Munro's short story "The Bear Came Over the Mountain"), as they analyse the influence of assorted musical elements, events and references on narration, character portrayal, the setting (both temporal and spatial), interpretation and numerous other aspects of literary worlds. Jerneja Planinšek-Žlof and Nastja Prajnc Kacijan perform equally rewarding music-themed dissections of Tennessee William's seminal play *Cat on a Hot Tin Roof* and Adrienne Rich's poem "Transcendental Etude", thus concluding the reader's journey in style.

One of the volume's most attractive qualities is the fact that an impressive number of the authors are themselves not only scholars but also performing musicians, and therefore uniquely equipped with an additional perspective that enriches many of the contributions. However, as with most volumes that come to life as a result of interdisciplinary conferences, *Words, Music and Gender* struggles somewhat with uniformity and its individual parts can vary greatly in length, ambition, purpose and attention to detail, as well as in quality of writing and research. Some of the authors engage with the gender aspect much more than others, yet most manage to offer a pleasing amalgamation of the three key components highlighted in the collection's title. Overall, the volume is a strong addition to the series that competently continues the mission of its predecessors, with many of the segments representing an important contribution to both gender and music studies, and will certainly be read with relish by scholars across the humanities, musicians and music lovers alike.

References

Gadpaille, Michelle, and Victor Kennedy, eds. 2020. *Words, Music and Gender*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
Kennedy, Victor. 2013. *Strange Brew: Metaphors of Magic and Science in Rock Music.* Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
Kennedy, Victor, and Michelle Gadpaille, eds. 2013. *Words and Music*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
—. 2016. *Symphony and Song: The Intersection of Words and Music.* Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
—. 2017. *Ethnic and Cultural Identity in Music and Song Lyrics.* Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

List of Contributors

LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

Jean Boase-Beier
University of East Anglia, United Kingdom
j.boase-beier@uea.ac.uk

Enrique Cerezo Herrero
Polytechnic University of Valencia, Spain
ecerher@upv.es

Nataša Hirci
University of Ljubljana, Slovenia
natasa.hirci@ff.uni-lj.si

Primož Jurko
University of Ljubljana, Slovenia
primoz.jurko@ff.uni-lj.si

Melita Koletnik
University of Maribor, Slovenia
melita.koletnik@um.si

Tamara Mikolič Južnič
University of Ljubljana, Slovenia
tamara.mikolic@guest.arnes.si

Tjaša Mohar
University of Maribor, Slovenia
tjasa.mohar@um.si

Aleksandra Nuč
University of Maribor, Slovenia
aleksandra.nuc@um.si

Tomaž Onič
University of Maribor, Slovenia
tomaz.onic@um.si

Tadej Pahor
University of Ljubljana, Slovenia
tadej.pahor@ff.uni-lj.si

Giuseppe Palumbo
University of Trieste, Italy
gpalumbo@units.it

Martina Paradiž
University of Primorska, Slovenia
martinaparadiz@gmail.com

Agnes Pisanski Peterlin
University of Ljubljana, Slovenia
agnes.pisanskipeterlin@ff.uni-lj.si

Nike K. Pokorn
University of Ljubljana, Slovenia
nike.pokorn@ff.uni-lj.si

Sonja Pöllabauer
University of Vienna, Austria
sonja.poellabauer@univie.ac.at

Astrid Schmidhofer
University of Innsbruck, Austria
astrid.schmidhofer@uibk.ac.at

Martina Smodiš
University of Ljubljana, Slovenia
martinas96@gmail.com

Csilla Szabó
BME Centre for Modern Languages, Hungary
szcsilla10@gmail.com

Anamarija Šporčič
University of Ljubljana, Slovenia
anamarija.sporcic@ff.uni-lj.si

Snježana Veselica Majhut
University of Zagreb, Croatia
veselicamajhut@gmail.com

Simon Zupan
University of Maribor, Slovenia
simon.zupan@um.si

GUIDELINES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

ELOPE English Language Overseas Perspectives and Enquiries
ELOPE publishes original research articles, studies and essays that address matters pertaining to the English language, literature, teaching and translation.

Submission of Manuscripts
Manuscripts should be submitted for blind review in electronic form using the Faculty of Arts (University of Ljubljana) OJS platform (https://revije.ff.uni-lj.si/elope/about/submissions). Only one contribution by the same author per volume will be considered. Each paper should be accompanied by abstracts in English and Slovene (not more than 150 words each) and keywords. Abstracts by non-native speakers of Slovene will be translated into Slovene by ELOPE. Please be sure to have a qualified native speaker proofread your English-language article. Suggested length of manuscripts is between 5,000 and 8,000 words.

Manuscript Style and Format
The manuscript should be in the following format:

- title in English,
- abstracts in English and Slovene,
- the text should be divided into introduction; body of the paper (possibly subdivided); and conclusion.

The text should be preferably written in Word format (OpenOffice and RTF files are also acceptable). Please observe the following:

- 12-point Times New Roman font size,
- 2.5 cm page margins on all sides,
- 1.5-point line spacing,
- left text alignment,
- footnotes should be brief (up to 300 words per page; 10-point Times New Roman font size).

For resolving practical style and formatting queries, please see the articles in the latest on-line issue (https://revije.ff.uni-lj.si/elope/issue/current) or contact the technical editor.

References
References should comply with *The Chicago Manual of Style* (17th edition, 2017) author-date system. A Quick Guide to CMS is available here: https://www.chicagomanualofstyle.org/tools_citationguide/citation-guide-2.html.

Final note
Please note that only manuscripts fully adhering to the ELOPE Guidelines for Contributors will be considered for publication.

English Language Overseas Perspectives and Enquiries

ELOPE Vol. 18, No. 1 (2021)

Editorial Policy

ELOPE: English Language Overseas Perspectives and Enquiries is a double-blind, peer-reviewed academic journal that publishes original research articles, studies and essays that address matters pertaining to the English language, literature, teaching and translation.

The journal promotes the discussion of linguistic and literary issues from theoretical and applied perspectives regardless of school of thought or methodology. Covering a wide range of issues and concerns, ELOPE aims to investigate and highlight the themes explored by contemporary scholars in the diverse fields of English studies.

English
Language
Overseas
Perspectives and
Enquiries

Published by
Ljubljana University Press, Faculty of Arts
Znanstvena založba Filozofske fakultete Univerze v Ljubljani
Aškerčeva 2, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenia
For the Publisher: Roman Kuhar, the Dean of the Faculty of Arts

Issued by
Slovene Association for the Study of English
Slovensko društvo za angleške študije
Aškerčeva 2, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenia

Department of English, Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana
Oddelek za anglistiko in amerikanistiko, Filozofska fakulteta, Univerza v Ljubljani
Aškerčeva 2, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenia

The journal is published with support from the Slovenian Research Agency.

The publication is free of charge.

Universal Decimal Classification (UDC)
Kristina Pegan Vičič

Journal Design
Gašper Mrak

Cover
Marjan Pogačnik: *Zimsko cvetje,* 1994
7.6 x 10.0 cm; colour etching, deep relief
Owner: National Gallery, Ljubljana,
Photo: Bojan Salaj, National Gallery, Ljubljana

Printed by
Birografika Bori

Number of Copies
110

University *of Ljubljana*
FACULTY OF ARTS

https://doi.org/10.4312/elope.18.1
Online ISSN: 2386-0316
Print ISSN: 1581-8918