Marija Zlatnar Moe, Tanja Žigon, Tamara Mikolič Južnič

CENTER AND PERIPHERY: POWER RELATIONS IN THE WORLD OF TRANSLATION

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Foreword to the English Revised Edition

The idea for this book was conceived over lunch a few years ago. As usual, we failed to switch off work completely, and instead of chatting about the weather, we chatted about languages, translation, the mutual influences of different cultures and languages, adventures we had had with other participants in the translation process, and the funny things we frequently find in other people's translations while teaching, studying, translating, and reading for pleasure.

What, then, is translation? Umberto Eco discussed translation in a book with the telling title *Dire quasi la stessa cosa* (Eco 2003). Time and again, we try as translators to use different words to "say nearly the same thing," as Eco puts it. All who encounter texts in different languages daily, see translation as a passion and a challenge, a task that is never boring, but different and unique every time. In the words of the German linguist and translation scholar Sigrid Kupsch-Losereit, translation is also an opportunity to cross the line of the known and enter a new world. We topple the walls that tend to grow inside our heads – metaphorically, but increasingly also literally, wherever people fear the unknown, the other, the foreign. The existence of translation itself questions the notion of cultures that are completely self-sufficient and isolated from each other; it promotes closer contacts and coexistence in the society and in the world. Translation means connection, a contact between (at least) two cultures. It is the field where the borders of language communities are the most visible, but also the most permeable: languages can be an obstacle to communication when we fail to find a way to understand each other. However, multilingual speakers, especially translators and interpreters, successfully overcome these obstacles and forge new connections between cultures and between people.

Translation is an exercise in tolerance. When we switch language, we enter a new world, a world we know and understand less well than our world of origin. Yet, discovering new worlds enriches people and brings cultures together.

All three authors work with young people studying translation and interpreting and try to infect them with enthusiasm for all kinds of interlingual and intercultural mediation. We enjoy following their progress, appreciate their curiosity, and are pleased every time they reject the most readily available solution, and instead search through the wealth of words, phrases, idioms, or culture-specific features before they deem their translation fit to be read by a reader in a different language and culture.

There are four reasons why we decided to write a book dealing with relations between languages, especially between "small" languages on one hand and "big" languages on the other, languages that occupy very different positions within the global language hierarchy. Firstly, our own experience as translators (all three authors are also part-time practicing translators), as well as our conversations

with other literary translators of languages of smaller diffusion and lesser known cultures, led us to believe that translating from a smaller language is a somewhat different experience than from a bigger one. We noticed that these particularities could be an obstacle to the translation process, that they could be a cause of misunderstandings and disagreements between the actors and that in the worst case they could even bring it to a complete halt. (For example, the editor, reading a central translation of the original, and the translator, translating from the original source text, might irreversibly fall out). Therefore, we set out to determine what these special features are and how they arise, and this led us to the role that major languages and cultures inevitably play in translation between minor ones. As not all the participants are aware of this special role played by third languages and cultures, it can cause certain problems.

Secondly, we were troubled by some results from our earlier studies (confirmed by international studies of reading competences), which revealed that young people with the strongest aptitude for languages were coming to university with deficient reading and writing skills, although this could be remedied by further intensive training in the mother tongue. We wanted to know how all this influenced the quality of their translations.

Thirdly, in 2013 the European project TransStar Europa was launched (www.transstar-europa.com), dealing with translation from German into bigger languages, such as Polish, and smaller ones, such as Slovene, Croat, Czech, and Ukrainian. The aim of the project was to encourage intercultural mediation and contacts among the six participating countries, to build a network for the future mediators and to present the languages and cultures to the readers in the participating countries (Maček, Štrancar, and Žigon 2015). This initiative sparked further interest in the questions we explore.

Lastly, in the same period we also decided to encourage our students to study relations between individual pairs of cultures and languages in their final papers for the BA and MA degrees. Working together and under our supervision, they aimed through their partial studies to discover general patterns in translation between smaller languages.

We would like to thank those students, Lia Lampe, Barbara Slukan, Tanja Hrastelj, Vita Ivanek, Katja Škafar, Vida Sebastian, Ana Reisman, Zala Burič Žorž, Živa Novak, Ana Kristina Dodič as well as Ana Repina from the Department of Slavistics, for their dedicated and thorough work that helped us see a clearer and more detailed picture of the relations between different languages and helped us form the hypotheses on which this book is based.

We would like to thank all the students at different departments of the Faculty of Arts in Ljubljana who took part in our research, translated, summarized, and

patiently answered our questions, as well as their teachers who kindly let us steal some of their teaching time. We are happy when we succeed in infecting students with our enthusiasm for translation and research – only the younger generations can carry on knowledge and experiences and continue to build bridges between cultures. And we can learn from them at least as much as they learn from us; they keep showing us new points of view and new interpretations, and asking us new questions that would never occur to us.

We thank our fellow scholars, translators and others for sharing their experiences and views on translation with us (and serving as a shoulder to cry on during the last hectic stages of the production of this book), and the librarians who patiently brought us endless texts, papers and books from their vaults, and guided us safely through the labyrinth of COBISS, the Slovene on-line bibliographic system.

This book is published with financial support from the Slovene Research Agency, and the practical, technical and emotional support of our colleagues at the Ljubljana University Press, Faculty of Arts, for which we are grateful.

We would like to thank our international colleagues whose interest in our research is the reason we have decided to revise the book and publish it in English, because there is never enough time during conference presentations to say all we want to say and to answer their questions as thoroughly as we would wish and they would deserve. We would also like to thank our translator, Christian Moe, who has been our English proof-reader, occasional informal editor, and a loyal provider of sarcastic emotional support through the years, and who now has his name printed in one of our texts at last. We absolutely appreciate that he did this translation for us and do not think that "we could do it ourselves, only we are too busy and important to actually do it," as commissioners often say.

To sum up, the aim of this book is to show the nature of contacts between languages and cultures of lesser diffusion. These contacts are influenced by surprisingly diverse factors, from the intra-lingual and textual, to the political, ideological, educational, and even economic. All this supports our basic idea that translation opens doors into other world and transcends borders, since (as Wittgenstein famously wrote) the borders of our languages are in the end also the borders of our worlds.

Marija Zlatnar Moe, Tanja Žigon, Tamara Mikolič Južnič

0 Introduction

The monograph *Center and Periphery: Power Relations in the World of Translation* deals with relations between languages from the viewpoint of translation and other forms of interlingual mediation. These relationships are by no means those of equal partners. Intuitively, we speak of some languages, language groups and cultures as having greater weight and a somehow more important role, and of others as being marginalized and lacking influence on developments in other language communities. Intuitively, too, we might conclude that the reasons for this difference lie in the economic power of a language community, in its number of speakers, or in the political influence of the state in which this language community is dominant; however, the picture is not that simple. Though perhaps not evident at first sight, other factors also affect the place of a language and language community in a society, state, region, or the world, such as the cultural capital of the language community (Bourdieu [1986] 2011) and the place of that community in the world system – be it the language system, the literature system, or the translation system (Casanova 2010; De Swaan 2001; Heilbron 2000). Thus, according to various theories based on Wallerstein's (2004) world-system theory, we are not just talking about center and periphery, but about far more complex relationships that form around the so-called hyper-central language, which occupies a special position in relation to a few central languages as well as to semi-peripheral and peripheral languages. The language communities that occupy different positions in the system also interact with other language communities both on the same level and on higher or lower levels; thus they form the densely interwoven network we call the world translation system.

In this work, we devote attention not only to the definitions and typologies of world systems, we also research how the above-mentioned positions of individual languages affect concrete developments among languages in contact, that is, how they affect translation. Observing the results of various studies that included diverse combinations of languages, text types, literary genres and translators with various trainings, we began to observe recurring patterns in translations into the languages we sometimes call "minor languages", that is, less widespread languages. A review of the research literature confirmed our reflections on the asymmetric relationship between central languages on the one hand, and peripheral ones on the other, and confirmed the thesis that there are considerable differences between languages on different rungs of the hierarchical ladder. Yet the literature does not offer satisfactory answers concerning the influence of the positions or roles of languages on different aspects of the translation process. We came to pose the question how the position of a language or a language community is reflected in the activity of translation, whether on the macro level – in translation policy, in the amount and directness of translations, in the number of translators and other participants in the translation process and in the conditions under which they work – or on the micro level, that is, in

translation strategies that may be discerned by analysing individual texts from different genres and different language pairs.

Based on the studies carried out and the basic findings made in the available literature, we developed the four hypotheses presented below, and tested and confirmed them based on case studies. In some studies we also raised sub-hypotheses, but these only supplement the four basic ones:

- The centrality or peripherality of a language is defined by the role of the language within the world translation system (cf. Heilbron 1999), but this role is dynamical by nature, and subject to temporary or permanent change due to particular or changing circumstances.
- The differences between translation work in central and peripheral cultures or language communities can be identified on the macro level; differences are expected in the reasons for translating, the manner of selection, the number and typology of translators, etc.
- On the micro level, that is, on the level of individual translations, there will be differences between the translation strategies most often resorted to by translators of central and peripheral languages respectively. We hypothesize that a greater tendency to make major interventions in the text – on the stylistic level, and sometimes even in content and structure – will be discernible where translations into central languages are concerned. Translators translating into peripheral languages, on the other hand, use translation strategies that differ in essential respects from those usually used by translators from central cultures and languages. Among peripheral languages there seems to be more sensitivity and a more respectful attitude to the source text and culture, which takes the form of more numerous explanations and expansions, the retention of peculiarities of the source culture, etc. In translations into central languages, to the contrary, such culture-specific elements are often either ignored or neutralized.
- There is no substitute for a high level of competence in the mother tongue where successful interlingual and intercultural mediation and translation is concerned, as insufficient competences in one's first language also have a critical impact on a range of competences required for translation or for working in a bi- or multilingual environment. Flawless proficiency and constant ongoing training in the mother language are preconditions for a high level of literacy in foreign languages, as well as for successfully facing the challenges that the relationship between central and peripheral languages poses to the translator and to everyone else living and working in a multilingual environment.

We begin this monograph with a short outline of sociologically oriented theories of translation that deal with the concepts of the centrality and peripherality of languages; here, we ask what role the individual actors in the translation field play in the selection of texts for translation, and how the selected texts are translated. We wish to afford insight into the relationships that are formed by interaction between languages, and to demonstrate just how much the understanding of centrality and peripherality can change due to the historical, cultural, or other circumstances of each case and to the constellation of languages. We therefore present the theoretical framework of the world translation system, as founded by Heilbron (ibid.), and the starting points on which the model is based, namely economic and sociological concepts developed inter alia by Wallerstein (2004), Bourdieu ([1986] 2011) and De Swaan (2001). The basic thesis we seek to justify in our theory review is that the role occupied by languages in the world translation system has an essential impact on the likelihood (and extent) of translation taking place between certain (central or peripheral) languages, as well as on the translation strategies translators opt for in the translation of individual texts (in whole or in part) and text types (e.g. newspaper headlines, movie titles, or culture-specific expressions in literary texts).

We go on to present the findings of various component studies in the field of intercultural and interlingual contacts between central, peripheral, and semi-peripheral language communities and cultures and the Slovene language community and culture, each of which answers the theoretical questions from the first chapter in its own way. We present statistics gathered from records in the COBISS bibliography system and data collected directly from participants in the translation process by means of questionnaire surveys among editors, publishers and institutions with important roles in the translation field. The component studies presented stem largely from the work of BA and MA students at the Department of Translation, Faculty of Arts, Ljubljana, carried out over a three-year period under our supervision.

The third chapter is devoted to studies of individual cases illustrating the difference between translation from a (hyper-)central language into a peripheral one, and translation in the opposite direction. These include translation of popular science articles from English into German and Slovene; translation of movie titles from a hyper-central language – English – into five different languages including both one central, one semi-peripheral and three peripheral languages; and translation of culture-specific elements in two Scandinavian novels into one peripheral and one (hyper-)central language. In this way we show how concrete translation decisions may be influenced by the position of an individual language in the global system.

The fourth chapter is devoted to the first language every translator has to master, namely the mother tongue (in our case, Slovene), and the impact of mother-tongue

competence on the learning and knowledge of foreign languages and thus on translation competences and the quality of the final product, the translation.

In the concluding chapter we summarize the findings and insights of the component studies and assess to what extent they confirm our hypotheses. In this way, we connect the presented findings into a thematic whole where translation has an important place, which is always and in every society also defined by various influences and factors, and always depends on high competence in the mother tongue as an essential requirement.

The studies in this monograph make up a mosaic picture that will hopefully contribute to a better and more holistic understanding of the influences on translation activity in Slovenia and beyond. At the end, we have added annexes that supplement the different studies and offer more detailed insight into the methodology and data processing.

1 Center and Periphery: Theoretical Framework

Translation studies is a highly multi-disciplinary field. Over the past decades' rapid development of the discipline we have witnessed several turns, or at least changes of direction, connected with various related branches of science. Many influential writings on translation have in the past stemmed from the reflections of members of "major" languages and cultures, but as Heilbron and Sapiro (2007: 97) also stress, translation studies in the modern sense was actually developed in "minor"[1] countries (the Netherlands, Belgium, Israel). In such countries and cultures, translations play a larger role, as seen in the share of translated texts compared to original texts in the language concerned. In what we may call the mature stage of translation studies, with far more scholars, researchers and university programs dedicated to the discipline on all levels than just a few decades ago, a number of studies concentrating on "minor" languages have become available. It is here, in fact, that most translation takes place, forming an essential part of the everyday life of most of the population, and helping to shape the arts, especially literature and cinema, to a substantial degree. This book turns attention to precisely this question of the relationships between languages that play different roles and carry different weights on the global scale from the perspective of translation (and translation studies).

The aim of this chapter is to set out the topic area and the theoretical foundations for the studies and findings presented in the following chapters. Here, we explain what the world translation system is and how it has developed, how we understand the terms center and periphery, and what kind of relationships we are talking about when we speak specifically of translation. In several places we discuss literary translation, which is part of the world literature system, as a very clear case where numerous authors have observed relationships within the system; however, we also include other, non-literary genres.

In the following short overview, we present the sociologists who have had the most influence on the model of a world translation system. We pay attention to the frameworks and tools that these researchers have offered to translation studies, and on which our studies are based. In particular, we define the terminology used in this book. It should be pointed out, however, that terminological issues are inseparably connected with the choice of theoretical vantage point from which we wish to survey the relations between languages, so we will be revisiting the same or related questions repeatedly in the following chapters.

1 The expressions "major" and "minor" as applied to culture, language and country will be contextualized in the following discussion of the most appropriate terminology for the different roles assumed in the global (and local) system by individual languages, their cultures and, where applicable, their nation-states.

1.1 ON TRANSLATION AND SOCIOLOGICALLY ORIENTED TRANSLATION STUDIES

Translation studies is a young discipline that gained independence and defined itself relatively late, as is also clear from the numerous turns mentioned by Mary Snell-Hornby (2006). If we look only at the last few decades,[2] we find that translation studies has come a long way from the initial discussions between approaches oriented toward linguistics (Catford 1965; Nida 1964; Vinay and Darbelnet [1958] 1995) and literary studies (Holmes [1972] 1994), via the descriptive approach (e.g. Toury 1995), skopos theory (e.g. Holz-Mänttäri 1984; Reiss and Vermeer 1984), the cultural turn (e.g. Bassnett and Lefevere 1990), post-colonial translation studies (e.g. Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin 1989; Bhabha 1994; Gates 1989), historical views of questions in translation studies (e.g. Pym 1998), to sociological aspects of translating and translation studies (e.g. Wolf and Fukari 2007) and more.

Today, many of the most influential translation scholars agree that a holistic understanding – of translation as a practice, of the translator as an actor, and of the factors that affect the genesis and life of the translation as a product – requires positioning the analysis in the space, the time and the circumstances in which translations are made. It is therefore not surprising that many seminal contemporary works of translation studies have been strongly influenced by various theorists of culture and sociology, chief among them Itamar Even-Zohar (1990), Pierre Bourdieu (2008, [1986] 2011) and Abram de Swaan (2001), who approach languages and translation from somewhat different perspectives, but have offered translation studies new dimensions of research and capabilities for understanding the factors that shape translation.

Languages differ considerably with regard to their role in the global framework. There are historical, demographic, political, technological and other reasons for these differences. But apart from such measures as the number of speakers and their economic power, which seem at first glance to be key factors, if not the only significant ones, the influence of certain languages on others is extremely hard to measure. Why, for instance, is so little translated into most of the world's languages from a great and ancient culture with a major language community like China? Though neither the economic nor the political power of that country are negligible, the current global trends do not show any change in the number of translations from Chinese into other languages.

Within translation studies, various writers have engaged with the question of relations among languages from different sides, and thus the names they use for

2 For a more thorough overview of the history of translating and translation studies, see Lefevere (1992), Venuti (2000) and Snell-Hornby (2006).

different groups and subgroups of languages differ,[3] as all adapt their concepts according to the aspect of the relationship they particularly wish to stress. In the broadest (and most simplified) terms, various writers divide languages inter alia into "major" and "minor" (Edwards 2003; Maumevičienė 2012; May 2000), most often based on the number of speakers and the economic power of each culture or country. Another group, who particularly study the relationship either between colonial powers and colonized people, or between majority and minority populations (languages, cultures) in a particular territory, divides languages into dominant and dominated or major/big and minor/small, e.g. Cronin (1995, 2003),[4] Ringmar (2006) and Heilbron and Sapiro (2007). In this divide, too, relations of economic power or the number of speakers in the language community play a key role. In recent years, however, the most common divide has been what is basically a dichotomy between two extremes, center and periphery, though in most studies it in fact also includes an intermediate, semi-peripheral step, as well as a special hyper-central position (e.g. Bassnett and Lefevere 1998; Bassnett and Trivedi 1999; De Swaan 2010; Even-Zohar 1990; Heilbron 1999, 2000; Lefevere 1992; Rude-Porubská 2010; Streiter, Scannell, and Stuflesser 2006; Wolf 2007a; Zarycki 2007).[5]

An essential difference between these authors' concept of center and periphery and those mentioned previously is that the former is not only based on the economic power of a country and the number of speakers of a language, but also on other, related factors – here, the key factor is the role a language plays among speakers of other languages. In other words, what matters is not so much the absolute number of speakers of a language, but the number of multilingual speakers who speak it, or the number of native speakers of some other language that speak it. De Swaan (1993; cf. also De Swaan 2001, 2010) asserts that the number of speakers does not suffice to assure the centrality of a language even in the political and economic sense: A language gains this role based on the number of speakers who speak several languages and with whose aid it can dominate the system of the other languages that gravitate toward it. Casanova (2010) has similar thoughts on the international literature system: The linguistic and literary capital of a language is not measured by the number of writers or readers in that language, but by the number of literary polyglots using it, as well as by the number of literary translators, who play a key role in disseminating a text across literary languages.

There are also other interpretations, particularly in interdisciplinary studies, that focus on other aspects of interlingual relations. These interpretations stress

3 For a Slovene perspective on the question of the positions of languages in their mutual relations, see Vidovič Muha (2003).

4 Cronin (1995) actually discusses the dichotomy between dominant and minority languages, but his reflections can in many respects be applied to relationships between languages from different nation-states as well.

5 It should be pointed out that several of the mentioned writers use more than one expression interchangeably.

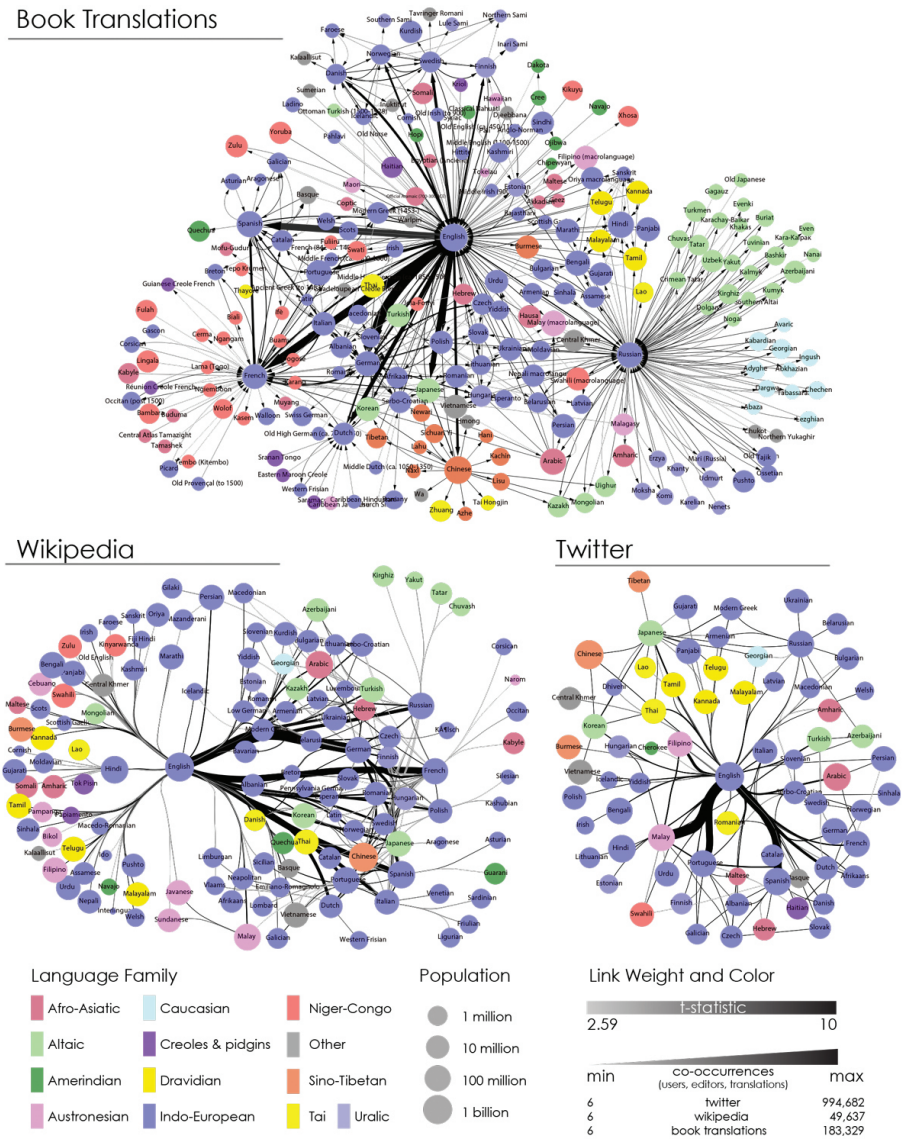

Figure 1: Visualization of three global language networks (source: Ronen et al. 2014: E5617).

somewhat different key factors in the categorization of languages according to their place in the system.[6] Thus, for example, Streiter et al. use a somewhat different terminology for central/peripheral languages, distinguishing a smaller

6 Cf. also Zaricky (2007), Pietikäinen and Kelly-Holmes (2013).

number of central and non-central languages and measuring centrality "by the extent to which a given language is supported by natural language processing tools and research" (Streiter, Scannell, and Stuflesser 2006: 267). Ronen et al. (2014), on the other hand, determine the centrality of a language based on a broader set of factors that form the networks connecting multilingual speakers. Beside translated texts in book form,[7] their model also took into account the multilingual editions of the free on-line encyclopedia Wikipedia and multilingualism on the social network Twitter. Their analysis resulted in Figure 1, which very clearly demonstrates how complex are the relations among languages and how – besides the main centers or hyper-centers – there also arise smaller, locally bounded centers, orbited by numerous other languages, that we otherwise count as peripheral. The different colors on the figure mark language families, while the line width shows the intensity of a relationship.

Our work is based on the distinction between hyper-central, central, semi-peripheral and peripheral languages, as described e.g. by Heilbron (1999, 2000), Casanova (2010), Sapiro (2010)[8] and others, based on the sociological terminology developed in Even-Zohar's (1990) polysystem theory, De Swaan's (2001) work on the world language system, and Bourdieu's (2008, [1986] 2011) theory of the forms of capital and their role in the world of translation and (French) publishing.

2.1 FROM POLYSYSTEM THEORY TO SOCIOLOGICAL TRANSLATION STUDIES

The idea of a world system (or world systems), to which many of the below assumptions in this chapter are tied, did not emerge in the disciplines of linguistics, literature or translation studies; it is implicitly or explicitly founded on an approach to world history and social change that started in sociology and has now become highly multidisciplinary, known as *world-system theory*. One of the main founders of the theory is Immanuel Wallerstein (see e.g. Wallerstein 2004), who began studying world relations and developing this theory in the 1970s. World-system theory refers to a super-national division of labor in which the world is divided into *central countries*, with higher competences and capital-intensive production; *semi-peripheral countries*, which export products with low labor costs to central countries and products with high labor costs to peripheral countries in roughly the same proportion; and *peripheral countries*, characterized primarily by low-skill, labor-intensive production and extraction of raw materials.

7 Heilbron (1999, 2000), too, determines the roles of languages based on statistics on translated books, as discussed below.

8 Sapiro (2010) uses the terminology *core–periphery* (which is closer to Wallerstein's original terminology), but she uses "core" in a similar sense to "center" as used by the other authors.

> The axial division of labor of a capitalist world-economy divides production into core-like products and peripheral products. Core-periphery is a relational concept. What we mean by core-periphery is the degree of profitability of the production processes. Since profitability is directly related to the degree of monopolization, what we essentially mean by core-like production processes is those that are controlled by quasi-monopolies. Peripheral processes are then those that are truly competitive. When exchange occurs, competitive products are in a weak position and quasi-monopolized products are in a strong position. As a result, there is a constant flow of surplus-value from the producers of peripheral products to the producers of core-like products. This has been called unequal exchange. (ibid.: 28)

This flow of exchange constantly reinforces the dominant position of the central countries, but the system is nevertheless dynamic, and individual countries may shift from peripheral or semi-peripheral to central, or lose their central or semi-peripheral status and end up on the margins (cf. also Raškovič, Udovič, and Žnidaršič 2015). It sometimes happens that a country gains world hegemony for a certain period of time, as stressed by Wallerstein (2004: 57f): With the geographical spread and economic strengthening of the world system over the past centuries, this status has passed from the Netherlands to the United Kingdom and recently to the United States.

An overview of the most powerful centers of the world systems suffices to show that the relations that apply in world-system theory are not entirely transferable to the flow of cultural goods such as literary works and translation: As we have seen and as we continue to show below, the history of power relations in the field of cultural exchange is not always perfectly comparable with that of economic power or population size; though some countries are indeed often repeatedly found at the top of the ladder due to these two factors, the picture looks very different in those spaces between that belong neither to the center nor to the periphery.

In the following, we first present the views of certain sociologists (Even-Zohar, Bourdieu, De Swaan) who rely on the theory of center/periphery as described above, but extend it with their own insights and often also with interdisciplinary contributions. We go on to consider views that connect with these sociological concepts but relate even more specifically to translation studies by seeking to explain the dynamics of the world literature system (Casanova) or the world translation system (Heilbron). In the subsequent presentation of specific cases of translation practices and strategies, we will mostly rely on Heilbron, who – following De Swaan (1993) and Casanova (2004, 2010) – supplements Wallerstein's three hierarchical levels with a fourth category (the hyper-central position). We will highlight the reflections and concepts that led Heilbron to the theory of the world translation system.

1.2.1 Itamar Even-Zohar

Among the earliest theorists to use Wallerstein's insights for sociologically oriented translation studies and to reflect on the role of translation in culture – or more specifically on the role of literary translation within the literary polysystem – was Itamar Even-Zohar (1990).[9] In his extraordinarily influential work on polysystem theory, he proposed a way to systematically study the necessary conditions for translation to come about in a culture, and looked at the whole functioning of translated literature within the broader literary and historical systems of the target culture (cf. Wolf 2007a). Although polysystem theory chronologically precedes descriptive translation studies, in substantive terms it might be seen as their further development, as it places descriptions of translations into a broader context – that is, into a system – thus allowing us to go from describing translations to explaining them (cf. Hermans 2009: 102).

Itamar Even-Zohar's work deals mainly with literary systems and translations of literary works within them. He sees the literary system as dynamic, heterogeneous and in constant contact with the other social and cultural systems; hence, he names it the polysystem (Even-Zohar 1990). Of key importance to translation studies is Even-Zohar's point that translations too play an important role in literary systems, and that this role depends on the conditions that determine the system in a given moment. He argues that there are at least two kinds of correlations between translations: "in the way their source texts are selected by the target literature, the principles of selection never being uncorrelatable with the home co-systems of the target literature" and "in the way they adopt specific norms, behaviors, and policies – in short, in their use of the literary repertoire – which results from their relations with the other home co-systems" (ibid.: 46). In his view, translated literature has a central role in the literary polysystem if it "participates actively in shaping the center of the polysystem"; in this case the translated literature is innovative and introduces features into the home literature which did not exist there before (ibid.: 46–47).[10] The role of literary translations is never merely peripheral or even marginal, as they are key to the shaping and reshaping of national languages. Bassnett and Lefevere (1998: 127) explain that the development of national languages in Europe was inseparably tied to translation, and we can surely identify a similar picture in the development of Slovene literary language, from the first translations of religious texts to the plays of Linhart in the Enlightenment (see further Ahačič 2013, 2014).

9 This was a revised version of an article by the same title from 1978, published in the journal *Poetics Today* in 1990 as part of a special issue titled *Polysystem Studies*.

10 In a peripheral position, however, translations do not influence processes at the center of the polysystem, and they are made in accordance with norms shaped by a dominant type in the target system (Even-Zohar 1990: 48).

In a somewhat controversial statement, Even-Zohar pondered the conditions in which translated literature might become a means for renewal of the existing literary repertoire in the home system:

> It seems to me that three major cases can be discerned, which are basically various manifestations of the same law: (a) when a polysystem has not yet been crystallized, that is to say, when a literature is "young," in the process of being established; (b) when a literature is either "peripheral" (within a large group of correlated literatures) or "weak," or both; and (c) when there are turning points, crises, or literary vacuums in a literature. (Even-Zohar 1990: 47)

Bassnett and Lefevere (1998: 127) note the "somewhat crude" form of this statement and question definitions of expressions like "peripheral", "weak", "central", and "strong" based on the number of translations into certain languages and cultures.[11] Nonetheless, Even-Zohar's theory has had a pronounced impact on the development of translation studies, and has inspired a quite different way of thinking about translation, its role in society and its place in literature; it has also intervened in some areas of literary history and forced a re-thinking of the power relations that have influenced culture/cultures in its/their various forms.

1.2.2 Pierre Bourdieu

The works of the sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (Bourdieu 2008, [1986] 2011), too, have greatly influenced thinking about the relations between central and peripheral cultures (and languages). Inghilleri (2005: 125) points out that the growing interest in Bourdieu heralds a paradigmatic shift in translation studies towards more sociologically and anthropologically aware approaches to the study of translation as a process and the translation as a product. The essential contribution of Bourdieu's theory of symbolic forms lies in equipping translation students with conceptual tools for explaining socio-cultural restrictions on the process and products of translation more effectively than one could do based on the concepts of norm and convention discussed in descriptive translation studies (cf. e.g. Toury 1995).[12] From the translation-studies perspective, the most

11 In fact, many later studies by various authors base their definitions directly or indirectly on Even-Zohar's conception of the centrality or peripherality of a culture in the polysystem (e.g. Heilbron 1999).

12 Gideon Toury is considered the leading theorist of the descriptive branch of translation studies. His research focuses especially on the role of translation in the polysystem theory; he has described the translation process in terms of culture-specific translation norms that determine the production and reception of translations in the target culture. He based his theory on observations that translators make some decisions more often than others in their work, and that these decisions are connected with the expectations of readers in the target culture. If many translators make similar decisions in their translations, this affects the readers' expectations of subsequent translations, creating a circle in which translation norms form as a kind of guide to successful work for the translator (cf. Kocijančič Pokorn 2003: 179–181; cf. also Chapter 5 of this book.

important concepts in Bourdieu's theory are habitus, field, capital and illusio or interest (cf. also Atanasova 2013).[13] Since we also base our own understanding of the flow of translations between different cultures in the modern globalized world on Bourdieu's (2011) concept of the forms of capital, we will briefly summarize his positions here.

Bourdieu defines capital as "accumulated labor (in its materialized form or its 'incorporated', embodied form) which, when appropriated on a private, i.e., exclusive, basis by agents or groups of agents, enables them to appropriate social energy in the form of reified or living labor" (ibid.: 83).

> Depending on the field in which it functions, and at the cost of the more or less expensive transformations which are the precondition for its efficacy in the field in question, capital can present itself in three fundamental guises: as *economic capital*, which is immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the forms of property rights; as *cultural* capital, which is convertible, on certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the forms of educational qualifications; and as *social capital*, made up of social obligations ('connections'), which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the forms of a title of nobility. (ibid.: 84)

Beside these three, there is also symbolic capital, which may appear in any of the forms, but must be acquired symbolically. As Vogrinc summarizes, it is essential to symbolic capital, as distinct from the other three, that it is based on acknowledgement by other people, which enables the bearer of symbolic capital to validate their advantage, strength and power as a person, which thus legitimately counts for more and gains the advantage of 'a credential'. The power of symbolic capital is thus limited to the time of its acknowledgement in the eyes of the subordinates (Vogrinc 2009).

As Bourdieu says (2011: 84f), cultural capital may take an *embodied* form (as long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body), an *objectified* form (as cultural goods, e.g. pictures, books, instruments), and *institutional* forms (as academic certificates, qualifications). Cultural capital in the embodied form cannot be rapidly transferred (unlike e.g. money), but is tied to the individual person and their capacity for appropriation, and hence perishes with its bearer. It is strongly predisposed to function as symbolic capital, since the social conditions required for its transmission and acquisition are more disguised than those of economic capital. In the objectified form, its material part is transferable, but it is inseparably tied to what the agent or group of agents is able to appropriate

13 Based on these concepts, Simeoni (1998) speaks of the special habitus of the translator and its role in translation studies, Gouanvic (2002) analyses the habitus and actors taking part in the translation process, Hermans (1999) analyses the concept of cultural capital, and Wolf (Wolf 2007b) extends the concept of the field of translation with Bhabha's concept of the third space.

(i.e., to cultural capital in the embodied form); it "exists as symbolically and materially active capital only insofar as it is appropriated by agents and implemented and invested as a weapon and a stake in the struggles which go on in the fields of cultural production" (ibid.: 87). In its institutionalized form, cultural capital is separable from its bearer, so this form enables comparisons between different bearers.

Social capital is "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships" between the members of a certain group, which "provides each of its members with the backing of the collectivity-owned capital, a 'credential'" (ibid.: 88). An agent's social capital depends "on the size of the network of connections he can effectively mobilize and the amount of capital (economic, cultural or symbolic) possessed […] by each of those to whom he is connected" (ibid.: 89). The profit that derives from membership in the group is the basis of the solidarity that enables the group to exist.

The various forms of capital can be derived from economic capital, but this requires the investment of the effort or labor needed to transform them into the form of power that is efficacious in a certain area. Economic capital is in fact the original form of all other kinds of capital (ibid.: 91), but these transformed, disguised forms of economic capital can never be reduced to the same definition, as they achieve their most specific effects only to the extent they succeed in disguising (even to the agent who possesses them) the fact that they derive from economic capital. The measure of all forms of equivalence in transformations from one form of capital to another is the labor/time ratio (in the broadest sense). The possibility of transforming various forms of capital is the basis for strategies aiming at the reproduction of capital, and "every reproduction strategy is at the same time a legitimation strategy which aimed at consecrating both an exclusive appropriation and its reproduction" (ibid.: 92). Thus Bourdieu (2008) uses the case of French publishing to show how the transfer of symbolic capital comes about among authors, editors and publishing houses, as well as how commercial logic largely dominates the selection of works to publish in the large, established publishing houses with a great deal of acquired cultural and economic capital, whereas at the smaller, newer publishers that have just begun to accumulate capital in any form, the editors' selections are in principle guided by the literary value of the works.

As many contemporary translation scholars have noted, Bourdieu's theory of symbolic forms offers perspicacious answers to questions about the influence of translating and translations on social change and on the relationship between dominant social factors and the selection and form of translations. The essential contribution his sociological epistemology makes to the theory of translation

studies is its definition of society as a network of relationships that reflect the dynamics between individuals within society and show the mechanisms that shape social agents (cf. also Wolf 2010). This perspective foregrounds the power relationships that condition the translation process in its various phases and stresses the role played by translations and translators in society. Furthermore, we can combine Bourdieu's theory with a model of a hierarchic order based on the concepts of center and periphery, and thus we may better understand the flow of translations from one language into another, as well as the levers that influence the selection of texts for translation (genres and categories, commercial and niche/literary types of translations) according to the economic, political and cultural power relations between states or language communities (Sapiro 2008: 165). Within Bourdieu's theoretical framework, then, we can study translating and translations in their different aspects, from how translations as cultural goods travel beyond the circumstances in which they arose, to their role as indicators of the relations between different countries and cultures, as well as the role of mediating centers or cultures through which translations flow from one peripheral language into another, and so on.[14]

1.2.3 Abram de Swaan

Beside the influential sociologists mentioned above, a substantial contribution to the understanding of relations between languages on the global level has also been made by Abram de Swaan (1993, 2001, 2010). Paralleling Wallerstein's theory of world systems, his work theorizes the existence of a global language system based on the multilingualism of speakers. De Swaan (2001) sees the world language system as a system built on the connections among languages created by speakers of more than one language: a strictly hierarchical order in which the centrality of a language in the system is determined by the number of multilingual speakers who speak a given language, and by the social role the language plays for the speaker. This means that in the political and economic world, too, the number of speakers of a language is not a sufficient measure for determining its centrality, as is also stressed by Casanova (Casanova 2010: 3).

De Swaan (2001: 4–6) speaks of four hierarchical steps arranged in a pyramid. On the bottom of the pyramid are the *peripheral languages*: this group includes 98% of all the world's languages (which number between 5,000 and 6,000), but these are spoken by less than 10% of the planet's inhabitants. For the most part, they are exclusively spoken languages that are preserved through the memory of the speakers, from generation to generation. Members of peripheral language

14 For a brief overview of diverse studies based on Bourdieu's theory, see Heilbron (1999).

communities today rarely learn another peripheral language; they more often meet their needs for communication with speakers of other languages by learning a language that is common to several peripheral language communities – a so-called *central language* that, for these groups, becomes a planet which the peripheral languages circle like moons (ibid.: 4). De Swaan suggests that the global language system probably has about a hundred central languages, used by as much as 95% of the world's population. These languages are used on the various levels of the school system, and appear in the press and other forms of modern communications. For the most part they are "national" languages, often the official languages of states governing a certain territory. The learning of foreign languages, according to De Swaan's theory, always runs upward: The native speakers of central languages learn a language on a higher level of the hierarchy, that is, a *super-central language*. Such languages are used for remote communication and international contacts; they are often the languages of former colonial powers, and continue to be used in certain territories for politics, administration, law, business, technology and higher education. De Swaan (ibid.: 5–6) counts 13 such languages: Arabic, Chinese, English, French, German, Hindi, Japanese, Malay, Portuguese, Russian, Spanish, Swahili and Turkish.[15] The super-central languages are connected by one single language that forms the central axis of the global language system. This *hyper-central language* (ibid.: 6), which ties the whole constellation together, is currently English.[16] It has not held this position for long, and it may well be that future circumstances will change and another language will take over this role, but this is not very likely to happen over the next few decades, De Swaan states (ibid.: 6). The hierarchical levels are shown graphically in Figure 2.

Abram de Swaan is above all a sociologist, and as mentioned above, his language hierarchy is based on the multilingualism of speakers, that is, on what other languages the speakers learn and use in everyday life beside their mother tongue. Besides this, however, like other sociologically oriented translation scholars we are also interested in the diverse factors and influences that help shape a translation. To multilingualism we must therefore add other important factors based on which we can structure the so-called world literature system for the needs of translation-studies analyses in similar, but not identical ways.

15 De Swaan does not mention Turkish in his list of super-central languages (2001: 5), but he does include it in this group when he discusses the role of individual super-central languages on the regional level (ibid.: 11–13).

16 Other writers, too, have dealt with the question of the hierarchy of languages in the global language system. In Graddol's (1997: 13) interesting scheme, for example, languages are divided into five levels, with two of them – English and French – occupying the hyper-central position, followed by regional languages (Arabic, Chinese, English, French, German, Russian, Spanish), national languages (around 80 languages used in over 180 countries), official languages of nation-states (around 600 languages) and local indigenous languages (other languages). However, most experts today agree that over the past decades French has lost the status of a hyper-central language, and that English has taken over this role with a considerable lead (Bourdieu 2008; Crystal 2003; Heilbron 1999; Sapiro 2010; Tietze and Dick 2013).

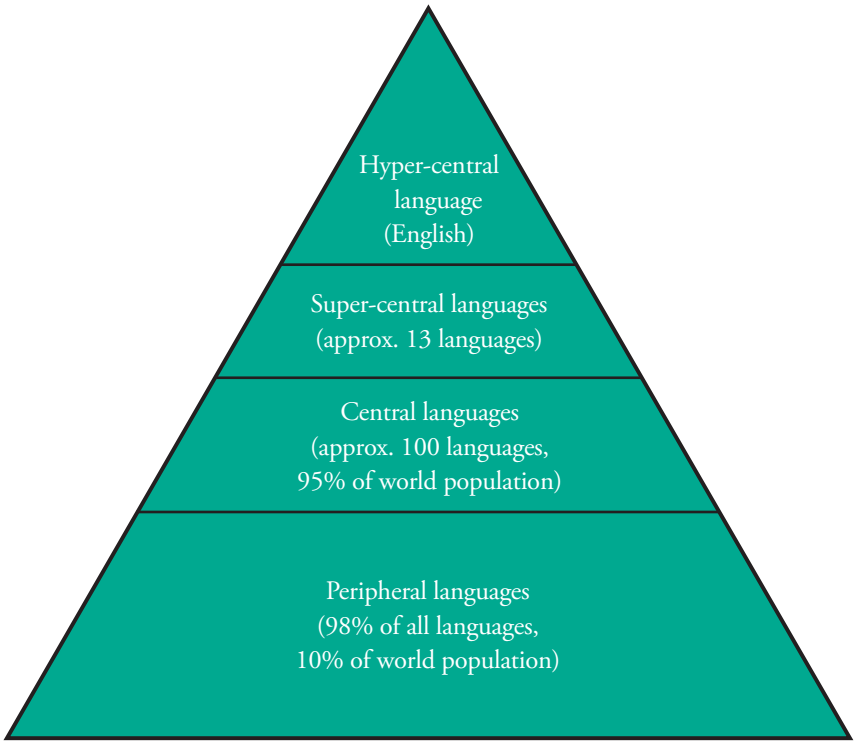

Figure 2: The global language system according to De Swaan (2001).

1.3 THE WORLD LITERATURE SYSTEM: THE HIERARCHICAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN LANGUAGES IN THE WORLD OF TRANSLATION

Having sketched various sociological perspectives on the relationships among languages on a global level, we go on to present some key writers who base their views on the global flow of literature on these sociological approaches, including the perspectives on which the following case studies are based.

1.3.1 Pascale Casanova and the world literature system

Pascale Casanova's (2004, 2010) ambitious and controversial but in many ways perspicacious presentation of the world literature system is based mainly on

Bourdieu's theory of the flow of cultural capital.[17] She attributes a special value to literature as part of cultural capital, as it creates its own system of power relations which, though tied to the development of modern nation-states, does not result only from their political history. Casanova does not conceive of the world literature system as an open space for intellectual exchanges, but as a closed space governed by specific power relations, processes and mechanisms.

> This world republic of letters has its own mode of operation: its own economy, which produces hierarchies and various forms of violence; and, above all, its own history, which, long obscured by the quasi-systematic national (and therefore political) appropriation of literary stature, has never really been chronicled. Its geography is based on the opposition between a capital, on the one hand, and peripheral dependencies whose relationship to this center is defined by their aesthetic distance from it. (Casanova 2004: 11–12)

Like De Swaan (2001), who bases his structuring of the world language system on the bilingualism of the speakers, Casanova also takes into account the international literary scene:

> In the same way, in the international literary field, if this same configuration is adopted, the amount of linguistic-literary capital of a language will be able to be measured, not by the number of writers or readers of the language, but by the number of literary polyglots who use it, and by the number of literary translators who are instrumental in the circulation of texts from or towards the literary language. (Casanova 2010: 287)

Literary capital is unequally distributed; therefore, in Casanova's view, contradictions arise between dominant and dominated literary languages. Commonly, dominated or subordinate languages have only recently become national languages, have little literary capital, lack international recognition, have few national and international translators, or are little known and long remained invisible in the great literary centers (ibid.: 288). The dominant languages, on the other hand, possess enormous literary capital thanks to their specific prestige, their age and the number of texts written in them that are considered universal (ibid.: 288). Casanova (2004: 23f) locates Paris as the Greenwich of world literature, thanks to its accumulated literary prestige and relative independence of political influences. The dominated or marginal languages, in her view (2010: 288), are not a homogeneous group, but fall into four sub-groups:

1. oral languages or languages that have only recently developed a writing system and therefore by definition lack literary capital and cannot benefit from translation (e.g. some African and Creole languages);

17 Apart from Bourdieu's influence, her writing also reflects Wallerstein's theory of center and periphery and theoretization of the world system, but she does not herself cite this American sociologist. Even more interestingly, she does not mention Franco Moretti (2000), who theorized the existence of a global literature system and its inequality in a very similar way to hers a few years earlier.

2. recently created or "re-created" languages that have become national languages after political independence (Catalan, Korean, Gaelic, Hebrew, Nynorsk) and that are able to increase their literary capital by translation;
3. the languages of ancient cultures and traditions that are used in "small" countries (e.g. Dutch, Danish, Greek, Persian) and spoken by a small number of speakers;
4. some languages with numerous speakers (e.g. Arabic, Chinese, Hindi) and a rich heritage that are nonetheless in a dominated position because they are less known and not acknowledged in the international literary marketplace.

This structural inequality makes translation a tool in the struggle for dominance, for as Casanova puts it, "in the dominated regions of the literary field, translation is the only specific means of being perceived, becoming visible, of existing" (ibid.: 295). To be translated into one of the great literary languages, in her view, is automatically to acquire literary stature and become legitimate, to begin to actually exist.

Pascale Casanova's understanding of the contemporary literary scene has been criticized by post-structuralists and post-colonialists, and even more radically by representatives of those literatures she relegates to the margin, particularly on account of her selective understanding of Bourdieu's theory of symbolic fields, as well as what some see as her imperialist glorification of European and especially French (and English) hegemony in the world of literature.[18] Regardless, her perspective should not be overlooked, as it offers a penetrating analysis of fundamental inequality in world literature and a systematic model for understanding the production, circulation and evaluation of literature on the world stage.

1.3.2 Johan Heilbron and the world translation system

The world translation system of Johan Heilbron (1999, 2000, 2010); cf. also Heilbron and Sapiro 2007) is based on similar assumptions; it follows in the footsteps of Bourdieu (2011) and De Swaan (1993) and foregrounds the connections between languages forged by multilingual speakers, who enable communication between different cultures, whether through direct communication in the foreign language or through translation from one language into another (Heilbron 1999: 429). Heilbron also draws on the polysystem theory of Even-Zohar (1990) and the descriptive translation studies of Toury (1995), but he stresses that these two theories, useful though they are, are not an adequate starting point for understanding the world translation system – a sociological component must also be included: "Considered from a sociological perspective, translations are a function

18 For critiques of Pascale Casanova's model of world literature, see Hanneken (2010).

of the social relations between language groups and their transformations over time" (Heilbron 1999: 430). In his later comparison of the development of literary translation in the Dutch market, Heilbron (2008: 187) shows how important it is to observe translations from a broader sociological perspective while also taking into account geopolitical and geocultural dimensions. However, Heilbron stresses that the world translation system as a kind of transnational cultural system is not a simple reflection of the structural contradictions of the world economy – cultural exchanges have their own dynamics, partly independent from the world market.

Like Casanova, Heilbron (2000: 12) structures his model according to the power relationships between central and peripheral language groups or communities. He defines them as the fundamental units of the world translation system, and takes the structure of the flow of translations among language groups or communities as the object of his analysis. The structure on which the world system is based is strictly hierarchically ordered. Contrary to Pascale Casanova, Heilbron (1999: 433) does not directly distinguish language groups based on the greater or lesser cultural capital they possess, but based on the share of translations from those languages in the world market for translated books. Thus neither great cultural capital acquired through a literary history, nor numerous speakers, nor economic power can by themselves promote a language to the central (or even hyper-central) position. The international translation system, then, is characterized by a very uneven, but also quite dynamic distribution. Like Casanova (2004) and De Swaan (2001), Heilbron (1999: 433–434) distinguishes four rungs on the hierarchical ladder shown in Figure 3:

1. He locates English in the *hyper-central* role, as its share was already at 40% in 1980, and it is still growing (in Europe, it accounts for between 50% and 70% of all translations).
2. On the second level are languages that have a *central* role but a significantly lower share of world translations, between 10% and 12% in 1980; among these languages are French and German.[19]

19 It is worth discussing the case of Russian, which clearly shows the influence of geopolitical changes on the translation system. After the fall of the East Bloc, the number of translations from Russian fell steeply due to the loss of Soviet and Russian influence. Though Heilbron (1999, 2000) had counted Russian as a central language at the dawn of the third millennium, he later found that changing circumstances had left it only with a semi-peripheral role (Heilbron 2010; Heilbron and Sapiro 2007). Based on this case, Heilbron and Sapiro (ibid.: 97) conclude that "[a]nalysing the flows of translations in the light of the power relations among languages also allows us to better understand historical changes. A country's loss of prestige or power, and the resulting diminution of its language's status does have consequences for the level of translation activity." It is interesting that the decrease in the number of translations from Russian into other languages went hand in hand with a rise in the number of translations from other languages published in Russia. Heilbron and Sapiro find that something similar has happened to French: While the number of translations into other languages has fallen, the number of literary works translated into French has risen. In both the French and the Russian case, however, the size of the national market, which according to De Swaan's (2001) account should be key to the share of translations, has remained unchanged.

3. The third level includes the *semi-peripheral* languages, which account for 1–3% of the world market in translated books; among these languages, which cannot always be clearly distinguished from the truly peripheral ones, are Spanish, Italian, Danish, Swedish, Polish, Czech, and Russian.
4. All other languages belong to the last group, the *peripheral* languages, which have less than 1% of the world market. Despite their large numbers of speakers, this group includes languages such as Chinese, Japanese, Arabic, and Portuguese, which have a marginal role in the world translation system: "The size of language groups is clearly not decisive for their degree of centrality in the translation system" (ibid.: 434).

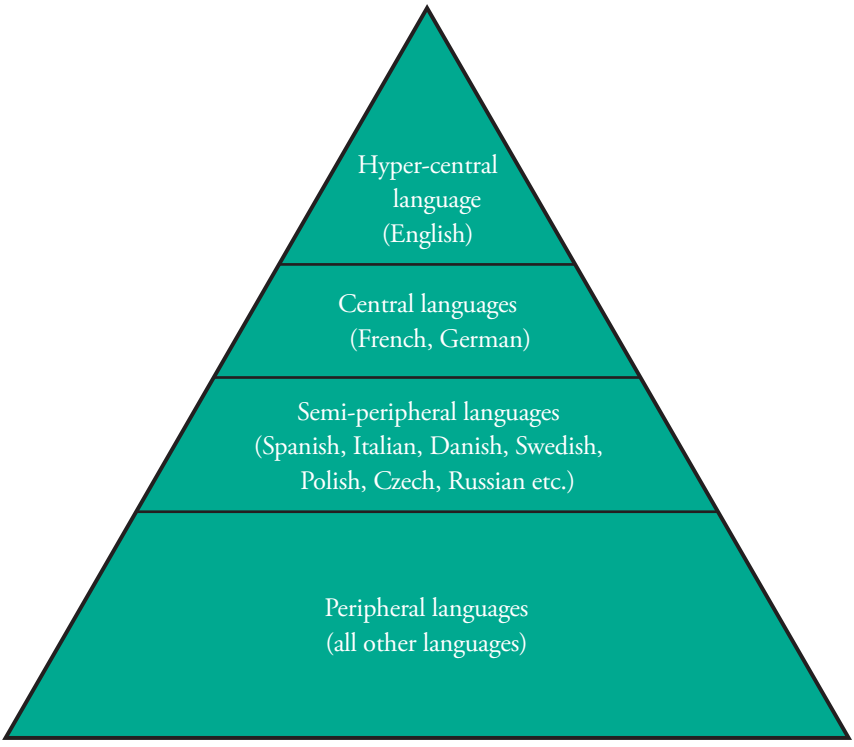

Figure 3: The world translation system according to Heilbron (1999).

As discussed above, this hierarchical structure is not rigid and unchanging, for the position of language communities can change over time (as has happened to English, French, or Russian): The share of central languages may decline, while more peripheral languages can win a higher place on this international ladder. It is instructive to take a historical look at the development of the relationship

between French, German and English, which have succeeded each other in the position of the hyper-central language.[20] But as a rule, such changes are not sudden, as they require a shift in cultural outlooks, which takes time; sudden change is only possible when the position of a language is closely tied to the political power of a regime, as in the case of Russian (ibid.: 435) and to some extent in the case of Serbian and Croatian in the former Yugoslav republics (Udovič, Žigon, and Zlatnar Moe 2011).

Among Heilbron's findings are two important theoretical assumptions that we will examine in the following in connection with Slovene; namely, "that translations flow more from the core to the periphery than the other way around, and that communication between peripheral groups often passes through a center" (Heilbron 1999: 435). In connection with the mediating role of languages, he also states: "[…] the more central a language is in the translation system, the more it has the capacity to function as an intermediary or vehicular language, that is as a means of communication between language groups which are themselves peripheral or semi-peripheral" (ibid.: 435). As we will see (section 1.4), the dynamics of relations in the translation and language system (in a broader sense including non-written communication) may cause a language that is typically conceived as peripheral in every way, to take over the role of a central, connecting, mediating language, even despite the ever-present possibility of using the hyper-central language, English.

1.4 THE DYNAMIC NATURE OF THE RELATIONS BETWEEN LANGUAGES

English is universally acknowledged as the global language (Crystal 2003), and occupies the prestigious position of the hyper-central language in nearly all the world systems described above (e.g. De Swaan 2001; Heilbron 1999; Ronen et al. 2014). Whatever approach we adopt, other languages, even the closest runners-up, lag far behind. For speakers of various language communities to reach for English when they have to communicate therefore seems the obvious choice, whether we are speaking of international relations, the scientific community, tourism or everyday communication. But the dynamic nature of language relations can in special circumstances lead to quite unexpected outcomes.

Despite this fair degree of consensus as to what languages are major/central or minor/peripheral, these relationships are nevertheless not entirely clear and definitive. As an example, the following case shows how an otherwise minor,

20 For a historical overview of the development of cultural or literary capital, see Casanova (2004).

peripheral language like Slovene can find itself playing a central role as a language for international communication, as Zala Burič Žorž (2014) found in her BA thesis. At the European basketball championship *Eurobasket 2013*, which took place that fall in Slovenia, she studied the role of Slovene as the working language among the volunteers, who came from different language backgrounds, and between the volunteers, the public and the organizers. Even the volunteers who did not speak Slovene, but came from various (South) Slavic language backgrounds, preferred to make themselves understood in Slovene rather than English. Even more surprising was the discovery that Slovene was also more frequently used to communicate with the public at the games, e.g. to give directions, at information points and in communication with the media. Zala Burič Žorž stresses that there was very little use of English e.g. to communicate with the public, even though a large number of foreign supporters took part in the event. The main reason for this surprising finding is probably that most of the volunteers spoke Slovene and other Slavic languages, giving Slovene the status of the majority language and the generally understandable language. Certainly this study shows that languages otherwise considered peripheral can gain a temporary status as a central language while languages considered central are left with a more or less marginal role.

1.5 THE PRACTICAL INFLUENCE OF THE POSITION OF A LANGUAGE IN THE WORLD SYSTEM

To return to translation in written form and its dependence on the relations among languages or language communities, one of the key questions we pose in this book is how the centrality or peripherality of the target language affects the likelihood that there will be translation between two languages at all, whether of literary or other texts. Heilbron (1999: 436) claims that the decision to translate a book from one peripheral language into another often depends on the existence of a translation into one of the central languages, even in cases where the central language is not used as an intermediary in the translation. Casanova (2004) and Bourdieu (2011) call this process *consecration*; another word, *canonization*, is frequently used in English (as well as in other languages, including Slovene, cf. Dović 2010a). They ascribe this power to a group of agents in those language communities that dispose of the greatest amount of cultural capital.[21] Peripheral language communities, which possess little cultural capital by definition and seek to compensate for the fact through translation, may thus use carefully selected

21 As mentioned, Casanova (2004) specifically cites Paris as the most important center for consecration. Bourdieu ([1986] 2011) too above all sees France in this role. Other writers (Heilbron, De Swaan etc.), on the other hand, see especially Anglo-Saxon culture in this role (with the U.S. as the main agent).

translations to also import ways of thought, ideological substrates, fashion trends and various cultural influences. The reception and nature of these influences – whether they bring innovation into the home literary system or reinforce the established canons – will depend on the place the work occupies in the new literary system, as stated by Rion (2009: 168).

Among the various agents that are party to the process of selection or canonization, editors certainly play a leading role,[22] in central languages as well as the more or less peripheral ones. The key role of the editor is described by Dović (2010b, 2010a), who uses the case of Slovenian publishing to stress the great influence of ideological and political factors as well as social networking on the shaping of publishing policy, which would otherwise look only to market profitability. To shed light on the most important influences in Slovenia, in Chapter 2 we will look at survey responses from Slovene publishers about their selection of works for translation, in the context of an analysis of the special features of translation into a peripheral language.

As expected, another important participant in the selection of translations is the translator (cf. Rion 2009), who can sway the decisions of the editor or editorial board with their suggestions thanks to their cultural capital. The quality of their previous translations, and their success in the market, can give translators a share of responsibility for the dissemination and, indirectly, the canonization of literary works.

22 Beside editors, the most fundamental role is played by education (primarily by literary scholars working as researchers, serving as members of graduation examination boards and other committees, and acting as textbook reviewers and curriculum developers). It is an unwritten rule that once a text gets into school, it becomes a classic.

2 Peculiarities of Translation into Peripheral Languages

Though we live in a globalized world where many people more or less speak the hyper-central language, English, the translation of other languages nevertheless does not seem to be dying out, but rather to be getting even more important. For example, there is vigorous translation of pragmatic texts in the field of international relations (e.g. for European Union institutions)[23] or international business, whether for cooperation between companies or for communication within international companies (cf. Maček 2013, 2014; cf. also Udovič 2014). Translators in Slovenia work in numerous languages of the European Union and some other world languages.[24] In any event, these translators usually do not also do literary translation, which means that for certain, usually less widespread languages, there are very few or no literary translators (cf. the data cited in section 2.2). The position of translation and translators in peripheral languages differs significantly from that in (hyper-)central or semi-peripheral ones (cf. Ožbot 2001); in this chapter, therefore, we will consider some aspects and peculiarities of literary translation into and out of peripheral languages, and take a closer look at specific details of literary translation in connection with languages that play different roles in the world translation system. We will look at peculiarities that affect both the number of translations made in peripheral languages, whether between themselves or in contact with more central languages, and the quality of such translations. Some of the problems that beset literary translators, such as the lack of bilingual translation aids, are of course also relevant for other kinds of translation (Fredsted 2002), as well as for interpretation (Gorjanc 2013; Stritar and Stabej 2013).[25] Of course, due to the small size of the language

23 The difficulties of Slovene and other peripheral languages are discussed by Stritar and Stabej. In their study of the role of Slovene in the European Union, they argue that everyone is sufficiently proficient in English, but MEPs have bigger problems with French. The representatives of smaller member states, including Slovenia, often use a foreign language in the institutions of the European Union and thus find themselves in a subordinate position compared to native speakers, as they are limited by their knowledge of the working language (Stritar and Stabej 2013: 179–204). Staš Zgonik (2014) holds that thanks to their economic and political power, large countries reinforce their position through linguistic dominance as well. This is something the representatives of smaller countries have to accept, or risk "exclusion" from the debate. The Dutch linguist Theo van Els at the University of Nijmegen adds that often "participants in meetings or sessions only listen to the talks of speakers who use a language they understand, and do not listen to interpretation from other languages" (ibid.).

24 We do not have complete data on the working languages of Slovene translators, and obtaining them would probably be very difficult (if at all possible). We can get at least a partial picture from certain unofficial lists that exist for certain professions (e.g. court interpreters) and institutions (e.g. EU bodies). The homepage of the Ministry of Justice (http://www.mp.gov.si/si/izobrazevanje_v_pravosodju_cip/sodni_tolmaci/) provides a list of court interpreters working in Slovenia. They work with 36 languages, among them all European languages as well as numerous other world languages (e.g. Chinese and Arabic). The list features the most court interpreters for German (228), followed by English (179), Croatian/Serbian/Serbo-Croat (175 in all), Italian (61) and French (45). According to data we have gathered with the aid of various services at European Union institutions (the European Parliament, the European Commission, the European Committee of the Regions, the European Economic and Social Committee, and the European Court of Auditors), these institutions have at their disposal translators for 15 of the 23 EU languages: the most are for English (102), with French (55) and German (55) tied for the runner-up, followed by Croatian (26), Italian (21) and Spanish (19), and only a handful of translators for other languages: 8 for Dutch, 7 for Polish, 4 for Swedish, 2 each for Portuguese, Czech, Danish and Slovak, and 1 each for Greek and Lithuanian. At the moment there are no Slovene translators at the European institutions working with Bulgarian, Estonian, Finnish, Hungarian, Latvian, Maltese or Romanian. Among the translators for other languages (from non-EU-member countries) we find 4 translators for Russian, 2 for Serbian and 1 for Macedonian.

25 The situation is in some respects similar for interpretation. In European Union institutions there is talk of so-called "large booths" (English, French, German, to a lesser degree Italian and Spanish) that act as intermediaries (pivot) for other, so-called "smaller booths" which may interpret indirectly (*relais*) if it is necessary because their interpreters lack the required combination of

community it will also typically be the same people that deal with all translations between peripheral (and sometimes semi-peripheral) languages: namely, the handful of people who know a certain language and are prepared to translate into and out of it.

Globalization and the hyper-centrality of English can have interesting and perhaps somewhat unexpected manifestations in a very small language community like the Slovene. Anna Zielińska-Elliot (2015), an expert on Japanese and the Polish translator of Haruki Murukami, notes that publishers publishing in (semi-) peripheral languages have in recent years been rushing translations of successful books into these minor languages, in the hope of publishing before the English translation appears and offering readers a translation in their own language before an easily accessible electronic version of the English translation becomes available. The availability of e-books in English might also influence publisher policies, not only to make them publish translations from (semi-)peripheral languages faster than the central translations appear, but also to orient them to some extent towards translation and publishing of literature from precisely these (semi-)peripheral cultures, since literature originally written in a central or hyper-central language will be available to a large number of readers (who speak at least the hyper-central English relatively well) as soon as it appears.

In the perspective of the world translation system (and more narrowly the European system), Slovene clearly belongs with the peripheral languages: It has little cultural capital in Bourdieu's (2011) sense, and as is the case with other peripheral languages, most translation takes place from central languages into Slovene. For example, in her BA thesis, Irena Perme (2010: 19–20) finds that translated literature made up as much as 64% of all literary texts published by Slovene publishers in the first decade of the 21st century; of these translations from 2000 to 2010, 61% were from English into Slovene, followed by German (21%), French (10%) and Italian (8%).[26] The reasons for this distribution may at least partly be sought

languages (e.g. of Maltese and Slovene). Many things affect the position of languages. In the early years of the European Union, French held the most important role; now English does. The accession of ten East European states boosted the importance of German, as German was taught to very high standards in these countries. At the moment, Spanish is gaining importance as a relay language, as interpreters who add a language to their combination prefer one that can be used in many other places in the world. In the Slovene business market, as well as in court interpretation, interpretation from so-called peripheral languages is unfortunately most often done by people without any formal education whether as linguists, interpreters or translators. These are mostly bilingual persons who have learned Slovene at a later stage. There is a lack of trained interpreters even for European languages such as Finnish; at the moment, the most pressing is the lack of interpreters for Farsi, Pashto and other languages. In the field of court-interpreter education, the peripheral languages have become known as "languages of lesser diffusion" (LLDs), which does not refer to the number of speakers of the language on the global scale, but within a given community; thus, Arabic would be a language of lesser diffusion in Slovenia (cf. further the European project TraiLLD).

26 The statistics on cultural life compiled for the newspaper *Delo* by Igor Bratož (2015) offer the following data for 2014: There were 5,331 titles published as printed books and brochure in 2014, a 4.9% increase on the year before. Of these, 1,434 were literary works, about half original (713) and half translations from literatures abroad (721). Book publishing in Slovenia peaked in 2008 with 6,358 titles, so the 2014 figures show a one-fifth fall in production, but Bratož finds that the decline of recent years has been arrested. Out of all books published in 2014, 66% were original works and 34% were translations. The largest share of literary works was made up of novels (23%, 173 original titles and 439 foreign translations); they were followed by short prose for children and youth (29%, 253 Slovene works, 160 translations); poetry (14%), short prose for adults (8%); and uncategorized literary works (2%) (ibid.).

in the availability of translators, the prestige of the target language, political and cultural connections (e.g., Italian is a minority language in Slovenia), and not least funding opportunities (cf. section 2.3.1). On the other hand, this generally supports the classification Heilbron (1999) uses in his world translation system: The share of translations from German is somewhat greater, due to Slovenia's specific historic ties to the German-speaking area, but this in no way threatens the hyper-central role of English. The predominant semi-peripheral languages are those to which Slovenes are geographically tied (Italian), and the same applies to the sample of peripheral languages that appear most frequently as the original languages of translations into Slovene – the leading languages and cultures are those that are close to us for some reason, and especially those for which translators are available, as we will see below (cf. sections 2.2 and 3.3).

As an illustration we can take a closer look at translated novels published in Slovenia, as portrayed by data from the online bibliographic system COBISS for 2014.

Table 1: Number of novels translated from official EU languages into Slovene in 2014 (source: Lampe 2015: 14).

Language of the original	Number of translations in 2014	% of total
English	223	68.0
French	24	7.3
German	19	5.8
Spanish	12	3.7
Swedish	10	3.0
Italian	9	2.7
Croatian	8	2.4
Czech	5	1.5
Polish	4	1.2
Finnish	3	0.9
Portuguese	3	0.9
Hungarian	2	0.6
Slovak	2	0.6
Bulgarian	1	0.3
Danish	1	0.3
Lithuanian	1	0.3
Dutch	1	0.3
Total	**328**	**100.0**

As the Table 1 shows, there were 328 translations into Slovene from 17 official languages of the European Union published in 2014. If we compare the number of translated texts from each language, we see they agree with the data for the hyper-central language – English – cited by Heilbron (1999: 433–434); cf. also section 1.3). No less than 68% of all novels translated from foreign languages into Slovene, namely, are translated from English. The figures for French and German, which according to Heilbron have a central role, are somewhat lower than the global means he cites (ibid.):[27] Of the novels published in Slovene translation in 2014, 7.3% were translated from French, 5.8% from German. The semi-peripheral role of certain languages in the Slovene market is much the same as Heilbron found for the global trend: Translations from Spanish (3.7%), Swedish (3%) and Italian (2.7%) contribute a few percentage points each. In in this group we also find languages that are regionally influential for various reasons, but are peripheral on a global scale: Croatian, Czech and Polish, three related Slavic languages, also account for more than 1% each. (The rather high number of translations from Croatian is partly due to the fact that Croatia was featured at the Leipzig Book Fair in 2014, which gained Croatian writers popularity and more translations.)[28] Translations from all other languages amounted to less than 1% each, or 4.3% in all. These are languages that according to Heilbron fall in the peripheral category: Finnish, Portuguese, Slovak, Bulgarian, Danish, Lithuanian and Dutch. In 2014 not a single translation was published from Estonian, Greek, Irish, Latvian, Maltese or Romanian (Lampe 2015: 14), which may be explained by the scarcity or absence of translators for these languages.

Another important characteristic of translation between peripheral languages is that everything takes place on a significantly smaller scale than what is typical of translation from or into central languages. Not only do peripheral languages often have fewer speakers and less cultural influence globally (though not necessarily, and interesting dynamic reversals may take place on the regional or local level): They also have less resources for translation, both human and technical.

27 Of course, to get a more accurate and reliable picture we would need to consider statistical data for a longer period than a single year: these data only give an overall impression of the situation in the translation market.

28 Another factor contributing to increased numbers of translations out of, into and between the languages of Southeast Europe is the TRADUKI network, which funds translations. As stated on their website, this is a European cooperation for literature and books between Albania, Austria, Bulgaria, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro, Croatia, Kosovo, Liechtenstein, Macedonia, Germany, Romania, Slovenia, Serbia and Switzerland. The program supports translations of fiction, contemporary technical literature and 20th–21st century literature for children and young people and aims to advance exchanges between the participants. Special attention is paid to translators, whose work as cultural mediators has also given the project its name. The TRADUKI network is a project of the Federal Ministry for Europe, Integration and Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Austria, German Federal Foreign Office, Swiss arts council Pro Helvetia, KulturKontakt Austria (on behalf of the Federal Chancellery of Austria), Goethe-Institut, S. Fischer Foundation, Slovenian Book Agency JAK, Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia, Department of Culture of the Government of the Principality of Liechtenstein, Cultural Foundation of Liechtenstein, Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Albania, Ministry of Culture and Information of the Republic of Serbia, Ministry of Culture and National Identity of the Republic of Romania, Ministry of Culture of Montenegro, and the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Macedonia. TRADUKI has also long cooperated with the Lepzig Book Fair (http://english.traduki.eu/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=48&Itemid=117).

For example, there is often a very small number of translators translating from a given language (sometimes only one or two). This is understandable: Peripheral languages are learned only by a few people, usually for personal reasons or professional needs. For most of these languages, courses are not even offered in Slovenia, let alone college-level studies. Characteristically, too, the peripheral (or semi-peripheral) language is often not even the translator's first foreign language: For example, there are four persons translating literature from Norwegian into Slovene; of these, two have studied English, one German, and the the fourth is a student living in Norway (who does not study Norwegian). They learned the language at language courses or during stays in Norway – or they learned Danish, and translate from Norwegian because it is very similar.[29] Norwegian/Slovene translation is of course not the only case; similar observations might be made about translators from Norwegian into other languages, e.g. German and English (Žigon and Zlatnar Moe 2016). Learning a peripheral language on the side in this way has implications not only for linguistic competences, but even more so for familiarity with cultural references, culture-bound contents and so on, as we will discuss in more detail in Chapter 3.

In peripheral languages, the circle of people commissioning translations is also smaller; it includes individuals who need certain texts translated, businesses with a presence in the market of a certain country, sometimes state institutions – e.g. on the occasion of official visits from or to other small countries – and some publishers that publish the occasional literary work from a peripheral literature. These limitations mean that publishers have far fewer options when choosing the most suitable translator for a given text. On the other hand, the translator, who is often (nearly) the only person familiar with the source language, the culture, and the text at hand, plays a more active part e.g. in the selection of texts for translation than do translators from central languages. As a recent survey among Slovene translators and editors showed, editors more readily accept publishing suggestions from translators from peripheral languages, sometimes just on the basis of the translator's summary of the text in question (Zlatnar Moe, Mikolič Južnič, and Žigon in preparation). For all these reasons, translation from a peripheral language is also usually more of a "solitary" activity than literary translation usually is, since the translator lacks a support network in the target culture, being often the the only expert on the source culture, with which neither editors nor readers are very familiar.

Another characteristic of work with peripheral languages is the relatively active role of source countries in the translation of texts (especially books – both fiction and non-fiction) into foreign languages. As we shall see, most smaller countries

29 This more or less successful flitting between languages is especially characteristic of Scandinavian languages, which resemble each other to the point that one may find long passages in one language in a book written in one of the other (e.g. Nesbø 2015; Petterson 2008).

have mechanisms to support the translation of literary works into foreign languages through financial subsidies, assistance with promotion and in some cases also a support network for translators, e.g. internet forums, direct communications, residence grants and regular meetings for translators with writers and experts in the source country.

Beside the relatively small number of people engaged in such translation and the active role of source countries in translation policy, another characteristic is the important role of central languages. Here we are not thinking only of cases where works written in one peripheral language are translated into another peripheral language indirectly, through one of the (more) central languages; it applies also to cases of direct translation from one peripheral language to another. Heilbron (1999: 436) notes that "[e]ven when translations themselves are far more often made directly from the original language, the decision to publish a translation from a peripheral language still depends on the existence of their translation in a central language". Therefore, every translation is to some extent indirect in the broader sense.

This undoubtedly applies to translation between peripheral languages – a Slovene publisher, for example, will usually access the source text with the aid of a central translation, typically English or German. Likewise, the decision to publish a Slovene translation depends at least to some extent on the success enjoyed by the text in the central markets (cf. Bourdieu [1986] 2011; Casanova 2010), whether in terms of popularity with the readers, as reflected in rankings of bestselling books, or critical acclaim, as reflected in international prizes (such as IMPAC).[30] Successful movie or stage adaptations of the text, too, have a certain influence if they reach the Slovene market. An editor working with the text usually knows it in one (or several) of its central translations, not in the original form, and will also go on to use the central translation when reviewing the Slovene translation (Zlatnar Moe and Žigon 2015). This can be a problem, since different translations of the same text always differ, as we will see in Chapter 3. Therefore, the translator working with the original and the editor[31] working with a central translation are not actually using the same text, which may sometimes lead to misunderstandings and mutual misgivings. At least when it comes to adaptations of texts e.g. for the stage, then, it is very important that all parties first agree what texts to work with, and whether they actually want a translation of the original or a translation of the central translation.

Another reason why central cultures and languages are involved in translation between peripheral languages is the lack of direct bilingual translation aids for

30 The same goes for translations from central and semi-peripheral languages such as German or Italian, where prestigious awards play a considerable role, e.g. the German Georg Büchner Prize, the Leipzig Book Fair Prize or the Italian *Premio Strega*, to mention only a few.

31 In the case of theatre: the dramaturge, director and actors.

pairs of peripheral languages. In most cases, there are no such aids (for Slovene this applies e.g. to Estonian, Latvian, Norwegian and Lithuanian); in others, they are limited to more or less extensive general dictionaries (e.g. Danish, Dutch and Swedish). Translators thus largely depend on monolingual dictionaries for the source language and Slovene respectively, or on bilingual dictionaries between a peripheral and a (hyper-)central language, and other monolingual aids, such as corpora in the source languages and in Slovene.

All these factors influence the final translation of the text, which often reaches Slovene readers in a neutralized or domesticated form in terms of style, characterization and sometimes even plot. As we shall see, however, our research findings show that there are fewer such changes in Slovene translations than in translations into central languages. Moreover, in our recent survey, translators generally and the more experienced ones in particular reported that there tended to be fewer editorial interventions in their translations from peripheral languages than in translations from central languages (Zlatnar Moe, Mikolič Južnič, and Žigon in preparation).

To describe the peculiarities of translation between peripheral languages, over the past years we and our students at the Department of Translation at the Faculty of Arts of the University of Ljubljana have been researching the state of translation from some European central, semi-peripheral and peripheral languages into Slovene. After a short overview of translation between German (a central language) and Slovene, we present a summary of the findings for two semi-peripheral languages, Italian and Swedish (Lampe 2015; Sebastian 2014; Slukan 2015). We go on to consider studies concerned with various peripheral languages (Dodič 2017; Ivanek 2014; Reisman 2014; Škafar 2015).[32] In addition, we have looked into the special case of Croatian (Repina 2012; Strsoglavec 2010; Strsoglavec and Tirgušek 2003); though peripheral globally, it acted as the central language of the former Yugoslavia (in its post-war incarnation as Serbo-Croat) for so long that its influence on translation practices can still be felt. Though these studies do not always deal with the same time period, they do use comparable methodologies (the COBISS database, interviews), and despite minor differences in their analyses, they offer important insight into a field that has not previously been systematically studied, and provide support for our hypotheses.

32 Beside the BA theses, we have also carried out three comparative analyses of translations into one hyper-central (English), one central (German) and one peripheral language (Slovene), from Norwegian (Zlatnar Moe and Žigon 2015), Swedish (Sebastian 2014) and Catalan (Dodič 2017).
The state of translation from South Slavic literatures into Slovene has been described by Đurđa Strsoglavec, who finds that "today, the reception of South Slavic literatures (and cultures) in Slovenia can be observed both as the reception of what was produced in other former Yugoslav republics in the era of the joint state, and as the reception of what was produced after 1991 (and we can even speak of old and new recipients) […] In contrast to the 1990s, when the works predominantly translated were not new books, later on there was a veritable rush to publish translations of recent titles (especially prose) by Croatian, Bosnian-Herzegovininan, Montenegrin and Serbian authors" (Strsoglavec 2013: 170:, our translation). On the same topic, see also Strsoglavec (2012).

2.1 AN EXAMPLE WITH A CENTRAL LANGUAGE: GERMAN AND SLOVENE

An overview study of translation work in Slovenia (Schödel and Smodiš 2016), based on books registered in the COBISS system, shows that 3,386 books translated from German into Slovene appeared from 2000 till the end of 2014 (Figure 4). Literary translations made up 27% of the total, with 912 titles.[33] Of these (Figure 5), most were novels (317 titles), followed by short prose (303 titles), plays (65 titles), documentary literature (60 titles) and poetry (46 titles). About half the translated titles in the "short prose" genre were for children and young people. There were also 533 children's picture books translated from German to Slovene in this period (these are not included in Figure 5), which represents a little less than 16% of all translated works in this language pair (ibid.).

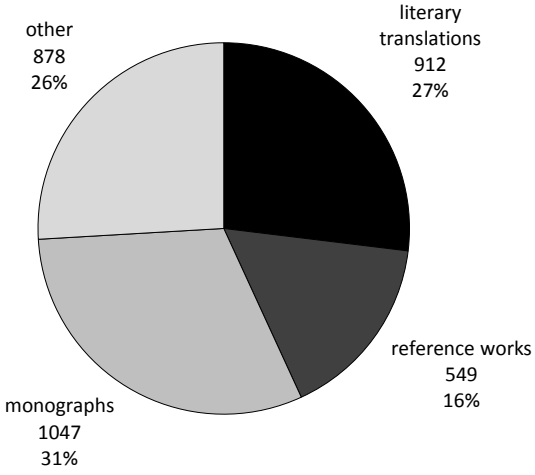

Figure 4: Translations from German into Slovene (2000–2014).

33 A regularly updated database of literary translations is also available at the website of the Slovenian Book Agency JAK (http://www.jakrs.si/mednarodna-dejavnost/baza-prevodov/).

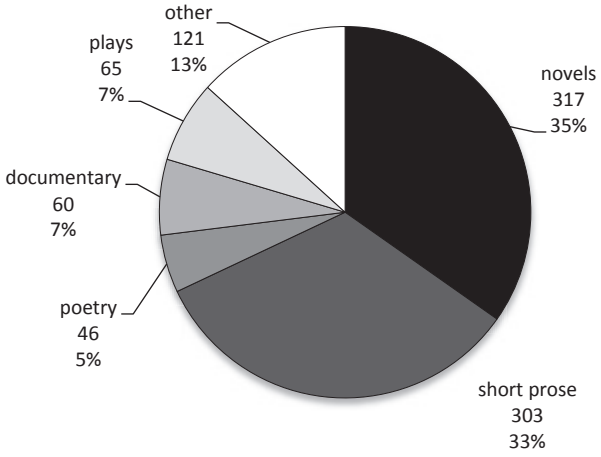

Figure 5: Translations of literary works from German into Slovene (2000–2014).

In the same period (2000–2014), 728 titles were translated from Slovene into German (for a thorough bibliography of literary translations from the 18th century up to 2006, see Vavti 2006). Of these, 29% were literary translations (210 titles). Figure 6 breaks down these literary translations by genre: most are novels (57 titles), followed by poetry (48 titles), short prose (32 titles), documentary literature (14 titles) and plays (2 titles) (Schödel and Smodiš 2016).

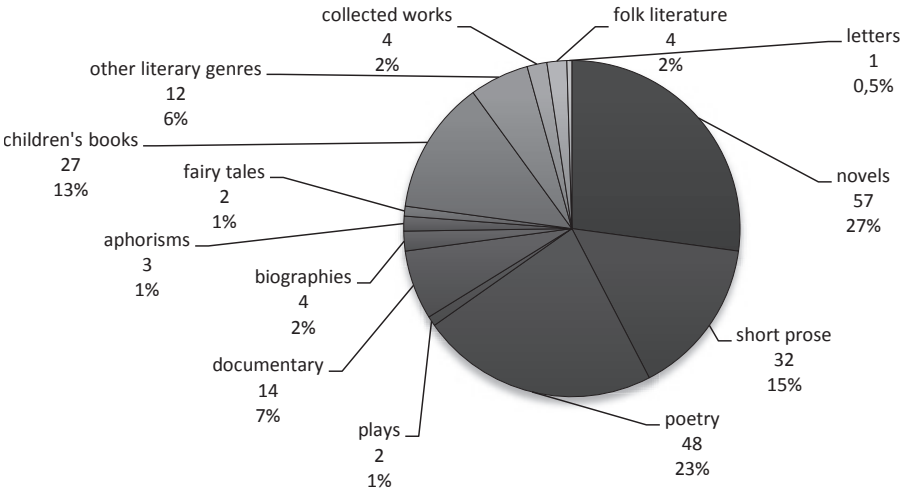

Figure 6: Translations of literary works from Slovene into German (2000–2014).

Although German is not the most frequently translated language in Slovenia – this position has been held by English for at least two decades, cf. Zlatnar Moe (1998) and Perme (2010) – we can see that there are still many translations from it, as well as quite a few translations from Slovene into German. The promotion of Slovene literature abroad is handled by the Slovenian Book Agency (*Javna agencija za knjigo*, JAK; the funding of translations from Slovene into German and vice versa is described in more detail by Schödel and Smodiš 2016). It will be intensified in the coming years, as Slovenia will be the guest of honor at the Frankfurt Book Fair 2022.

The translations cover diverse genres, both fiction and non-fiction for the young as well as adults. In Slovenia one can study both the German language and translation between German and Slovenia, so there are many translators, as well as many readers, both professional and lay, with at least some proficiency in it (German is taught in school as the first, second or third foreign language). A translator caught in a linguistic or cultural dilemma therefore has access to help from a wide support network of people familiar with the language, the culture, the literature and even the text at hand.

Another advantage of translation between German and Slovene is that the modern source cultures are fairly well known to the public – the Austrian one especially, the German a little less and the Swiss probably least of all – both from personal experiences and access to German-language cultural contents both online and through other media such as radio and television. Historically, too, the Slovene and Austro-German cultures have had close ties for centuries (on German-Slovene literary contacts, see Miladinović Zalaznik 2002, 2008; Žigon 2012, 2013; Žigon, Almasy, and Lovšin 2017; Žigon and Udovič 2012).

This all goes to show that German plays the role of a central language from the local viewpoint of Slovene culture, too; this is due firstly to the historical context (Udovič, Žigon, and Zlatnar Moe 2011: 270–273; cf. also Grdina and Stabej 2002; Stabej 1998) and secondly to the fact that in Slovenia, German is second to English in the number of multilingual speakers (De Swaan 1993; cf. also De Swaan 2001, 2010) and enjoys high repute among Slovenes. It is considered a language "worth learning", and the German source culture is among the most prestigious in the Slovene view. All these factors affect both the frequency of translation from/into German and the quality and popularity of such translations.

2.2 EXAMPLES OF SEMI-PERIPHERAL LANGUAGES: ITALIAN AND SWEDISH

In the following we present three studies on translation between two semi-peripheral languages, Italian and Swedish, and a peripheral language, Slovene. In

the first part (2.2.1) we present data on the translation of Italian poetry between 1945 and 2014 (Slukan 2015) and an overview of all Italian novels translated into Slovene between 1991 and 2014 (Lampe 2015). The second part (2.2.2) gives a brief overview of translation from Swedish into Slovene.

2.2.1 Translation from Italian into Slovene

Translation between Italian and Slovene has previously been addressed by Majda Stanovnik (2005), in the larger framework of the general history of literary translation in the Slovene lands; by Drago Bajt (1993), in his overview of translations of world poetry into Slovene between 1945 and 1990; and by Martina Ožbot (2012), in the framework of a historical and theoretical description of translation mainly between Italian and Slovene. Bajt (1993: 29) finds that Italian ranked fifth by number of works translated into Slovene in the post-war period. Despite the tumultuous common history of Italians and Slovenes, around 800 books have been translated since World War II (Ožbot 2012: 46).[34] Ožbot's data on translation from Slovene to Italian agree with the roles of the two languages in the world translation system: It is not surprising that the number of translations from the peripheral language into the semi-peripheral one is small and entirely out of proportion to the number of translations in the opposite direction. Among the reasons for this disparity, Ožbot cites the small total number of Slovene literary texts compared to the huge amount of texts from world literature that Italians would be interested in translating, but one must also take into account the fact that a semi-peripheral language like Italian has relatively much cultural capital – including its own rich literary production, with a number of canonized works that have become part of world literature – which gives translated literature a significantly lesser role in that culture than in a peripheral one.

In Italian literature, poetry holds an extremely important place; for centuries, it has made huge contributions to the riches of Italy's cultural capital. Italian poetry has a centuries-long tradition and a rich palette of diverse works from different periods; therefore, there are also numerous translations into Slovene (Bajt 1993). Barbara Slukan has collected quantitative data on translations of poetry from Italian into Slovene after 1945 based on the COBISS library system. By her count, COBISS holds 593 bibliographic units, ranging from individually published poems (421 units), poetry collections published in magazines, anthologies etc. (94), and poetry collections published in book form (78), the large majority of which

34 The first translations from Italian into Slovene in fact appeared already in the 16th century (Ožbot 2012: 46), and key works of Italian literature have been translated several times over (e.g. Dante's *Divine Comedy*, Boccaccio's *Decameron*, Petrarch's *Sonnets* and Manzoni's *The Betrothed*). As Bajt (1993) and Lampe (2015) point out, many works have also seen several reprints.

were published after Slovenia's independence (Slukan 2015: 12).[35] Poetry collections were published by 40 Slovene publishers as part of their program, but a large share of the poetry translations appeared in literary magazines and proceedings of seminars and workshops on translation and language. The translations appeared in a total of 48 periodicals (ibid.: 14–15).

As we will also see for novels, translation policy on poetry appears first and foremost to be a matter for editors and editorial boards. The selection does most often happen on the initiative of the translators themselves, but the publishers interviewed by Slukan (2015) (see Appendix 9.1) stressed that their specific selection criteria included: hitherto untranslated work, work rounding out the opus of an already translated poet, personal cooperation with the poet, Italian-Slovene exchanges, etc. The magazines were particularly inclined towards younger contemporary poets who had not been translated before. The choice of specific poems was typically made by the translator in agreement with the editor, but to be published, the work depended entirely on external initiatives, interest and financial support, especially in the publishing houses. The publishers would not be able to publish poetry in book form without subsidies, which they generally receive from the Slovenian Book Agency and from the European Union (ibid.: 22–25).

Consequently, we find a rather surprising list of authors most often translated into Slovene, including more contemporary authors like Renzo Cigoi, Pier Paolo Pasolini, Roberto Dedenaro, Eugenio Montale and Anna Santoliquido along with Dante Alighieri (ibid.: 18–19).

Statistical data collected from the online COBISS library system by Lia Lampe (2015) show that there were 144 novels translated from Italian into Slovene between 1991 and 2014, by 75 translators (most of whom only translated one work each, cf. ibid.: 11). These statistical data confirm the status of Italian as a semi-peripheral language, but one with a special status in relation to Slovene (due to the historical cultural influence, geographical proximity and the presence of an Italian minority in Slovenia and a Slovene one in Italy): Italian can be studied at all levels in Slovenia; and part of the Slovenian population is bilingual in Italian (with Slovene and Italian as mother tongues), so it is not particularly hard to find translators for Italian literature.

The translation of Italian novels has been increasing in output ever since Slovenia's independence; after a burst of growth until 2006, it remained quite high over the next few years, and has since quieted down a bit, probably under the influence of the general economic crisis (Table 2). Reprints, too, increased in number until 2006; the novel that has seen the most reprints (four) is Umberto Eco's *The Name of the Rose*, published in 1984. The ten most frequently translated

35 Up to the present, Italian poetry has been translated by a total of 167 translators (Slukan 2015: 12–13).

and reprinted Italian novelists in the period under study are shown in Figure 7; they include both commercial successes (Manfredi's historical novels) and numerous canonized authors (Tomizza, Calvino, Pasolini etc.). The most frequently reprinted novels by genre are wartime and historical novels (eight translations) and (auto)biographical ones (also eight), followed by nearly as many social novels (seven); there have also been two reprints of crime novels.

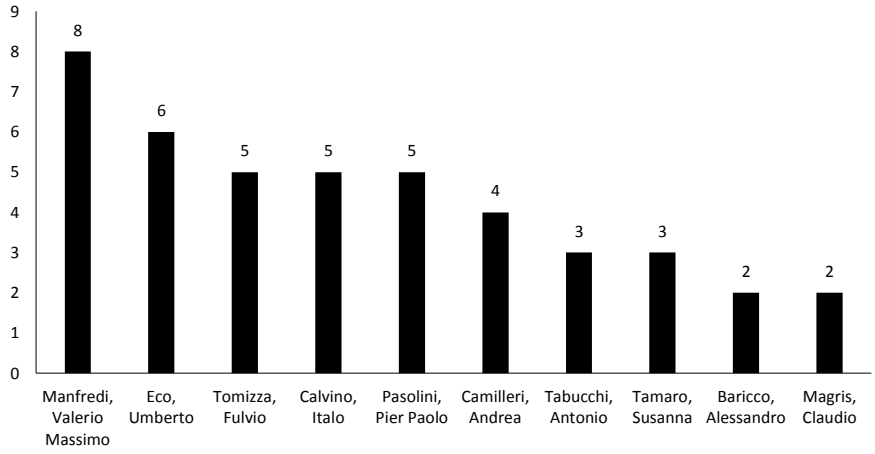

Figure 7: The ten most translated Italian authors in Slovenia between 1991 and 2014.

Table 2: The number of translations and reprints by publication year (source: Slukan 2015: 12).

Year	Novels	Reprints	Total
1991	1	0	1
1992	1	0	1
1993	2	0	2
1994	4	0	4
1995	0	0	0
1996	2	0	2
1997	2	0	2
1998	2	0	2
1999	3	1	4
2000	3	0	3
2001	3	1	4
2002	4	0	4
2003	6	0	6
2004	6	1	7
2005	7	1	8
2006	14	6	20
2007	10	3	13
2008	10	0	10
2009	9	7	16
2010	15	0	15
2011	11	3	14
2012	12	1	13
2013	8	2	10
2014	9	6	15
Total	**144**	**32**	**176**

The publishers' policy for selecting works for translation into Slovene is similar to what we have seen for poetry: The choice is left to editors and editorial boards, but translators are less involved in the process than for poetry. Even when translators propose certain works for translation (which happens fairly often in some publishing houses), the final decision is always a matter for the editor and editorial board, who have to take a number of other factors into account in their decision. The choice of text is importantly influenced both by pragmatic criteria (current interest, sales potential, length and costs, availability of a translator) and qualitative criteria (the status of the original, prizes, reviews, canonical status of the authors). The publishers gave different answers to questions on funding and subsidies (Appendix 9.2): Some worked independently of subsidies, and thus clearly relied on the commercial success of the translated works; others said that the translations of non-commercial works depended on subsidies (canonized authors often fell in this category). Several publishers stressed the difficulty of obtaining subsidies from Italian institutions, as well as from the Slovenian Book Agency or the European Union; in their view, this might affect the amount of translations from Italian. As for the choice of translators for particular texts, it turned out that publishers preferred to work with established translators with whom they had already cooperated. An additional reason for choosing an established translator was the fact that they were often required to do so by the calls for funding applications. They did often work with novice translators as well, however (probably primarily to keep costs down), even though they admitted that they did not have time to train those translators and offer the support they needed (Lampe 2015: 15–17).

To connect the findings of this study with Heilbron's (1999) theory and Bourdieu's (2011) account of cultural capital in the world translation system, in which Italian occupies a semi-peripheral position and Slovene a peripheral one, it is not surprising that Italy, which is relatively rich in cultural capital and has a large number of translations into other languages, is not particularly interested in extensively subsidizing translations into Slovene. Yet for all the stated reasons it is very likely that Italian will keep its relatively high share of translations in the Slovene market (if we leave out English) for the future.

2.2.2 Translation from Swedish into Slovene

Vida Sebastian's MA thesis compares the English and Slovene translations of the Swedish genre novel *The Hundred-Year-Old Man Who Climbed Out the Window and Disappeared* (Sebastian 2014). She notes that Swedish has a similar position to Slovene in being an official language of the European Union, but not a working language, and that

> it is only since 2009, when Sweden adopted a law on the official status of the Swedish language, that this mother tongue of over 8 million speakers

> […] has been an official language of that country; it is also acknowledged as an official language in Finland, where it is the mother tongue of approximately 6%, and where Swedish has also traditionally been taught in the school curriculum. (ibid.: 19)

Like Italian, its cultural capital and more so its central role among Scandinavian languages place it among the semi-peripheral languages. Swedish is also taught in Slovenia, both in commercial language courses and at the lectorate for Swedish at the Faculty of Arts in Ljubljana. Swedish literature has occupied a visible place in world literature for some time, from past writers like August Strindberg, Selma Lagerlöf and Astrid Lindgren, to the contemporary genre of the "Scandinavian crime novel", most prominently represented by Stieg Larsson but also by Camilla Läckberg, Liza Marklund, Jan Guillou and others. Some other modern writers have also become known across the world, such as Jonas Jonasson and Marianne Fredriksson (see Figure 8 for more detailed data on the most translated writers between 1991 and 2014, compiled from the COBISS system).

Extensive translation of Swedish literature into foreign languages started in the 1960s, first into the other Scandinavian languages, and later into German, English and others (ibid.: 21). As we will also see in the case of other small countries, Sweden promotes its literature with funding and subsidies via the Swedish Institute (*Svenska institutet*).

Through the COBISS library system, we have collected data on translations from Swedish into Slovene from Slovenia's independence (1991) until 2014, summarized in Figure 9. We found that 249 literary works were translated in that period, which works out to about 11 per year. Novels predominate (92 titles), but there are also numerous works for children in the categories of fairy tales and picture books (altogether 47 titles) and short stories (41 titles). There are fewer translations of poetry collections (4 titles) and plays (11 titles).[36] The COBISS data also show that more texts from Swedish are translated indirectly, most often via English, than in the other language pairs we studied.[37]

The popularity of Swedish crime novels notwithstanding, Figure 9 shows that translations from Swedish are still dominated by new translations – and reprints of older translations – of works for children and young people, especially the works of Astrid Lindgren, though we should not forget Tove Jansson's Moomin

36 Some of the works in the COBISS system have not been classified, but are only recorded as "books"; these are mostly short prose or children's literature. The category "others" also includes radio plays, comic books, biographies etc.

37 Here it must also be mentioned that it can sometimes be hard to establish that a translation is indirect, as COBISS lists the original language as the source language of the translation, and translators are reluctant to admit that they have translated indirectly. The data on indirect translations therefore depend to a large extent on informal communications with participants in the translation process telling who knows a certain language and from what source language they translated.

Series,[38] nor the canonized literature – August Strindberg's share of translations comes second after Astrid Lindgren's.

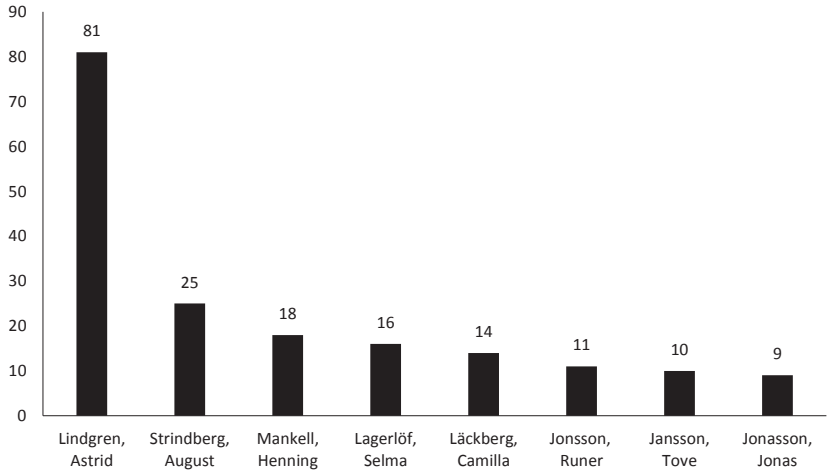

Figure 8: Number of titles (first editions and reprints) of the most translated Swedish authors from 1991 to 2014.

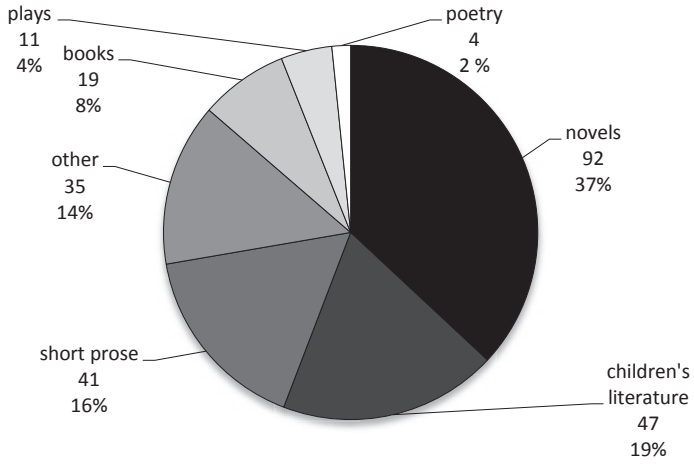

Figure 9: Literary translations from Swedish into Slovene from 1991 to 2014.

38 Tove Jansson belongs to the Swedish minority in Finland.

2.3 DYNAMICS OF TRANSLATION FROM PERIPHERAL LANGUAGES INTO SLOVENE

The dynamics of translation – the amount and variety of translated texts and genres, the number of translators, editors and publishing houses publishing translations from a given language, the knowledge of the source text in its original form and so on – will differ between translation from one of the central or semi-peripheral languages and from one of the peripheral ones. As an example of the dynamics of translation from a central language, in section 2.1 we have looked at how people translated from German into Slovene in the first 15 years of the 21st century, and as examples of translations from semi-peripheral languages we chose Italian and Swedish (section 2.2).

Here, we would like to summarize some findings from studies of the dynamics of literary translation from various peripheral languages into Slovene. We have supervised this research at the Department of Translation Studies since 2012. The research was contributed by students doing their BA theses on the dynamics of individual languages, or doing their MA theses on similarities and differences in translation strategies for literary translation from peripheral languages into central ones as well as into Slovene, based on comparative text analysis. So far we have jointly examined nine language pairs and carried out text analyses of an additional three, Slovene–Norwegian and Slovene–Swedish (the latter is a semi-peripheral language, but the dynamics of translating from Swedish in many respects resembles the dynamics of translating from peripheral languages, cf. Section 3.4), and Slovene–Catalan. In collaboration with our colleagues from the Department of Slavistics, we have also considered literary translations from Croatian into Slovene.

2.3.1 Peripheral languages: Danish, Norwegian, Dutch, Finnish, Hungarian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Estonian, Catalan, Croatian and Ukrainian

The Nordic countries actively foster linguistic cooperation among their peoples, a field that is even regulated by two international agreements. In 1981, they adopted the legally binding Nordic Language Convention providing that Danish, Swedish, Norwegian, Finnish and Icelandic citizens have the right to use their language to the fullest extent possible, or to ask for translation or interpretation, in their contacts with the authorities of the other Nordic countries. The other agreement on linguistic cooperation in the Nordic region is a non-binding Declaration on a Nordic Language Policy, which sets out aims for linguistic rights and lays a foundation for achieving them (ibid.: 19). In practice, such cooperation is

most active and least difficult between the three Scandinavian languages Danish, Swedish and Norwegian, which are similar enough that there are only minor obstacles to mutual understanding. With Icelandic, these obstacles are already sufficiently great that speakers rather resort to English, and this applies even more so to Finnish, which belongs to a different language group (the Finno-Ugric).

2.3.1.1 Danish

Danish is a Scandinavian language with about 5.5 million speakers. It is the official language of Denmark and the Faeroe Islands, as well as a minority language of Germany and Greenland. It is also an official language (but not a working language) of the European Union. The Danish state supports translation from Danish through the Agency for Culture and Palaces under the Ministry of Culture (before 2016, it was handled by a separate Agency for Libraries and Media). The translation of Danish literature is subsidized. Danish and foreign publishers that want to publish a translation from Danish can apply for grants once a year. Translations from Danish (as with other EU languages) is also funded by the European Union through the *Creative Europe – Culture* program, which devotes particular attention to the translation of quality European literature for the broadest possible readership; translation of literature from countries that have become EU members since 2004; and translations of works by European Union Prize for Literature laureates (Reisman 2014: 14, with updates by the authors).

2.3.1.2 Norwegian

Norwegian has the somewhat peculiar distinction of having two written language variants (Bokmål and Nynorsk) for its approximately 5 million native speakers. Norwegian is Norway's official language. Translation into foreign languages (of both literary and non-literary books) is promoted by the state via Norwegian Literature Abroad (NORLA, https://norla.no), which annually publishes several calls for grant applications for literary and non-literary translations into foreign languages; NORLA also offers support for participation in book fairs, gives grants to translators and lecturers for stays in Norway, funds visits of Norwegian authors abroad, helps with promotion, and organizes conferences for translators where they can mingle with authors and publishers. The Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs also takes part in the promotion of Norwegian literature (and culture more generally) through its diplomatic missions. Like Swedish literature, Norwegian literature has had a visible place in world literature at least since the

19th century, when now-canonical authors like Henrik Ibsen (Pezdirc Bartol 2010), Knut Hamsun and Sigrid Undset started writing. It continues to keep this place with contemporary authors like Per Petterson and Jon Fosse. Along with Sweden, Norway also plays a role in the genre of the Scandinavian crime novel, most prominently represented in Norway by Jo Nesbø (see further Zlatnar Moe and Žigon 2015, cf. also Žigon and Zlatnar Moe 2016 and section 3.3.3 below).

2.3.1.3 Dutch

Among the languages we have researched, Dutch has the largest number of speakers beside Hungarian – some 23 million around the world. It has the status of an official language in the Netherlands (as well as in other countries making up the Kingdom of the Netherlands: Arruba, Curaçao and Sint Maarten), in Belgium and in Surinam; a dialect of Dutch is also used by several thousand inhabitants of northern France. Dutch literature is promoted abroad by the Dutch Foundation for Literature, which is tasked with advancing the recognition of Dutch authors and the translation of Dutch literature into foreign languages. It offers subsidies for writers, translators, publishers and festivals, and contributes to the publishing and translation of literature both in the Netherlands and abroad. A similar role is played by Belgium's Flemish Literature Fund, which promotes Dutch-language literature in Belgium and abroad (specifically through its Flanders Literature branch). The two foundations cooperate closely and jointly award prizes for quality translations into English, French and German. Occasionally, they jointly represent Dutch literature in festivals abroad. Apart from these two institutions, there are two more that deal with the translation of Dutch literature into foreign languages: the Dutch Language Union and the Center of Expertise for Literary Translation (Ivanek 2014: 7–8).

2.3.1.4 Hungarian

Hungarian has the greatest number of native speakers among the European Finno-Ugric and Baltic languages, and also has the closest connections with Slovene, due to its geographical proximity and the presence of national minorities in both countries. With about 13 million native speakers, Hungarian is an official language in Hungary and in Serbia's Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, and has minority-language status in Romania, Slovenia, the Ukraine, Austria, Croatia and Slovakia. It is also one of the official languages of the European Union. Like the other countries studied, Hungary supports the promotion of its literature

abroad. This is done under the auspices of the Petöfi Literary Museum by the Hungarian Books and Translations Office, which has two annual calls for applications for translation subsidies. Publishers that wish to publish the translation of a Hungarian literary work may also apply. The Office provides various materials, helps with finding expert contacts and with promotion, and also co-finances 40–60% of the costs of translation (Škafar 2015: 12–13).

2.3.1.5 Finnish

Finnish, too, is a Finno-Ugric language; it has about 5.4 million native speakers in Finland, Sweden, Norway, Russia and Estonia. It is the official language of Finland, and has minority-language status in Sweden and in the Republic of Karelia (Russian Federation). It is also one of the official languages of the European Union. The Finnish Literary Exchange promotes Finnish literature abroad (see the FILI website, https://www.finlit.fi/fili/en/), which subsidizes translations into foreign languages, issuing a call for applications three times a year. It subsidizes 50–70% of the costs of translation, up to a cap of 4,000 euros.

2.3.1.6 Estonian

The third European Finno-Ugric language is Estonian, with 1.2 million native speakers. Estonian is the official language of Estonia and one of the official languages of the European Union. The promotion of Estonian literature abroad is handled by the Cultural Endowment of Estonia (CEE, https://www.kulka.ee). Four times a year, it issues the TRADUCTA call for applications for subsidies to partly or entirely cover the costs of translations, and as needed also travel costs and the cost of a translator's stay in Estonia.

2.3.1.7 Latvian

Latvian is a Baltic language with 1.8 million native speakers. It is the official language of Latvia and one of the official languages of the European Union. The international promotion of Latvian literature is done by the Latvian Literature Center (LLC, http://www.literature.lv/en/), which together with the State Culture Capital Foundation issues a call for applications four times a year for publishers seeking subsidies for the publication of Latvian literature.

2.3.1.8 Lithuanian

Lithuanian has three million native speakers; it is the official language of Lithuania and one of the official languages of the European Union. It has the status of a minority language in Poland. The Lithuanian Culture Institute, under the auspices of the Ministry of Culture, takes care of the promotion of Lithuanian literature; it issues a call for applications for the co-financing of translations twice a year in its Translation Grant Program (see the LCI website, http://lithuanian-culture.lt/). Publishers may apply for full or partial funding of translation costs.

2.3.1.9 Catalan

Catalan is an Ibero-Romance language with around nine million speakers worldwide. It is native to speakers in Catalonia and in other parts of Spain, Andorra, and parts of France. Four million have listed it as their first language, and over five million as their second language (Ethnologue, https://www.ethnologue.com/language/cat). It has the status of an official language in Catalonia, Valencia and the Balearic Islands as well as in Andorra.[39]

Like other source countries in our study, Catalonia offers financial and other support for translation and promotion of its culture abroad. The Ramon Llull Institute is a "public body founded with the purpose of promoting Catalan language studies at universities abroad, the translation of literature and thought written in Catalan, and Catalan cultural production in other areas" (Institut Ramon Llull, https://www.llull.cat/english/quisom/quisom.cfm). It offers, among other things, grants for the translation and promotion of Catalan literature abroad as well as translator residencies for foreign translators working on translations of Catalan literature (Dodič 2017).

2.3.1.10 Croatian

Croatian is a South Slavic language with over six million users around the world, of which four million live in Croatia. There are Croatian-speaking minorities in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Slovenia, Montenegro, Macedonia, Serbia, Slovakia, and Austria. it is the official language in Croatia and one of the EU official languages.

The Croatian Ministry of Culture offers translation grants to publishers abroad, in order to "promote translation and representation of Croatian literature by

39 It is also used in the city of Alghero (L'Alguer) in Sardinia (Magrinyà Domingo 2006: 113).

co-financing translation costs". It also offers travel grants for writers, translators and other book professionals, subsidies to promote collaboration between writers' and translators' associations, and writer/translator residencies in Croatia (Croatian Literature, https://www.croatian-literature.hr/zzindex_kat.php?menu_id=6).

2.3.1.11 Ukrainian

Ukrainian is an East Slavic language with numerous West Slavic influences. It is spoken mainly in the western parts of the contemporary Ukraine. It has also been conserved among emigrants, notably in Canada. The language has about 37 million native speakers, and is currently the world's third most widely diffused Slavic language after Russian and Polish. Ukrainian is the official language of the Ukraine, where a significant share of the population also speaks Russian.

The Ukrainian government promotes Ukrainian literature by organizing the annual fall Lvov Book Fair, which is the largest Ukrainian and international literary gathering in the Ukraine. In 2013, the Lvov fair was joined by the *Arsenal* fair held every spring in Kiev; there is also an annual international poetry festival held in Chernivtsi. The Ukraine also actively participates at the Frankfurt and Lepzig book fairs; in recent years, the Ukrainian crisis has brought many Ukrainian authors to these fairs, such as Yuriy Andruhovych and Serhiy Zhadan, two strong advocates for Ukrainian language in the fields of culture and politics (cf. Dathe 2013; Dathe and Rostek 2014; Prokhasko 2015).

Before the economic and political crisis in 2014, translations of Ukrainian literature into foreign languages were funded by private foundations for the advancement of culture, mostly owned by oligarchs (e.g. Rinat Lyeonidovich Akhmetov's Foundation for Development of Ukraine). The *Open Ukraine* foundation, established in 2007, successfully took on the task of spreading Ukrainian culture and fostering international cultural dialogue. It made scholarships available; encouraged and funded study trips for Ukrainian writers, artists and translators; funded translations of contemporary Ukrainian literature; and organized annual cultural debate forums called Art Club FACES (see the Book Fund page on the OpenUkraine website, http://openukraine.org/en/project/open/id/6). Today, this foundation's activities have become much reduced; private funding for translation, too, has dried up since 2014 (Ivanytska 2015; cf. also Hončar, Vachovs'ka, and Dathe 2016). Translations from Ukrainian are financially supported by the Ukrainian Ministry of Foreign Affairs as well as the Austrian Ministry of Culture, the Goethe Institute and the Swiss foundation Pro Helvetia (in the case of translations into German).[40] As the

40 Aleš Debeljak (2014) noted that translations from Ukrainian literature in Slovenia form a modest selection, and added that the titles of translated works could be counted on the fingers of one hand – even if it were missing a few fingers.

Ukrainian translator Yurko Prokhasko informed us (personal communication, 27 November 2015), the Ukrainian parliament decided to follow Poland's example (there is already a German-Polish-Ukrainian literary journal, RADAR, published in cooperation with the Polish cultural foundation Vila Decius) and established a state-funded Ukrainian Book Institute in 2016 to engage in the promotion and spread of Ukrainian literature abroad.

As we can see, every country covered in this analysis subsidizes the translation of its literature into foreign languages, as does the European Union through its own calls for applications. Most often translations are co-funded. Some countries also offer expert help and help to promote its literature and culture. The source countries thus actively engage with the translation policy of target countries and of individual publishers in those target countries. Some of them, like Norway, are very successful.

2.3.2 The state of literary translation from peripheral languages into Slovene, 2000–2014

In the following, we give an overview of survey data collected by our researchers for the countries analysed (Appendices 9.3, 9.4 and 9.5)

Table 3: Collected data on translations in the languages analysed (2000–2014 except where otherwise indicated).

Language	Translations	Translators
Dutch	232	8
Croatian[41]	90	34
Hungarian	45	8
Norwegian	39	3
Finnish	32	2
Danish	29	2
Catalan[42]	21	4
Lituanian	10	1
Estonian	3	1
Ukrainian	1	1
Latvian	0	0

41 Prose only, for the period 2000–2016.

42 For the period 2000–2015.

Dutch stands out among the languages analysed (Table 3) in terms of the number of native speakers, the number of literary translations and the number of translations. Still, even eight translators form a sufficiently narrow community of expertise that we can include it in this study. Dutch was also the case where the researcher found the largest number of openly indirect translations, namely, via German. Indirect translations are rarer in the other languages studied, and are most frequent in the case of older, classical works, but this mainly applies to reprints of older translations (e.g. of H. C. Andersen's fairy tales), not to new translations. In all other cases we are dealing with a handful of translators (only one each for Lithuanian, Estonian and Ukrainian, and currently none for Latvian). It is probably not surprising that none of these translators makes their living exclusively by translating from a peripheral language, which has an impact on the number of translations from these languages, as translations can be blocked by banal problems such as lack of time on the translator's part, or some irreconcilable dispute between the translator and the publisher.

As we expected and as we find in Table 4, less than half the translators learned their working languages the formal way. Translators from Hungarian stand out by being largely native speakers of both Hungarian and Slovene. This group also included the most translators that said they translated into both languages. It is also characteristic for translators from peripheral languages to have learned one such language while learning another: One translator from Lithuanian, for example, learned the language during a stay in Poland, and there were similar cases for Norwegian and Estonian.

Table 4: Data on translators for various peripheral languages.

	Dutch	Danish	Norwegian	Finnish	Estonian	Lithuanian	Hungarian
Number of translators	8[43]	2	2	2	1	1	8
Language graduates	1	2[44]	1	1	1	0	NA
Informal learning	1	2	1	1	0	1	3
Translates both ways	1	1	0	0	0	0	3
Other working languages	2	Scandinavian, German, English	Scandinavian, German, English	English, Estonian	Finnish	Polish	English
Translates non-literary texts	1	2	1	1	0	0	1
Proposes texts for translation	2	0	1	1	1	1	8
Auxiliary (more central) language	German	NA	German	0	0	0	0
Who selects books for translation	Publisher	Publisher	Publisher and translator	Publisher and translator	Translator	Publisher and translator	Publisher and translator

43 Two translators participated in the study.

44 Attended a course.

With the exception of the translators from Hungarian, translation from Slovene into a foreign (peripheral) language is not very popular among the translators. Only two other translators translate from their mother tongue into a peripheral foreign language – one into Dutch, another into Danish. Most of the participating translators translate both literary and non-literary texts. It is interesting to note how many other languages the participating translators translate from: Those with Germanic languages also mentioned more central languages, English and/or German; the others either translated from only one language, or from another similarly (semi-)peripheral language (Lithuanian/Polish and Estonian/Finnish). Most of the translators said they translated only directly from the language of the original, but some also mentioned turning to a central translation when they needed help, and one did say he had also translated indirectly, from German.

Regarding cooperation with the publishers, the translators said they often proposed texts for translation themselves. Only translators from Dutch and Danish answered that books were never proposed by them, but always by the publisher. Conversely, a translator from Lithuanian said it was mostly he who proposed books. Others had made proposals for translations that were sometimes accepted and sometimes not.

These data were also confirmed by the publishers who participated in the studies. They said they chose texts from peripheral languages based on their success (in terms of sales or critical acclaim) in the central cultures, and on their popularity at book fairs; sometimes, they would also accept proposals from translators. None of the participating publishers worked systematically on translation of literature from small countries.

This overview of literary translation from peripheral languages into Slovene confirms the findings from our research on individual texts, which are discussed in Chapter 3. Translation between peripheral languages has certain special features that are all tied to the modest presence and influence of the source cultures in the target culture, rather than to factors such as the number of native speakers or the economic power of the source language community. The publishing of literature from peripheral language communities and cultures largely depends on the availability of a suitable translator – for example, Slovenia currently has none for Latvian, and the one for Estonian is just starting out. The small number of suitable translators affects both the quantity and the quality of translations, as the publisher is not able to choose the most suitable translator for a given text or genre, as they would for languages with more translators; rather, they have to work with the only ones available. This situation is not much improved by having four translators at hand rather than one or two.

Many translators turned out not to have the peripheral language they translate from as their first foreign language (again except for the translators from Hungarian). Further, it was confirmed that translators' knowledge of these languages was very often acquired in informal ways: during stays in the country of that language, or even in a neighboring country; in contacts with relatives and other native speakers of the language; less so in formal courses or studies. This fact, too, affects the translations: On the one hand, translators may struggle with the tougher linguistic or stylistic challenges; on the other, their mostly informal language learning affords them insights into the source culture that they would not have acquired through (purely) formal education.

The source countries also turned out to very strongly influence what gets translated. They achieve this influence by promoting their literature abroad and especially by co-funding translations. Although Slovene publishers mostly asserted that their main criteria for choosing books were the quality of the text and its suitability for inclusion in their program, some (three) publishers nevertheless acknowledged that the chance of a grant was not a negligible factor in their selection of a text. In promoting their literatures, source countries influence translation policy in peripheral target countries above all through promotion in central cultures; publishers said they chose texts for translations based on how they were presented in the central book fairs and how they were received by readers and critics in other (central) cultures. This confirms the role of (hyper-)central language communities and cultures in canonizing authors and thus raising interest in translating them, as discussed e.g. by Casanova (2010, cf. Chapter 1).

2.3.3 The special case of Croatian

In our research, we also studied the situation of Croatian. While it is minor in the global, or even European, frame, its position within Slovene culture is somewhat different. Croatian culture is one of the cultures that share over 70 years of common history with the Slovene culture in different versions of Yugoslavia. This means that the languages and speakers were in close contact, and that Croatian, or what was then called "Serbo-Croat", had a central position in Yugoslavia's language system, as the language that had the largest number of native speakers and was spoken in Belgrade, the country's capital. Language policy for at least some time openly encouraged further merging of the country's different languages, especially right after World War I, when the country first came into existence. Croatian is also very close to Slovene, which, combined with constant exposure, meant that many Slovenes acquired some level of proficiency in it. The language named Serbo-Croat disappeared together with

Yugoslavia, but Slovene native speakers have continued to understand it, and on a certain level to speak the languages that replaced it.[45] Because of this special situation, we repeatedly came across features typical of translations from the major languages, especially English.

More books were published in translation from Croatian than from other minor languages: from 2000 to 2016 there were at least three prose texts translated each year (and in most years five or more). The only exceptions are 2012 and 2013, when the Slovene publishing industry was hit by the recession: In those two years, only two prose texts were published each year, which brings us to 90 books of prose in the period between 2000 and 2016. It is also worth mentioning that during the entire period studied (from 1991), prose was only the second biggest category; poetry has been the most translated genre (Strsoglavec 2012; Strsoglavec and Tirgušek 2003).

To native speakers of Slovene, Croatian has two things in common with major languages: First, Slovenes can study it for a university degree. Second, however, people who translate from Croatian into Slovene often have not done so.

In another study (Zlatnar Moe 2015), dealing with translations of the modern English and American novel, we found that none of the translators involved had a degree in English or Slovene. The case of Croatian seems to be very similar. Already a study of Slovene-Croatian translation contacts in the 1990s states that "it seems that a lot of people translate from Croatian in Slovenia; of these, only a few are professional translators, but many are authors who translate their friends and colleagues" (Strsoglavec and Tirgušek 2003: 208–209). This situation seems to continue in the new millennium: we found 34 different translators from Croatian into Slovene, and those were only the translators of prose texts. This is far more than for any other language studied (the runners-up are Swedish and Dutch with eight translators each).

Why does this happen? As with English, many people feel that they are proficient enough in the source language and familiar enough with the source culture to translate literature from it even though they have even less formal training in it than in English.[46] However, many people feel they can speak those languages ("because they have been in the Yugoslav army and spend their summer holiday on the Adriatic", as one of the translators put it) and are qualified to translate from them. This opinion is apparently shared by the editors, who give translation jobs to people with no real qualifications nor the necessary competence in

45 This began to change with the generations born from the late 1980s onward. Lesser exposure led to their weaker passive knowledge of Croatian, and only a few speak more than a few words of it.

46 English has been taught as a first foreign language for decades, while the pre-independence generations had one year of obligatory Serbo-Croat in the primary school, and boys had an additional year of exposure during their military service. Post-independence generations have had no training in any of the South Slavic languages.

either the source language or the source culture,[47] and continue to do so despite repeated bad reviews of such translations in the Slovene press (see for example Strsoglavec 2010; Kosmos 2011). The practice of writers translating each other as a favour, which also stems from the close contacts between the two cultures is the practice, remains very common, and probably contributes to the dominance of poetry in the contacts between the Slovene and Croatian cultures.

In short, these findings point to the hybrid position of major/minor language Croatian has occupied within the Slovene culture.

47 Interestingly, several names from the 2015 study on translations from English appeared in our current study as translators from Croatian (which they have not studied either), which indicates the level of trust they enjoy from their editors.

3 Case Studies

In the following, we present six case studies. For the sake of representativity, the selected studies focus on texts of widely varying genres, both literary and non-literary. The first study was done by our student Tanja Hrastelj (2014). In her MA thesis in the Translation program, she analysed the translation of titles of popular-science articles from a hyper-central language, English, into German as a central language and Slovene as a peripheral language, and the differences that arose in these translations. (The Translation program is run by the Faculty of Arts in Ljubljana in cooperation with the University of Graz.) The second study, similarly, deals with the translation of movie titles from English into Italian as a semi-peripheral language and Slovene as a peripheral language, as examined in the BA thesis of our student Živa Novak (2014); we have supplemented it with translations of movie titles into German as a central language, and Norwegian and Croatian as peripheral languages. The third study deals with the translation of culture-specific elements in the English, German, and Slovene translations of the novel *The Redbreast* by the Norwegian author Jo Nesbø. The fourth summarizes the findings of our student Vida Sebastian (2014), whose MA thesis examines the culture-specific elements in the novel *The Hundred-Year-Old Who Climbed Out The Window And Vanished* by Jonas Jonasson; this study, then, deals with translation from a semi-peripheral language, namely from Swedish into Slovene as a peripheral language, and English as a hyper-central one. The fifth study, done by our student Ana Kristina Dodič (2017), analyzes Spanish, English, German and Slovene translations of the Catalan novel *Maletes Perdudes* by the Catalan Author Jordi Puntí. And the last one, done by Ana Repina (2012) at the Department of Slavic languages, analyzes three Slovene translations of Croatian novels by the same Slovene translator, Dušan Čater.

3.1 TRANSLATING POPULAR-SCIENCE MAGAZINE ARTICLES INTO A CENTRAL LANGUAGE (GERMAN) AND A PERIPHERAL ONE (SLOVENE)

Although the study we present in this section is mostly based on the understanding of translation norms in the framework of descriptive translation studies, this does not mean that we are shifting away from the theories we started out with. The idea of descriptive translation studies can actually be understood as a starting point which can be built on and supplemented with sociological views, as explained by Heilbron (2000: 10). With this study we seek to show what differences arise with regard to respecting translation norms in translation from a hyper-central language (English) into a central language (German) and a peripheral language (Slovene). As we stressed in our introductory hypotheses, we expect

translators who translate into a central language to decide much more freely how to translate a text (what to leave out, add, explain – changes, that is, on both the macro and micro levels of the text), and we expect the translations to adapt much more to the target reader than do translations into a peripheral language, where we often observe translators following the original more "faithfully", sometimes to the point of a foreignizing translation. Some, like Venuti (1995: 17f), consider this far more acceptable than a domesticating one.

The findings from the case study are based on the materials selected and presented by Tanja Hrastelj in her 2014 MA thesis. In the light of the relationship between central and peripheral languages, and based on an analysis of popular-science discourse and the concept of translation norms (Chesterman 1997, 1999; Toury 1995, 1999), she analysed translations of titles in the globally renowned popular-science magazine *National Geographic* (further on this magazine: Hrastelj 2014: 35–40), which covers a broad spectrum of sciences and presents them to the reader in a popularized way. The study looked at the English original, the October 2013 issue, and at the German and Slovene editions of the magazine, focusing particularly on the translations of the titles of the different stories, but also pointing out some significant differences in the translations of realia (Florin 1993) – that is, culture-specific elements in the text – between target languages with very different roles in the world translation system. This is especially important because science is necessarily embedded in culture, and it is not always easily transferable into other cultures (Aikenhead 2001: 41). This means that the translation of realia in scientific and popular-science texts often runs into problems that can present the translator with considerable challenges, and that tend to be tackled differently by translators into central and peripheral languages.

3.1.1 The popular-science discourse in *National Geographic*

The discourse of popular science has not yet been scientifically studied in a comprehensive way, as noted by several linguists and translation scholars (Baumann 1998; Liao 2010; Niederhauser 1997, 1999; Pisanski Peterlin 2011; Schaddelee 2009). These authors agree that popular-science discourse differs from academic discourse, but deals with similar topic areas and often retains the same terminology (Pisanski Peterlin 2011: 43).

Similarly, sociological studies have found that popular-science magazines are rarely the subjects of scientific analysis (Salzmann 2007: 11), as only a few studies have been devoted to so-called "science journalism" (*Wissenschaftsjournalismus*) (Bauer and Bucchi 2010; Kohring 2012; Stamm 1995), and these have not been

concerned with the characteristics of popular-science discourse, much less with the translation of such texts into different languages. Because popular-science communication takes place between an author who is usually an expert in his field – perhaps even an established researcher or scientist (Salzmann 2007: 46) – and a reader who may not know the field well or at all, it is clear that this is a text genre aimed at the non-expert target reader. It is therefore essential for the author to present the scientific topic in an understandable, easy-going and popular way, as Baumann (1998: 730) writes, and to meet the expectation of lay readers (Gläser 1998: 483). At the same time the author is also strictly required to write in an objective and credible way, as the target audience takes a popular-science text to be a reliable source of information, knowledge and conduct.

Even though textbooks, encyclopedias and handbooks may also be considered works of popular science (Baumann 1998: 729–730), in the following we focus only on popular-science articles. Since these target a diverse audience, the translator faces a challenging task. Not only must they know the topic well, they must also know and respect the features of the popular-science genre (Liao 2010: 45) and be aware that their task is to popularize knowledge in society (Eichholz 2010: 185). Today, this is not easy,[48] since we are flooded with such an amount of different data and contents every day that we can sometimes hardly digest them, and each individual has to make a selection of the information that matters to them. Only in this way can they participate actively and responsibly in society: In this sense, both the author and the translator of popular-science texts are committed to credibility and able to take on the role of mediator between science, politics and the public in the social system (ibid.: 185).

Given the two different target cultures and language systems, i.e. the central German one and the peripheral Slovene one, we might expect the translations to diverge visibly, and the translators to use different strategies. To be sure, German and Slovene readers no doubt read *National Geographic* magazine with roughly similar expectations of the content – the magazine follows the same principles and criteria in all its international editions with regard to content, language and design, and readers everywhere expect features on current popular science from the natural, social and human sciences. We nevertheless conjectured that there would be various shifts and differences between a translation into a central language, German, and a peripheral one, Slovene. We have foregrounded the question how the German and Slovene translator, respectively, dealt with the original, but we also ask how the translators followed and took into account the concept of translation norms (Hrastelj 2014: 41) and how these norms differ between a central and a peripheral language.

48 Not to say that it was different in the past, but there was less information and fewer media communicating it. For further discussion see two extremely interesting papers on the communication of knowledge and information in the "pre-information" era (Tantner 2009 and Blome 2006; cf. also Žigon 2014).

3.1.2 Translation norms and their role in translations for *National Geographic*

The leading exponent of descriptive translation studies, Gideon Toury, introduced translation norms into research in the 1970s. The system of norms is not binding and changes according to time, space and socio-political factors, and is frequently also affected by other external factors (Prunč 2006: 296). One of the main factors that influence translation norms is the position of a culture/language in the translation system (Heilbron 1999).

Toury (1995: 57–58) distinguishes between initial norms, preliminary norms and operational norms. The *initial norms* (also discussed in Prunč 2006: 96) determine the relationship between the original and the translation and require the translator to decide to what extent they wish to adapt the translation to the target reader. The *preliminary norms* are connected with those market actors (publishers, institutions, individuals) who select texts for translation. Consequently, they depend on the translation policy in the target culture, which would differ between the German and the Slovene culture. In our case, the Slovene and German editors of *National Geographic* magazine, respectively, decide which contribution is to be translated, why, and even how; they also decide what contents may be added to a specific local or regional edition. (Therefore, the editors also deal with the level of operational norms, as we will see.) Furthermore, the preliminary norms determine the directness of translation, i.e. whether and in what cases an indirect translation – a translation of a translation – is acceptable. Toury's last set of norms are the *operational norms*, which concern the specific translation decisions of the translator and determine which parts of the text remain unchanged and where the translator may intervene in the text and adapt it to the target culture. Such interventions include omissions; additional explanations; changes in the macro-structure of the text, i.e., rearrangements of the different parts of the text; and changes on the micro-structural level, among which we find e.g. textual-linguistic norms (textual elements that the translator selects in creating a translation).

Toury's concept of norms has been further developed and extended by Andrew Chesterman (1999: 90–91). To the initial and operational norms, he has added *expectancy norms* and *process norms*, or *professional norms*. The former, as the name suggests, relates to the expectations of readers in the target culture regarding the form and function of the translation, discursive conventions, style, register, collocations or lexical choice (Chesterman 1997: 64–65). The other group of norms directs the translation process and addresses the translator's responsibility towards the author, the commissioner, the target reader and their own self. As Chesterman says, it is an ethical norm, as it faces the translator with the question what communication partner they should be more or less "faithful"

to in the process of communication through translation. Here, the translator also takes on a social role, as they have to ensure clear and optimal understanding among all the participants in communication. Among the process norms, Chesterman (ibid.: 69–70) also includes the so-called *relation norm*, also called the linguistic norm; here we find the translator's decisions what relationship to establish between the source and target text (formal similarity, stylistic similarity, deviations etc.), which are particularly important in the translation of popular-science texts for *National Geographic*.

For the observance and non-observance of translation norms, Hrastelj (2014) relies on a questionnaire survey of the German and Slovene editors of *National Geographic*. The chief editor of the Slovene edition, Dr. Marija Javornik, agreed to be interviewed (her responses are published in ibid.: 104–105). The German editors, unfortunately, did not respond to the invitation. Based on the answers of the Slovene editors we were nevertheless able to establish some preliminary norms, i.e. what the translation policy was, and how the other translation norms were observed.

All the local editions of the magazine require high-quality work from the translators. As regards the directness of the translation, they translate from English – the hyper-central source language – all over the world, but it may also happen that they agree with local editors to translate an article that is not included in the English original, but is published in one of the international editions. Interestingly, the editors of the English edition in Washington keep a tight grip. When local editors plan to translate and publish an article, it comes with a so-called "backgrounder", guidelines for the editor of the local edition and the translator, supplementing the text with important additional "behind-the-scenes" information. It will explain any particularly challenging parts of the text in more detail, to ease the translator's task and guide them in the "right" direction. The translators, then, are not entirely free even with regard to operational norms, as the addition or omission of parts of the text is in the hands of the responsible editor (ibid.).

3.1.3 Findings: an original and two translations

The analysis of the October 2013 issue covered the headlines of the articles and individual features and the culture-specific elements that appear in them.

The headlines are a key element of the text and play an important role in making a reader buy the magazine in the first place. As Christiane Nord (1993: 19) says, the reader's first encounter with the headline decisively influences whether or not they read the article. If the headline fails to draw us in, we do not decide to read

on, which is why both the author and the translator have to be particularly careful with the choice of headline. Nord here refers to the concept of loyalty to the author (ibid.: 18), but also requires the translator to meet the expectations of the readers, in accordance with Chesterman's norms.

The analysis showed that the German translator took greater freedoms with the translation and formulation of the headlines than the Slovene one: The headline often deviated completely from the original, and the translator noticeably sought to find the most appealing or poetic translation solutions for the headlines in order to draw the attention of the target reader. The English headline of the article on 3D ultrasound imaging of the fetus, "Baby Pictures", was rendered in German as *Alles dran?* (Is everything there?), while the Slovene headline simply read *Ultrazvočna slika* (Ultrasound picture) (Hrastelj 2014: 59–60).

The translator from a hyper-central language to a central one, then, decided to make the headline and the accompanying picture (a 3D image of the fetus) seem to communicate with each other in a dialogue situation. The picture of the living being developing in the uterus responds to the headline – we ask ourselves if we do see everything on the picture: two arms, two legs, the stomach, the head. If there had been no photo to go with the heading, the heading would have carried no message or meaning; the photo aids the understanding of the headline, which urges the reader to go on reading. The translator may no longer be loyal to the author (Chesterman 1997: 67f), but does meet the expectations of the target reader.

Here as in most other cases, the Slovene translator opted for an explanatory translation. In the cited case, the information provided by the original is preserved, but there is an attempt to improve communication by avoiding ambiguity, replacing the noun "baby" with the adjective "ultrasound". Combined with the photo, the headline preserves the message, and the translator shows loyalty to both the author, the commissioner and the target audience.[49] The analysis of the nine headlines in the *National Geographic* issue studied showed that the German translation followed the original in half the cases (e.g. Eng. "The Power of Photography", Ger. *Die Macht der Photographie*, Slo. *Moč fotografije*); in terms of norms, then, it was loyal both to the author and the target reader. In the other half of the cases, the translator sought a more creative solution better suited to the German target reader (Hrastelj 2014: 70).[50] Besides the above-mentioned translation of "Baby Pictures", there is "Building the Ark", rendered in German as *Die letzten ihrer Art* (The last of their species) and in Slovene as *Nova Noetova barka* (The new Noah's

49 The following case is similar. The German translator tries to find a poetic solution, rendering the English headline "The Price of Precious" as *Ton, Steine, Sterben*, while the Slovene translator opts for the literal translation *Cena bogastva* (The price of wealth) (for more examples, see Hrastelj 2014: 57–70).

50 Though there were nine articles, the ratio is 50:50 in the sense that the German translation in one case followed the English original, but made a minor addition: Eng. "The Visual Village", Ger. *Die Welt – ein visuelles Dorf*, Slo. *Vizualna vas* (The visual village) (ibid.: 68).

Ark); "The Changing Face of America" is rendered in German as *Wir sind das neue Amerika* (We are the new America), while it was not included in the Slovene edition. The Slovene translations mostly pursued a different translation strategy, following the original headline in seven of the eight articles included.

As with the headlines, the analysis of the culture-specific elements in the articles showed that the German translator repeatedly omitted parts of the text or added new information. In this way, a translator seeks to adapt the text as closely as possible to the target reader, who therefore understands the translation better and identifies with the text. By contrast, the Slovene translator was mostly found to follow the source text closely and to preserve both its macro and micro structure (see further ibid.: 45–56). Six cases were analysed that all show the German translation diverging from the source text. In one case, this leads to the omission of information that the translator clearly did not think important to the German target reader (ibid.: 53):

English original	German translation	Slovene translation
Named the Brownie after **characters in a series of 19th-century children's books**, the easy-to-use camera was the brainchild of **George Eastman, founder of the Eastman Kodak Company**.	[omitted]	Do leta 1907 so prodali že več kot milijon teh naprav, **poimenovanih po junakih vilincih, ki so bili vedno pripravljeni priskočiti na pomoč, iz zbirke otroških knjig iz 19. stoletja.** Fotoaparat, ki ga je bilo nadvse preprosto uporabljati, je zasnoval **George Eastman, ustanovitelj družbe Eastman Kodak.**

In other cases, the translator explained culture-specific elements in the original, which of course also happened in translation into the peripheral language.[51] Domesticating strategies and explanations did appear in the German translation, but not as a rule that translators were obliged to follow, judging by the fact that such translation solutions were unpredictable: Now and then the translator would clarify some piece of information, but not the many similar ones. In the example below, information on the location of the Kodak museum has been added (ibid.: 46):[52]

51 However, the study showed that this only happened a few times, due to limitations of space and apparently also because the Slovene editors (to a greater extent than the translator) sought as source-oriented a translation as possible (cf. the interview with the editor in Hrastelj 2014: 104–105).

52 Also, "a wholesome way of life" was mistranslated as "a whole way of life".

English original	German translation	Slovene translation
"Kodak wasn't just selling a camera, it was selling a wholesome way of life," says **George Eastman House curator Todd Gustavson.**	"Der Hersteller verkaufte nicht nur eine Kamera, er verkaufte ein Lebensgefühl", sagt **Todd Gustavson, der heute das Kodak-Museum für Fotografie und Film (George Eastman House) in Rochester im US-Bundesstaat New York leitet.**	"Kodak ni prodajal le fotoaparata, tržil je celoten življenjski slog," pravi **Todd Gustavson, kurator muzeja George Eastman House.**

The analysis of specific snippets of text also showed that the translation strategies and individual translation decisions of the Slovene and German translators differed. The Slovene translator sought to keep the translation close to the original, and in most cases there were neither omissions nor additions (ibid.: 71–82). In the example below, we immediately see already on the macro level that the German translation is longer than the English original. The translator, and perhaps also the editor of the German edition, thought it important to stress European efforts to protect the animals living in captivity in zoos. The German translator described the facts very directly and without euphemism ("Here species survive that would perish/go extinct outside"), whereas the Slovene translator did not deviate from the English original.

English original	German translation	Slovene translation
As the wild shrinks, zoos are increasingly being looked to as modern-day arks: **the last refuge against a rising tide of extinction.**	Wenn die Bestände der Wildtiere schrumpfen, übernehmen Zoos zunehmend die Funktion einer modernen Arche: **Hier überleben Arten, die draußen untergehen.** In Europa engagieren sich viele Zoos dazu im Europäischen Erhaltungszuchtprogramm (EEP).	Ker se območja neokrnjene narave krčijo, živalski vrtovi vse bolj prevzemajo vlogo sodobnih Noetovih bark: **zadnjega zatočišča pred naraščajočo plimo izumiranja.**

The German translator allows himself to translate more freely, which confirms our initial conjecture that German culture and the German reception of foreign materials allow more freedom in translation than the Slovene. Beside the choice of different lexical materials in the German translations, we also find more omissions and additional information, which agrees with our observations and analyses of translations into central and peripheral languages.

The study confirmed the hypothesis that differences arise between translations from hyper-central languages into central and peripheral ones. These differences appear on the level of Toury's operational norms, and even more so with regard to Chesterman's choice between loyalty to the author and meeting the expectations of the readers. In most cases, the Slovene translator remained "faithful" to the source text and thus to the author, leading to a source-oriented translation, as the translator rarely opted for major interventions (lexical, syntactic, morphological or substantive changes) in the text. It should be noted that unconditional loyalty to the author deprives the target readers of an understandable translation adapted to the target culture. At the same time, the German translator often clearly ignored responsibility toward the author and adapted the text to the target reader, creating a target-oriented translation and taking greater freedoms, despite the restrictions (the clear translation guidelines in the "backgrounder" and the translation norms). Therefore, we may conclude that the German translator has a greater commitment to the readers, while the Slovene one retains a high level of loyalty to the author and the original. In this context we find that the translation of popular-science texts into a peripheral language usually seems more respectful of the original and the translation more source-oriented, whereas the German central-language translator tends to adapt the target text to the target readership and their expectations.

3.2 TRANSLATIONS OF MOVIE TITLES FROM ENGLISH INTO GERMAN, ITALIAN, NORWEGIAN, CROATIAN AND SLOVENE

Regardless of what genre they belong to, movies are always embedded in the culture (and language) in which they are made. Like article headlines, movie titles play a key role in potential viewers' decision to see the movie or not. Their translation is thus always an important and sensitive topic, which is usually not simply left to the translator (at least not in Slovenia); other agents also intervene in the decision – those who commission the translations, distributors, advertisers and others.

3.2.1 Movie titles as cultural transfer

Limon (2012) notes in his paper on "Film titles and cultural transfer" that the titles of some movies are translated in their entirety, others only partly, and yet others simply keep their English title. His analysis of a thousand movie titles and their Slovene translations from English showed that two thirds (67%) of the titles were translated literally, and that the Slovene translators only rarely make changes to the title of the original or deviate from it. He divided the title translations into two categories: a) literal translations and b) descriptive translations (using the terms "direct" and "indirect" translations, respectively). Based on the movie-title corpus he collected, he found (ibid.: 191) that the first category mainly numbered titles that contained personal names (e.g. *Alfie*, *Jerry Maguire*), geographical names (e.g. *Gallipoli*, *Gosford Park*), or simple titles (e.g. *The Queen/Kraljica*, *Dragonfly/Kačji pastir*), sometimes with the spelling adapted to Slovene (*Titanic/Titanik*). The last third of the titles, which were translated descriptively, on the other hand, differ from the original English title; depending on the translation strategy adopted by the translator, Limon divided them into three subcategories (ibid.: 198):

1. explanations of titles (expanding on or clarifying them to convey the movie genre), e.g. *Lighthouse – Svetilnik groze* (Lighthouse of horror); *Campfire Tales – Srhljive zgodbice* (Scary tales), *Down Periscope – Cirkus pod vodo* (Underwater circus), *Still Breathing – Za vedno skupaj* (Together forever) (ibid.: 192);
2. simplified versions, simplifying the style or content, e.g. *Material Girls – Vse za denar* (Anything for money), *Baby Boom – Mama po sili* (Mommy by accident) (ibid.: 196);
3. unclear translations that either use the wrong register, e.g. *Love Don't Cost a Thing – Ljubezen je zastonj* (Love is free), *Love Stinks – Bedna ljubezen* (Love sucks); or omit important information, e.g. *How the Grinch Stole Christmas – Grinch*; or are just plain wrong, e.g. meaningless literal translations as in *A Murder of Crows – Umor vran*, *Legal Eagles – Pravniški orli*.

Živa Novak (2014) in her BA thesis adapted this classification to give an overview of English movie titles translated into Slovene and Italian from 2008 to 2013. The present authors have supplemented this with data for translations into German, Norwegian and Croatian, to get a fuller picture of the differences between movie titles translated into central and peripheral languages.

3.2.2 Translations of American movie titles from 2008 to 2013

Novak (ibid.) selected and found the movies from the chosen five-year period via the web portal Internet Movie Database (IMDb).[53] Because the data on this site are not always entirely accurate, the movie titles have been checked against other web portals as well (national distributors, cinemas etc.). This led to a basic corpus of 84 movie titles, which were divided into nine genre categories (action, adventure, comedy, crime, horror, epic/history, musicals, science fiction/fantasy and western/war) and analysed for the translation strategy used. The categorization is based on that of Limon (2012), but it has been somewhat adapted for our purposes. The movies were thus divided into three main groups:

1. literal translations of original titles, e.g. Eng. *The Boy in the Striped Pyjamas*, Ger. *Der Junge im gestreiften Pyjama*, It. *Il bambino con il pigiama a righe*, Nor. *Gutten i den stripete pysjamasen*, Slo. *Deček v črtasti pižami*, Cro. *Dječak u prugastoj pidžami*;
2. descriptive translations with various shifts in meaning from the original, including simplifications, explanations and unclear translations, e.g. Eng. *The Other Boleyn Girl*, Ger. *Die Schwester der Königin* (The queen's sister), It. *L'altra donna del re* (The king's other woman), Nor. *Søstrene Boleyn* (The Boleyn sisters), Slo. *Druga sestra Boleyn* (The other Boleyn sister), Cro. *Dvije sestre za kralja* (Two sisters for the king);
3. borrowings in which the other languages use the original titles, usually because they are the names of people or places, or because the translators in cooperation with other relevant actors decided to keep the original title; this category includes some titles where an explanation in the other language has been added to the English original title, e.g. *Nebraska* (preserved in all languages), *Kick-Ass* (the same in all languages except Cro.: *Štemer*, Thug), *After Earth* (only It. adds the subtitle *Dopo la fine del mondo*, After the end of the world).

Based on this classification, we present the data of Novak (2014) along with our supplements in Table 5.

53 The database can be accessed at http://www.imdb.com/?ref_=nv_home (accessed December 17, 2018).

Table 5: Results of the analysis of translation strategies in the translation of English movie titles.

Language	Translation strategy		
	Literal	Descriptive	Borrowed
German	14	26	44
Italian	17	20	47
Norwegian	6	2	76
Slovene	48	26	10
Croatian	42	26	16

We can spot certain tendencies in the translation strategies used. The selected languages include one central language (German), one semi-peripheral one (Italian) and three peripheral ones (Norwegian, Croatian and Slovene). Table 5 clearly shows the more central languages (German and Italian) to be more similar to each other than the three peripheral ones. Quoting the English original title is the predominant strategy in German (52%) and Italian (56%). If the titles are translated, they are more frequently translated descriptively (German: 31%, Italian: 24%) – that is, more or less freely, with additions, simplifications or other changes – than literally (German: 17%, Italian: 20%). This means that in these languages we most often find two extremes: either the title is in the original language and the reader/viewer is expected to know the source (hyper-)central culture and language well enough not to need the title translated, or the title is translated with domesticating strategies and thus markedly adapted to the user.

On the other hand, two of the peripheral languages, Slovene and Croatian, also show a very similar pattern, dominated by literal translations (Slovene: 57%, Croatian: 50%). Far fewer titles are translated descriptively (31% in both), and there are relatively few borrowed titles (Slovene: 12%, Croatian: 19%). Characteristic of these languages, then, are movie-title translations that are very close to the original and strive to preserve all the meaning components of the original. Due to their source orientation, such translations often have an foreignizing effect on the viewer, even if the latter can understand them thanks to the ubiquitous presence of the hyper-central source culture.

Somewhat surprising, on the other hand, is the case of Norweginan, a peripheral language with a translation policy on movie titles that apparently differs significantly from that in Slovenia or Croatia; it more closely resembles that of Italian and German-speaking countries, but is even more extreme. The vast majority (91%) of movies kept their original English title. Only in four of these 76 cases where the original language was used, was some explanatory addition made in

Norwegian, e.g. *True Grit – et ekte mannfolk* (True Grit – a real man). Only 7% of the titles were translated literally and 2% descriptively. The reason why English original titles are so generally preserved lies partly in a history of using such titles that started slowly in the 1950s (Johansson and Graedler 2005: 193), and partly in the points made by Jarle Namtvedt, a representative of Norwegian movie distributors (Ellingsen and Grimen 2014): that Norwegians simply speak English well, that movies are coming faster, and that people look them up on the web, where they find the English titles. In the distributor's view, movie posters with Norwegian titles might just confuse them out of going to the cinema. He also added that Norwegian movie distributors do not worry about the lack of translation stunting the development of the Norwegian language: "After all, we do still translate [i.e., subtitle] the movies. It's only the title on the poster and what happens before the movie starts that isn't translated. I don't think we'll ever get to a point where Norwegian distributors decide that we'll stop translating our movies because Norwegians know English" (ibid.). J. K. Hognestad, a linguist at the University of Stavanger, agreed that the non-translation of movie titles did not endanger the existence of Norwegian:[54] "Norwegian is doing well," he said. "Getting elements from other languages is something that has always happened and that happens to all languages." He nevertheless thought there were good reasons to keep translating movie titles into Norwegian, and mentioned cases that figured as exceptions in our analysis as well, namely cases where a movie was based on a book already translated into Norwegian.[55] Like Namtvedt, Hognestad did not expect subtitles to ever disappear from foreign movies in Norway: "Very few Norwegians have the English skills to free themselves from subtitling, despite their bluster." (ibid.)

Our analysis, then, partly confirms our hypothesis that central and semi-peripheral languages will more often keep the (hyper-central) original movie title, or else translate it descriptively, whereas the reverse is the case for peripheral ones. The exception among peripheral languages is Norway, where the distributors opt to borrow English titles to an even greater extent than in more central cultures, even to the point of rendering titles from other languages in English on posters and promotional materials.

54 Interestingly, Hognestad saw more fateful changes happening in other areas of language policy. He mentioned the oil industry and higher education. As we will see in the following, the point about education also applies to language policy in Slovenia.

55 The other two cases in which movie titles are translated in Norway are children's movies and movies that are not originally titled in English – although Norwegian movie posters sometimes even give English titles to movies made in other languages (thus for instance the poster for *Loin des hommes*, a French movie from 2015, has the English title *Far from Men*).

3.3 THE TRANSFER OF CULTURE-SPECIFIC ELEMENTS IN THE NORWEGIAN NOVEL *REDBREAST* INTO ENGLISH, GERMAN AND SLOVENE

This study deals with a literary text, the Norwegian novel *Redbreast*, with particular regard to culture-bound elements and their translation from a peripheral language (Norwegian) into a hyper-central one (English), a central one (German), and a peripheral one (Slovene). We were especially interested in what happens when realia characteristic of a source culture with relatively few speakers are transferred into a different, (hyper-)central culture (Bachleitner and Wolf 2010: 16–17; Heilbron 2000: 12), here the English and German ones, compared with what happens when they are transferred into a smaller, peripheral language like Slovene.[56]

Our study focused on the following questions: To what extent does the linguistic and cultural environment in which the target text (the translation) is embedded, influence possible changes from the source text? Are the translations adapted, and in what way? Further, what strategies have been used to translate into the respective target languages? How do individual translation solutions affect the understanding of the target text and its reception among the target readership? We also looked at the parts of the text that might cause the translators difficulty because they were written in dialect, as well as the use of foreign (non-Norwegian) languages in the original and in the translation, particularly to see how and where the target text reflects cultural conventions.

3.3.1 The author and his translators

The following study is based on an analysis of Jo Nesbø's novel *Rødstrupe* (Eng. *The Redbreast*, Ger. *Rotkehlchen*, Slo. *Taščica*). It is the third novel in a series of crime novels with police inspector Harry Hole as their central character. Hole is a sharp-witted, charming and capable middle-aged policeman with a drinking problem and bouts of depression. Nesbø's bestsellers follow Hole's investigations of brutal murders. The plot is by now familiar to Nesbø's loyal fans: as an unpredictable killer strikes fear, playing cat and mouse with the police, the tension builds, culminating in a dramatic and unexpected twist ending (Štaudohar 2012).

Already Nesbø's first book made him one of the most popular Norwegian writers. His literary debut, the novel *Flaggermusmannen* (1997; Slo. *Netopir*, Eng.

56 While Slovene has around two million speakers, Norwegian – or the two Norwegian languages Bokmål and Nynorsk (see Chapter 2, and further see Braunmüller 1991: 146–169) – is used by around five million native speakers.

The Bat, Ger. *Fledermausmann*) was awarded a prestigious Scandinavian prize for best crime novel (the Riverton Prize; Stöcker 2011). He shot to fame alongside "Scandi-crime" household names like Liza Marklund, Henning Mankell and Anne Holt overnight. His international breakthrough came with *Redbreast* (2000), which received that year's Norwegian booksellers' award. From 1997 to 2017, the bestselling Norwegian writer published a total of eleven Harry Hole novels entrusting his protagonist with complicated investigations of seemingly unsolvable cases. Nesbø is today Norway's most successful writer; his books have been translated into 17 languages (ibid.). All the Harry Hole novels have been translated into both English, German, and Slovene; in Slovene we also have three of Nesbø's novels for children.

The plot of Harry Hole's third case in the series, set in Oslo, is at first blush deceptively simple and uncomplicated. Crime inspector Hole is transferred to the state security service, where he learns that a special weapon from South Africa has found its way to Norway. Hole's investigation soon finds that the buyer is an old man. The tracks lead to a group of Norwegian collaborators fighting for the Nazis during World War II. The title *Redbreast* refers to the nickname given to one of these front-line fighters for his throat-cutting skills. Hole soon suspects that they are plotting an attack on the king, but there are many potential perpetrators – both aging Quislings and neo-Nazis. The plot unfolds on two levels, in two time periods: during World War II and at the start of the 21st century, and in varied settings from Norway via Austria to the Russian front and South Africa.

The novel poses a considerable challenge to the translator. Not only is it thematically tightly tied to Norwegian history, which the non-Norwegian reader will not know well, but it also includes various other cultures and subcultures (including the above-mentioned settings plus Oslo's neo-Nazis and Pakistani community), each with their own characteristics to be transferred into the target languages.

The novel *Redbreast* was Nesbø's first work to be translated into Slovene. It was translated by Darko Čuden in 2009 and published by the Didakta publishing house. The German translation by Günther Frauenlob was published in 2004 by Ullstein Taschenbuch Verlag, followed two years later by the English version translated by Don Bartlett and published by Harvill Secker.

A closer look at the translators reveals the following: The first working language of the Slovene translator, who has a position at the Department of German, Dutch and Scandinavian at the Faculty of Arts in Ljubljana, is German, and his main Scandinavian language is Danish. He learned Norwegian during extended study trips to Norway (summer schools in Norwegian language and culture).[57]

57 Darko Čuden translated three Nesbø novels into Slovene. In an informal conversation, he informed us that the translation of *Snowman* had been entrusted to another translator, who had not translated from Norwegian, but indirectly via English. A closer examination would likely find some non-negligible differences from the original as a result.

The English translator, too, learned Norwegian so to speak in passing, as did the German translator, who has since become Nesbø's regular translator. The English translator, Don Bartlett, studied German, French and English, and is a graduate of German-English translation. He worked as a teacher in Germany and Denmark, and picked up his first Scandinavian language, Danish, just by listening and conversation. Bartlett described it in an interview as "real-life learning" that he enjoyed very much. Along with Danish, he also started learning Norwegian and Swedish, traveled in Scandinavia every year, and also studied Norwegian literature in depth (Smith 2014). The German translator, Günther Frauenlob, discovered his passion for Norway while studying geography in Freiburg. He originally learned Norwegian to communicate more easily on vacation trips. He read a great deal of Norwegian literature, he says, and started wondering why such good books were not translated into German, so he looked for a publisher and tried his hand at translating (Bargon 2012).

3.3.2 The translations: a macro-level view

In our study, we focused on those chapters of *Redbreast* where different cultures meet (chapters 6, 7, 24, 26, 34, 38, 39 and 43). We chose excerpts with particularly many Norwegian cultural references or other culture-specific elements – names of products, places, holidays, media – compared with the rest of the novel.

It was already clear at first sight on the macro level that the text had been reorganized and that there were numerous omissions in the target texts compared with the source text. In the Norwegian original, the novel carries an epitaph from *Kristuslegender* (Legends of Christ) by the Swedish writer Selma Lagerlöf. In the Slovene version, the quote is found at the end of the book.[58] The same thing does not happen in the German or English translation, but there are other, significant differences in both these translations into (hyper-)central languages. For one thing, the English translator has arranged the text into 107 chapters, as against 118 in the original.

The source text is written in one of the two written Norwegian languages, Bokmål, but includes variants such as dialects, sociolects from Oslo and youth slang. All these language variants disappear in all three translations.

It is also interesting to look at the parts of the text that were written in foreign languages in the source text. As one might expect, German and English phrases in the original are not italicized or otherwise marked in the German and English

58 This probably happened for purely pragmatic reasons. Lagerlöf's text was translated in the late 1920s by Marija Kmet (1891–1974). The text was clearly added to the book just before it went to the printer's.

translations. We also expected both translators to try to improve the German and English bits in the target text – that is, to turn them into standard written German or English. We were surprised, however, to find that both translators took an even more purist approach. The English translator did not only "improve" and correct the English parts (Nor. *Show me the way, kammerat*, Eng. *Show me the way to go, comrade*), but the German parts as well (Nor. *Fehl! Ich Sciesse!*, Eng. *Falsch! Ich schieße!*). The German translator, too, kept correcting the foreign phrases of the original both in German (Nor. *So … Er ist hinüber zu den Rusen Geflohen?*, Ger. *So … er hat sich also zu den Rusen abgesetzt?*) and in English (Nor. *Say again?*, Eng. *Say that again?*, Slo. *Say again?*, Ger. *Say it again!*) – not always to the better. The two translators did not only make corrections in places where English and German were spoken by protagonists who were native speakers of the language in question, but also when they were spoken by Norwegians whose language errors formed part of the characterization.

In contrast to the German and English translators, the Slovene translator opted for an entirely different strategy. He remained faithful to the source text and did not try to correct or improve the parts in German and English. In this respect, the only thing the three translators had in common was that none of them tried to correct and improve the English spoken by South African protagonists in the novel. In the corpus we examined, we only found one single instance where the English translator rendered the local expression "Understand-izzit" (Nesbø 2000: 150) in standard English as "Is that right?" (Nesbø 2006: 211).

3.3.3 Realia in the novel *Redbreast*

Realia (Florin 1993: 122–128),[59] "cultural words" (Newmark 1988: 132–150) or culture-specific expressions convey national identity, national or ethnic affiliation and culture (Markstein 2006: 288) – the representatives of different cultures have diverse, culturally specific knowledge of foreign cultures. To successfully translate culture-specific concepts, it is essential to distance ourself from our own cultural environment and language to the extent that we no longer judge them as members of the group, but as impartial observers. In dealing with the culture-specific, then, we need to watch our own entanglement with a given interpretive pattern of culture and language, as well as to critically engage with the culture-bound elements of the other culture (Kadrić,

59 Florin's (1993) definition further unpacks the concept of the culturally specific. He characterizes realia as "words and combinations of words denoting objects and concepts characteristic of the way of life, the culture, the social and historical development of one nation and alien to another. Since they express local and/or historical color they have no exact equivalents in other languages. They cannot be translated in a conventional way and they require a special approach." (ibid.: 123)

Kaindl, and Kaiser-Cooke 2010: 27–76). Here, too, we hypothesized that different solutions would arise in the translations into a hyper-central, central and peripheral language respectively.

The novel *Taščica* does not lack culture-specific elements. These refer above all to consumer society, media, entertainment (music and film) and holidays. In the following, therefore, we have divided the culture-bound elements into several groups. The groups of realia that we examined are: elements of global culture, elements of European culture, expressions connected with entertainment, and appellations in non-Norwegian languages.

3.3.3.1 Elements of global culture

Culture-specific elements that have become a part of global culture and are generally known in Europe include brand names (*Nike*), cigarettes (*Camel*) and movie titles like *Batman*, *The Bodyguard* and *Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas*. These were not translated in any of the target texts analysed. The translators always took over the title that was used in the Norwegian original; the sole exception, probably because it is an older movie, is *The Godfather* (Nesbø 2006: 156). In this case, the Norwegian original uses the Norwegian title *Gudfaren* (Nesbø 2000: 114), and the Slovene translator has opted for the established translation *Boter* (Nesbø 2009: 33); the German translator, on the other hand, skipped this information and only explained to the target reader – maybe assuming them not to be familiar with films like *The Godfather* anymore – that Harry Hole was looking at an old movie poster (Nesbø 2004: 33). As concerns that global byword for a soft-drink, *Coca-Cola*, all three translators found it necessary to use the appellation as a semi-loan word, respecting the orthographic rules of their languages. Thus in Norwegian we have *en colaflaske*, in English *a bottle of Coke*, in Slovene *steklenica kokakole*, and in German *Colaflasche*.

3.3.3.2 Elements of European culture

The few cases we included in this group feature some very interesting translation solutions; their considerable mutual differences stem from varying familiarity with the source cultures from which the culture-specific expressions come.

The title of the Almodóvar movie *Todo sobre mi madre* has been translated into all the target languages except English. One might conclude that Don Bartlett has left the title in Spanish because he considers Almodóvar so much a part of

pop culture that no translation is needed; however, it might also be due to his familiarity with Spanish culture, as he also translates from Spanish into English (Smith 2014).

The next reference in the text is to the German actor Horst Tappert and his glasses.

Norwegian	English	Slovene	German
Meirik satte på seg Horst Tappert-brillene. (Nesbø 2000: 122)	Meirik put on his Oberinspektor Derrick glasses. (Nesbø 2006: 169)	Meirik si je nataknil očala Horsta Tapperta. (Nesbø 2009: 146)	Meirik setzte seine Horst-Tappert-Brille auf. (Nesbø 2004: 121)

As we see, only the English translator thought the name of *Oberinspektor* Derrick might be better known than the name of the actor who played him in the eponymous German crime series. The German translator had no problems. The Slovene translator had to take into account that Derrick had not been shown on Slovene television and would not be familiar to readers who did not follow German broadcasts.

All the older elements of European culture, such as the Hungarian folk dance *csárdás* or the *Stephansdom*, symbol of Vienna, were retained in quoted form in all translations, except in Slovene (one instance of literal translation, "Stephan's Cathedral"), which makes sense, considering Slovenes' historical ties to Vienna.

3.3.3.3 Entertainment: TV series, reality shows and music

In Norwegian and in all the translations, band names such as *Queen* are borrowed in English form, as is the title of the talkshow *The Oprah Winfrey Show*. Translating the title of the Norwegian reality show *Robinson-ekspedisjonen* (The Robinson expedition) posed greater problems, as it was harder to find analogies in the target cultures.

The popular Norwegian reality show was first aired in 1999. It followed a format already known in Sweden and Denmark (where it had been very successful). The title recalls both Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* and its adaptation as the *The Swiss Family Robinson* (*Der Schweizerische Robinson*). The sixteen participants in the show are divided into two teams and have to survive on a desert island where they face numerous challenges. At the end of each episode, the viewers decide which participant has to leave the island, a device familiar from other reality shows like *Big*

Brother. This parallel may be the reason why the German and Slovene translators (the latter perhaps influenced by the former) opted for an analogical translation and simply called the Norwegian reality show *Big Brother* – which Harry Hole certainly would *not* have watched on the Norwegian TV 3 channel (ibid.: 38) at the time Nesbø wrote *Redbreast*, as the show had its first Norwegian run in 2001. A more fitting translation was available to the Slovene translator, namely *Survivor*, the title under which the Norwegian "Robinson" reality show was shown in Slovenia and some other countries.

Norwegian	English	Slovene	German
Harry tenkte at om han hadde vært deltager på **Robinson-ekspedisjonen** hadde det ikke tatt mer enn en dag før alle hadde merket hans dårlige karma og sendt ham hjem etter første rådsmøte. (Nesbø 2000: 36)	If he had been a contestant on Swedish TV's ***The Robinson Expedition***, Harry thought, it would have taken them no more than a day to notice his bad karma and send him home. (Nesbø 2006: 43)	Harry je pomislil, da če bi sodeloval pri **Big Brotherju**, ne bi trajalo več kot en dan, preden bi vsi opazili njegovo slabo karmo in bi ga po prvem posvetovalnem sestanku poslali domov. (Nesbø 2009: 38)	Als Teilnehmer von **Big Brother** hätte er sicher schlechte Karten gehabt, schoss es Harry durch den Kopf. (Nesbø 2004: 37)

3.3.3.4 Norway-specific elements

The strategies for translating culture-specific elements typical of Norwegian culture differ considerably between the target texts (translations). The English translator only rarely translates realia tied to Norway, and rarely explains or comments, so there are few clarifications and expansions. For example, he uses the brand name "Go'morn" without any explanation that it refers to yoghurt. Inconsistently, however, in connection with a plastic shopping bag from a chain store named KIWI ("Kiwi-plastpose") there follows a clarification, that is, an expansion: "a supermarket bag he had taken from Kiwi". In the latter case, the Slovene translator opted for a generalization, and did not mention the Kiwi grocery-store chain, but simply refers to a supermarket, while the German translator found this information quite redundant and even changed the meaning by writing that Harry Hole had brought the plastic shopping bag with him from home.

Norwegian	English	Slovene	German
Men det lille som var hans personlige eiendeler, hadde fått plass i **den Kiwi-plastposen** han hadde hatt med seg hjem dagen før.	But the little that constituted his personal effects found enough room in the supermarket carrier bag he had taken from **Kiwi** the day before.	Ampak tisto malo, kar je bilo osebnih stvari, je našlo prostor v plastični vrečki, ki jo je dan prej prinesel domov iz **supermarketa**.	Doch seine wenigen persönlichen Sachen hatten in der einen Plastiktüte Platz gefunden, die **er tags zuvor von zu Hause mitgenommen hatte**.
(Nesbø 2000: 113)	(Nesbø 2006: 155)	(Nesbø 2009: 133)	(Nesbø 2004: 121)

Street names largely remain unchanged in all three translations, with a single exception: *Majorstua* for unclear reasons becomes *Majorstuen*, a more conservative or formal Norwegian variant of the same name, in all target texts.

Most geographical names, too, are written the same in the English translation as they are in the Norwegian original. Only in the case of *Østlandet* does the translator add an explanation that this is a region. Even *Nasjonal Samling*, the name of the Norwegian Nazi party led by the collaborator Vidkun Quisling from 1933 to 1945, remains unchanged in the English translation – that is, left in Norwegian, with no clarification or expansion. We may conclude that the translator found it sufficiently clear that this was a Nazi-oriented political entity since Quisling was mentioned. The same goes for all shops, restaurants, newspapers and names of foods and drinks in the English target text. The translator opts to transfer Norwegian words into English and does not add explanations. For unknown reasons, however, there is one exception. He renames the Norwegian chain of fitness centers from *SATS* to *FOCUS gym* (Nesbø 2006: 276), which a web search reveals to be a gym chain familiar in Great Britain and Australia.

The German translator, as already indicated, often neutralizes Norwegian culture-specific elements. In the German target text, the Norwegian *Go'morn-yoghurt* becomes a "pot of yoghurt" (*Yogurtbecher*), the daily *Dagsavisen* is generalized to "newspaper" (*Zeitung*), and the women's magazine *Kvinner & Klær* becomes "the most recent women's magazine" (*die neueste Frauenzeitschrift*). The German translator leaves geographical names in the form they appear in the Norwegian original but translates the culture-specific name of the Nazi party into German as *Nationale Sammlung* (Nesbø 2004: 124), which also happens in the Slovene translation, where it is called *Narodni zbor* (Nesbø 2009: 136). Names of shops and restaurants, too, are either transferred from Norwegian into the German

target text, or they are completely neutralized; that is, the name is omitted and replaced by a generalization, e.g. *ein Restaurant*.

The Slovene translator has picked his own strategy. Everything that remains untranslated or neutralized in English and German is clarified, explained or translated in the Slovene one. Thus the pot of yoghurt becomes "zelen jogurtov lonček *Br jutr*" ("a green pot of *Br jutr* yoghurt"), and the women's magazine becomes *Ženske in Moda* ("Women and Fashion"). There are also translations of bar names, thus *Tørst* becomes *Žeja* ("Thirst"). Despite the translator's efforts to make an understandable, domesticated translation, it should be pointed out that such solutions can sometimes confuse the target reader more than a Norwegian name with a short clarification or expansion would have done. The translator is rather inconsistent when it comes to translating street names. He partly translates them and partly keeps the original names, and the underlying system or strategy is hard to spot or define. The names of Norwegian restaurants have mostly been translated, but at times the transfer into Slovene fails to respect Slovene naming norms, e.g. *Dennisov kebab* ("Dennis's kebab") (ibid.: 34) for the original's *Dennis kebab* (Nesbø 2000: 17), where the translator might have avoided the possessive by writing *Kebab pri Dennisu* ("Kebab at Dennis's") or *Kebab Dennis*.

A final, slightly funny case is the mention of the Norwegian national day on the 17th of May, when Norwegians celebrate the adoption of their constitution at Eidsvoll in 1814. The 17th of May is not only the most important Norwegian holiday, but also an important plot point in *Redbreast* – and one that is clearly dear to Nesbø, who also foregrounds the 17th of May in his children's book *Doctor Proctor's Fart Powder*.

Only the German translator researched what the 17th of May means to Norwegians well enough to call it *Nationalfeiertag*, while the English translator called it "Independence Day", perhaps under the influence of the American holiday – Norwegians never use that name for their holiday. The Slovene translator slipped up in a different way: He rightly translated the 17th of May as *državni praznik* ("national holiday") but moved it up to the 7th of May (Nesbø 2009: 145), something the proofreader could not correct without having the original at hand. All of this illustrates the difficulty of translating peripheral languages in isolation, which we touched on in Chapter 2; something similar probably could not have happened to the American 4th of July or the French 14th of July, since some other participant in the translation process would have noticed and corrected the error.

Norwegian	English	Slovene	German
De skriver at det er en hån mot vertslandet å feire noe annet enn **nasjonaldagen** på den **syttende**.	They write that it is an insult to your host country to celebrate anything other than **Norwegian Independence Day** on **17 May**.	Pišejo, da se **sedmega** praznuje samo **državni praznik**.	Sie schreiben, es sei ein Hohn für das Gastland, am **17. Mai** etwas anderes als den **Nationalfeiertag** zu feiern.
(Nesbø 2000: 122)	(Nesbø 2006: 169)	(Nesbø 2009: 146)	(Nesbø 2004: 131)

3.3.4 Findings

The analysis shows that the German and English translations (i.e. the translations into the hyper-central and the central language) often take the target reader's expectations into account where culture-bound elements in the text are concerned. Despite its historical tendency (in the Romantic period) toward "faithful" translation, the status of German as a central language today makes for translation strategies that accord well with what Heilbron (2010: 6) says about central languages: the more central the place occupied by the target language, the more subordinated are the translation norms to the criteria, norms and rules of the target language – that is, the more domesticated are the translations. In our case, we nevertheless have to keep in mind that, while the results are directly connected with the relationship between central and peripheral languages, we also must not forget the genre of the novel. Readers of genre fiction have different expectations from those who read different genres (e.g. avant-garde or post-modern texts). If we read a crime novel, we are above all looking forward to a thrilling plot, and the cultural elements and the characteristics of the source culture interest us rather less than they might otherwise do. This justifies an easier-to-understand, more target-oriented translation, even at the cost of omission or domestication of culture-specific elements (Gelder 2004; Zlatnar Moe and Žigon 2015).

Despite a few unusual solutions in the Slovene translation (e.g. in the names of newspapers, bars and various products), the Slovene target text exhibits the same tendencies we observe in other peripheral languages towards taking the source culture into account, and successfully transfers Norwegian culture-specific elements into Slovene. The translator, then, takes the source culture into account and transfers it into a foreignizing translation. This is even clearer in the translations of German and English (South African) words inserted into the text. The Slovene translator usually brings them into the target text in quoted form, even though he might have opted

for established and frequently used Slovene expressions, which however would not have helped create narrative tension and evoke the atmosphere of South Africa.

As expected, we detected a lack of familiarity with the Norwegian source culture in the translations. All the translators have problems with Norway's only secular national holiday, whether with the name or with the date. Moreover, none of the target texts provides any additional explanation of the role of the Nazi organization in Norway in World War II, something that would no doubt have helped the target reader understand the novel. The reason is probably that Norwegian is not the first (or even the second) working language of any of the translators, a fact that is also connected with the relatively few native speakers of Norwegian and the peripheral role of Norwegian culture in the world culture system.

We may conclude that, as with other categories (like the syntactical and lexical ones), the Slovene translation is source-oriented also with regard to culture-bound elements. It retains Norwegian culture-specific elements and transfers them into the translation. The two translations into (hyper-)central languages, German and English, on the other hand, either neutralize or domesticate the Norwegian elements.

Finally, it is interesting to note that some solutions in the Slovene translation show similarities with the German ones, deviating from the source language. This confirms the observation that indirect translation – here via German – takes place at least to some extent in peripheral cultures (languages), as has also been noted more generally by Heilbron (1999) and Ringmar (2006).

3.4 THE TRANSFER OF CULTURE-SPECIFIC ELEMENTS IN THE SWEDISH NOVEL *THE HUNDRED-YEAR-OLD* INTO ENGLISH AND SLOVENE

The final case study deals with the transfer of culture-specific elements in the novel *The Hundred-Year-Old Man Who Climbed Out of the Window and Disappeared* by Jonas Jonasson into English and Slovene, as discussed by Vida Sebastian in her MA thesis (Sebastian 2014). This time we especially focus on the question whether translation from a semi-peripheral language, Swedish, gives rise to different translation strategies than translation from a peripheral language, Norwegian (cf. Chapter 3.3), both into a peripheral language, Slovene, and a hyper-central one, English (Bachleitner and Wolf 2010: 16–17; Heilbron 2000: 12). The English translation studied, published by the British publisher Hesperus Press, has a British target reader, not an American one; the American edition was published by Hyperion Books.

Though the novel includes more culture-specific elements than only those tied to Swedish culture (these are actually few in number), the study also examines all elements related to other cultures. Particularly interesting is the question when and where generalizations, neutralizations or omissions are used (Newmark 1988: 132–150) and whether the translators opt for a strategy that takes all the culture-specific elements into account and transfers them into the target language, regardless of the culture they belong to.

The frame story of the novel is set in present-day Sweden. It is complemented with chapters describing the life of the hundred-year-old, where the author ties in historical events of the 20th century. Allan Karlsson, a nursing-home resident in a small Swedish town west of Stockholm, who turns 100 years old in early May 2005, decides to avoid the celebration, climbs out the window of his ground-floor room and runs away. For his handful of money he buys a bus ticket to an arbitrary destination. He also steals a suitcase full of money from a suspicious-looking young man. On his journey he meets various characters, some of whom die in comical and absurd circumstances. In the end the whole crowd, including the inspector investigating this unusual case, goes off to Bali. In parallel with the present, we also learn the hundred-year-old's life story, which has taken him from the village of his birth into the Spanish Civil War, the United States and China, where he joined the anti-communist struggle. Heading back to Sweden across the Himalayas he ended up in an Iranian secret police jail, later found himself a Siberian camp inmate, fled the Gulag, stayed in North Korea and went to Bali before going to Russia as an American spy. Finally returning to Sweden, he ended up in a nursing home against his will. On his unusual journey, the hundred-year-old met numerous world leaders including General Franco, Roosevelt, Truman, Johnson, Mao Zedong, Stalin, Charles De Gaulle and Winston Churchill.

The Swedish title of Jonas Jonasson's novel, which appeared in 2010, is *Hundraåringen som klev ut genom fönstret och försvann*; the English version *The Hundred-Year-Old Man Who Climbed Out of the Window and Disappeared*, translated by Rod Bradbury, was published in London in 2012, while the Slovene version *Stoletnik, ki je zlezel skozi okno in izginil*, translated by Nada Grošelj, was published the following year by Mladinska knjiga.

3.4.1 The author and his translators

Jonas Jonasson (1962) began his career as a journalist. After managing a successful media company, he moved to the Swedish island of Gotland, where he lives a quiet, secluded life. His first novel, *The Hundred-Year-Old*, was a major success both in Sweden, where it was also filmed, and abroad. With more than

600,000 copies sold, it was Sweden's best-selling novel in 2010; in 2012, the German translation topped *Spiegel's* bestseller list for weeks. The novel has been translated into more than 30 languages and has become an international success above all due to the author's lighthearted style and unique humor (Sebastian 2014: 39).

The English translator, Rod Bradbury, encountered the Swedish language as a student and became so enthused with the culture that he moved to Sweden. As he stated in an interview for the Waterstone booksellers,[60] he started translating literature without any formal education in the field. He translates both fiction and non-fiction.

The Slovene translator, Nada Grošelj, studied English and Latin and obtained her Ph.D. in linguistics. She works as an independent translator and is a member of the Slovenian Association of Literary Translators. She translates literary works as well as works on literary theory, mythology, philosophy and theology from English, Latin and Swedish into Slovene and from Slovene into English. She received a Young Translator award in 2007 and the Sovre Prize in 2011. From Swedish she has so far translated some of Astrid Lindgren's works, most recently *Pika Nogavička* (Pippi Longstocking), which had previously only been indirectly translated into Slovene via German, as well as *Brata Levjesrčna* (The Brothers Lionheart) and *Detektivski mojster Blomkvist* (Master Detective: A Kalle Blomkvist Mystery) (ibid.: 41).

3.4.2 The translations into English and Slovene on the macro level

The analysis comprised a selection of 200 excerpts from the novel with culture-specific elements. Already at first blush, a comparison of the original with the English and Slovene translations shows that more omissions and shifts take place in translation into a hyper-central language than into a peripheral language.

In the English translation, the translator makes use of omissions – sometimes omitting entire paragraphs – when he feels that the passage is not of key importance for understanding the context. In the below example (ibid.: 44), a passage in which the author poetically describes the Yangtze River is omitted in the English version but not in the Slovene.

60 The interview was available online at http://www.waterstones.com/blog/2014/04/being-a-translator/ (accessed 10 September 2015, now defunct).

Swedish	English	Slovene
Yangzijiang är inte vilken vattensamling som helst. Floden sträcker sig hundratals mil och är på sina ställen kilometerbred. Dessutom är den långt in i landet djup nog för fartyg på tusentals ton.	[omission]	**Reka Jangcekjang ni kar tako. Razteza se čez tisoče kilometrov in je ponekod več kilometrov široka. Za nameček postane v srcu celine tako globoka, da lahko plujejo po njej večtisočtonske ladje.**
Vacker är den också, där den ringlar sig genom det kinesiska landskapet, förbi städer, åkermark och mellan branta klippor.		**Pa še lepa je, ko se vije skozi kitajsko pokrajino, mimo mest in polj, med strmimi pečinami.**
Det var med flodbåt som Allan Karlsson och styrkan om tjugo man ur Song Meilings livvakt begav sig i riktning Sichuan […] (Jonasson 2010: 136–137)	Allan Karlsson and a force of twenty men from Soong Mayling's bodyguard travelled on the Yangtze by riverboat in the direction of Sichuan […] (Jonasson 2012: 132)	Z rečno ladjo so se odpravili proti Sečuanu tudi Allan Karlsson in dvajseterica telesnih stražarjev Song Meiling […] (Jonasson 2013: 165–166)

Unexplained omissions also occur when the English translator judges the incident described unimportant. Such is for example the case of the comic quarrel at the Russian–North Korean border between the two guards, one drunk and one sober, over whether Allan and his companion had changed clothes a few days before while fleeing from Siberia into Korea (Sebastian 2014: 44–45).

Swedish	English	Slovene
Av den yttre vakten fick han veta att en marskalk Meretskov med adjutant äskat möte med premiärminister Kim Il Sung, och fått audiens hos premiärministerns närmaste mans närmaste man.	The guards at the outer defence ring told him that a Marshal Meretskov with aide had asked for a meeting with Prime Minister Kim Il Sung, and been given an audience with the prime minister's second-in-command.	Od stražarja na zunanjem obrambnem krogu je zvedel, da je neki maršal Mereckov z adjutantom zaprosil za srečanje z ministrskim predsednikom Kim Il Sungom in da ga je sprejel namestnik predsednikovega namestnika.
Därpå hade de båda vakterna börjat gräla. Om bara marskalk Meretskov förstått koreanska skulle han ha hört den ena vakten säga att han förstått att det var något lurt med de där två och att de visst hade bytt kläder med varandra, medan kollegan svarat att om den andre någon gång kunnat hålla sig nykter efter klockan tio på morgonen så kanske det gått att börja lita på honom. Därefter kallade vakt ett och två varandra för tjockskalle medan marskalk Meretskov med adjutant fortsatte in mot Pyongyang. (Jonasson 2010: 272)	[Omission] Marshal Meretskov and his aide continued on their way towards Pyongyang. (Jonasson 2012: 267)	**Zatem pa sta si stražarja skočila v lase. Ko bi maršal Mereckov razumel korejsko, bi slišal enega reči, da je na tistih dveh takoj opazil nekaj sumljivega in da sta res zamenjala oblačila, medtem ko je kolega odgovoril, da mu bo mogoče kdo začel verjeti, če bo kdaj ostal trezen dlje kot do desetih zjutraj. Nato sta se prvi in drugi stražar ozmerjala z butcem, medtem ko** se je maršal Mereckov z adjutantom odpeljal proti Pjongjangu. (Jonasson 2013: 334)

The English translation several times omits passages or passages of internal monologue, which the translator probably did not find essential for the story, or with noticeable political connotations – in the case below (Sebastian 2014: 45), the Swedish social democrats are mentioned.

Swedish	English	Slovene
Doktor Eklund var ju missnöjd över att statsministern lagt sig i Eklunds rekryteringsverksamhet, **det här var något *vetenskapen* hade att sköta, inte politikerna – och definitivt inte socialdemokratiska dito!**	Dr Eklund was unhappy with the way the prime minister had interfered with his recruiting process.	Doktor Eklund je bil nezadovoljen, da se je premier vtaknil v njegovo kadrovanje. **Za ta primer so bili pristojni *znanstveniki*, ne pa politiki – in še zlasti ne socialdemokrati!**
Faktum var att doktor Eklund hunnit med att dryfta problemet med överbefälhavaren över telefon och hade dennes moraliska stöd i ryggen. Det vill säga om mannen som statsministern sänt över inte höll måttet, då skulle han heller inte anställas. Punkt slut!	[omission]	**Svojo težavo je še utegnil pretresti po telefonu z vrhovnim poveljnikom in dobil njegovo moralno podporo. Skratka, če človek, ki mu ga pošilja premier, ne bo ustrezal merilom, ne bo dobil mesta. Tako pa pika!**
Allan å sin sida kände de negativa vågorna i rummet […] (Jonasson 2010: 190)	And Allan, for his part, felt the negative vibe in the room […] (Jonasson 2012: 186)	Allan je v sobi začutil negativne valove […] (Jonasson 2013: 233)

While the above cases do not in principle involve changes in meaning, the following example shows that omission and condensation in the English translation also does lead to shifts in meaning. In English we read that Allan Karlsson left tracks "everywhere", which is a generalization that does not mean the same as "everywhere in the Mercedes and that place in Småland" where he stayed (Sebastian 2014: 46).

Swedish	English	Slovene
När det gällde Karlsson fanns ju den fantastiska uppfinningen dna att ta till. Sådant hade förstås gubben spridit omkring sig överallt **i Mercedesen och på det där stället i Småland.** (Jonasson 2010: 196)	As far as Karlsson was concerned, they now had the fantastic discovery of DNA to make use of. The old man would of course have spread it around everywhere. (Jonasson 2012: 192)	Kar zadeva Karlssona, pa lahko posežejo po fantastičnem odkritju DNK, ki jo je stari, jasno, raztrosil povsod **po mercedesu in po smålandski kmetiji.** (Jonasson 2013: 239–240)

Besides omissions, the English translator sometimes also adds information that is not always needed and has not been added in the Slovene translation. To the club name *The Violence*, which appears in English in the Swedish original, he adds: "He was the one who had chosen the name – The Violence, **in English, not Swedish**" (Jonasson 2012: 82). He also intervenes in the text in other places even though there is no compensation and even the connection with the context is not very clear. Such is the case of the passage discussing what shock caused Brezhnev's death, where the translator adds that Reagan only revealed certain information much later (Sebastian 2014: 47).

Swedish	English	Slovene
Om det var av chock över Amerikas nya militära offensiv, eller om det var något annat går inte att säga, men den 10 november 1982 dog i alla fall Brezjnev i en hjärtattack. (Jonasson 2010: 369)	Whether it was from the shock over the new secret American military plans (**Reagan wouldn't even tell the American people about it until 23rd March 1983**), or for some other reason, one can't say, but on 10th November 1982, Brezhnev died of a heart attack. (Jonasson 2012: 364)	Ali je bil kriv pretres ob novi ameriški vojaški ofenzivi ali kaj drugega, ni mogoče reči, toda 10. novembra 1982 je Brežnjev vsekakor umrl za srčnim napadom. (Jonasson 2013: 454–455)

These examples show that the translator did not follow a clear strategy when omitting words, phrases, sentences or even paragraphs. We may conclude that the genre of the novel plays an important role; it aims to entertain, and therefore the

English translator foregrounds the story. Behind the translation solutions there probably also lies an editorial policy more concerned with the understanding of the plot than with preserving features of style. Moreover, the translation clearly respects the requirements of the target reader and adapts to the target culture, in accordance with the hyper-central position of English on the hierarchical language ladder.

In contrast to the English translation, the Slovene one makes neither omissions nor additions, nor are there shifts of meaning in the text. This all goes to show that Slovene, as a peripheral language, behaves similarly in translation from a semi-peripheral language like Swedish (as ranked by Heilbron) as in translation from a peripheral language like Norwegian.

3.4.3 Realia in *The Hundred-Year-Old*

Of the culture-specific elements we analysed in the novel, it is particularly interesting to look at Swedish and other proper names, both of persons, objects and places, which are bearers of cultural, social, historical and geographical meaning (Salnikow 1995: 101), as well as names for food and drinks and various cultural concepts.

Proper names exhibit the same tendency we have seen before: Omissions occur in English, while in the Slovene translation the translator keeps the names and transfers them into the target text. The below passage may serve as an illustration. It turns out that the English translation has left out the name of defense minister Per Albin Hansson. Hansson is not a household name in either Anglophone or Slovene culture, whereas the Swedes know him as a long-serving prime minister in the inter-war period. The English target text only keeps his function, and at the end of the passage it also omits his thought about the League of Nations (the forerunner to the United Nations). This is hardly surprising, considering the US never joined the League of Nations even though it was established on the initiative of Woodrow Wilson (Žigon and Udovič 2013: 28–29). However, this is not a side issue, as the League was important to Sweden, which was an active member at the beginning of the 1920s and supported the idea of close international cooperation. We also see that an explicit "King" has been added to the name of the Swedish king Gustav V. In the Slovene translation, Hansson's name is quoted from the original, while Gustaf has been Slovenized to Gustav in accordance with the conventional spelling of royal names (Sebastian 2014: 50).

Swedish	English	Slovene
Försvarsminister Per Albin Hansson hade efter världskriget dragit ner på anslagen till det militära, allt medan **Gustaf V** satt på slottet och gnisslade tänder. **Per Albin**, som var en analytiskt lagd man, resonerade som så att sett i backspegeln borde Sverige ha varit bättre rustat inför kriget än vad som varit fallet, men att det för den skull inte tjänade någonting till att rusta nu, tio år senare.	**The minister of defence**, in the aftermath of the First World War, had reduced the funds available to the military, while **King Gustaf V** sat in the palace gnashing his teeth. **The defence minister**, a man with an analytic bent, realised with hindsight that Sweden should have been better armed when the war broke out, but that didn't mean that there was any point in arming now, ten years later.	**Obrambni minister Per Albin Hansson** je po prvi svetovni vojni skrčil sredstva za vojsko, medtem ko je **Gustav V.** sedel na gradu in škripal z zobmi. **Per Albin**, analitično usmerjen mož, je namreč razmišljal takole: če pogledamo nazaj, bi morala biti Švedska pred vojno res bolje oborožena, ničemur pa ne bi služilo, da bi se oboroževala zdaj, deset let pozneje.
Nu fanns ju Nationernas förbund, dessutom. (Jonasson 2010: 73)	[omission] (Jonasson 2012: 71)	**Povrhu imamo zdaj Društvo narodov.** (Jonasson 2013: 88)

Several Swedish politicians have had their names omitted from the English translation, likely because the English translator thought them unfamiliar to the English-speaking (British) public and hence irrelevant for understanding the story. In the Slovene translation, their names have been preserved, but sometimes expanded on – in one place with a note (Jonasson 2013: 108) where the Slovene translator explains that Gunnar Sträng was the longest-serving Swedish finance minister in history (1955–1976).

In the case of brand names both translators, English and Slovene, usually opt for a descriptive translation (Sebastian 2014: 54–61). For example, the state-run Swedish store that sells alcoholic beverages with more than 3.5% alcohol is called *Systembolaget* (a proper noun that has become a common noun in Swedish). It is translated as *state-run liquor store* in English and *trgovina z žganimi pijačami* in Slovene, since a borrowing or calque of the name would not ring any bells with most English- or Slovene-speaking readers. The names of gas stations or stores that would be as familiar to the source readers as, say, Walmart in the US or Tesco in the UK?, have mostly been omitted in both translations. Their absence is not felt, since they are of marginal significance and have been replaced with descriptive translations like "service station" or "supermarket".

In the case of newspaper names, like the two main Swedish dailies (the liberal *Dagens Nyheter* and the more conservative *Svenska Dagbladet*), the translators opted to borrow the names and expand on them (ibid.: 57):

Swedish	English	Slovene
Och han fick genast bekräftelse på den saken då **Dagens Nyheter**s representant kikade upp över sina läsglasögon […]	And that impression was immediately confirmed when the representative of **the major national *Dagens Nyheter*** peered over his reading glasses […]	In njegov vtis se je jadrno potrdil, ko je predstavnik **nacionalnega časopisa *Dagens Nyheter*** poškilil čez svoja bralna očala […]
(Jonasson 2010: 318–319)	(Jonasson 2012: 313)	(Jonasson 2013: 390–391)

In the case of less important or local newspapers, the Slovene translation consistently retains the names, but the English one only does so for a few. *Svenska Dagbladet* has been consistently omitted in the English translation. As for the tabloid press, the translator has for unknown reasons retained only one of the two newspaper names that appear: He consistently omits *Aftonbladet*, but Anglicizes *Expressen* to *Express*. When both papers are mentioned together in the text, the English translator replaces them with the descriptive translation *two big national dailies* (Sebastian 2014: 57).

In several places in the English translation we also note, interestingly, that the translator has resorted to omissions of cultural elements not connected with Swedish culture. He seems to seek to be less explicit than the original where it mentions the White House and Washington together (as the destination of vice-president Truman), but this also leads to a loss of meaning, since the White House is a symbol of the presidency (ibid.: 60).

Swedish	English	Slovene
President Roosevelts plötsliga frånfälle gjorde att vicepresidenten förstås bröt upp från den trevliga middagen med Allan och beordrade omedelbar transport till Washington **och Vita huset**.	The news of President Roosevelt's sudden demise meant that the vice president had to conclude the pleasant dinner with Allan and fly immediately to Washington. [omission]	Ob nenadni smrti predsednika Roosevelta se je podpredsednik seveda moral odtrgati od prijetne večerje z Allanom in naročiti takojšen prevoz v Washington **in Belo hišo**.
(Jonasson 2010: 128)	(Jonasson 2012: 124)	(Jonasson 2013: 155)

The English translation also consistently omits the names of national highways and local roads in Sweden, whereas the Slovene translation clarifies or expands on them. This matters because the road names are tied to the itinerary chosen by the protagonist. After omission, the second approach most frequently taken to geographical place names in English is generalization. Thus the place name Trollhättan is omitted and merged with the highway name E20 into the translation "on the main road" (Sebastian 2014: 60).

Few expressions in the novel are explicitly tied to Swedish traditional food and drink, as the novel is not set only in Sweden. The brand names of specifically Swedish foods and beverages are translated in a similar way to stores and gas stations: For beverages that are unfamiliar to the target readers, both translators have opted for a descriptive translation (e.g. for the *Pucko* chocolate milk and for all alcoholic beverages). For foodstuffs, too, the translators have opted either for generalizations or cultural equivalents. Thus *pannbiff*, a meat patty, has been translated into Slovene as *polpeti*, the closest equivalent dish; in English, it has been generalized to indicate only the kind of meat and translated as "beef", probably due to the lack of an equivalent British dish.

Both translators most often opt for a cultural equivalent for Swedish concepts. In the case of *kommunalrådet*, a municipal commissioner responsible for a managament sector, the Slovene translator has opted for the translation *občinski svetnik*, the closest equivalent. The British translator has opted for the other closest equivalent, "mayor", a more recognizable and important function than *kommunalrådet* (Jonasson 2010: 7, 2012: 7, 2013: 7).

3.4.4 Findings

Based on this analysis we find that culture-specific elements have largely been preserved in the Slovene translation of the novel, in contrast to the English translation, where they are often partly or entirely omitted in most of the categories. Table 6 (p. 107) shows which translation strategies (roughly following Newmark 1988) have been most often used by the translators.

There are 145 selected cases in all. They do not include data on changes on the macro level of the text (see section 3.4.2). To summarize, the greatest differences between translations from a semi-peripheral to a hyper-central and a peripheral language are found in the retention or omission of culture-specific elements, as is most clearly seen in the case of proper names. On the whole there are small differences between the languages in the use of other strategies.

There are hardly any source-oriented strategies in the English translation. They are used in the Slovene translation, though, indicating that the original text has been more consistently taken into account and again confirming the thesis of more consistent respect for original elements in translation into a peripheral language. The approach in this Slovene translation is not a very foreignizing one, but it still contrasts quite clearly with the approach taken by the English translator.

In a sense, both translations may be said to focus on the target reader. In the Slovene translation, this mostly takes the form of adaptations such as expansions and notes that aim to preserve the culture-specific elements of the original. In the English translation, by contrast, it takes the form of omissions and generalizations. The British translator omits not only individual culture-specific elements but also longer passages that do not contain such elements but are clearly considered less important for the story. The omissions in the English edition are not so extensive that one could speak of a redaction or excessive manipulation of the source text, but they do suggest a lesser degree of respect for various elements of the source text and the culture in which it originated. To some translation scholars, like Lefevere (Lefevere 1994: 87), translation is manipulation by definition, so a reworking of the text to some degree cannot be avoided. Still, as we also found earlier in the case of the Norwegian–English translation (section 3.3), the pronounced shifts and omissions make the translator seem to translate much more freely than the Slovene translator, whose translation is more source-oriented. This accords e.g. with Heilbron (Heilbron 2010: 6), who states that translation norms are subject to the rules of the target language. In other words, it confirms the expectation that a translation into a hyper-central language will be more domesticated than a translation into Slovene, which is a peripheral language. We also find that inconsistencies in the use of certain strategies are understandable, especially if we take into account pragmatic factors such as the relatively short deadlines usually associated with translating bestsellers like *The Hundred-Year-Old*, and the dilemmas of balancing the translation so it will work in the target culture without excessive omissions and deviations from the original. However, we should also be aware that the degree of freedom or the degree of violence, as Venuti (1995: 19) calls it, always depends on the individual translator, who is entangled in the editorial practices of the individual culture and its conceptions of an acceptable translation.

The English translation of the novel, then, is more target-oriented, which finds expression in the generalization and numerous omissions of culture-specific elements, mostly those tied to Swedish culture and judged by the translator to be too foreign to the target readers. The Slovene translation, on the other hand, combines source-oriented translation and target-oriented strategies that nevertheless brings the concepts of a foreign culture closer to the reader. Its

consistent retention of culture-specific elements, namely, makes it closer to the original in general. However, the translator accommodates the reader with additional notes on some foreign concepts, while the transfer of other Swedish elements into the Slovene text without clarification interweaves characteristics of the domestic and foreign culture. This allows Slovene readers to recognize the familiar and to transfer their own experiences to unfamiliar, but comparable concepts (Mahkota 1997). Furthermore, such a translation can kindle target readers' interest in another culture and literature (Ožbot 2012), in this case the Swedish one.

Like the translation of the Norwegian novel *The Redbreast*, which we analysed in section 3.3, the Slovene translation of the Swedish novel *The Hundred-Year-Old* is not particularly foreignized. With reference to Even-Zohar (Even-Zohar 1990), we might say that Slovene, as a minor language with a less powerful literary system by international standards, is more receptive to the literary works of foreign cultures and thus also to foreign concepts and influences (Svedjedal 2012: 33–35, 163).

As hypothesized, the study also showed that Swedish as a semi-peripheral language is translated somewhat differently from peripheral languages like Norwegian, but also differently from another semi-peripheral language in our studies, Italian.[61] There are two possible explanations. First, Swedish received its semi-peripheral status mainly because of its relatively central role in Scandinavia. In relation to Slovene literature and culture, its position remains close to peripheral and comparable with the position of Danish, Norwegian and Finnish literature and culture. Therefore, the translation dynamics/patterns for Swedish literature resemble those for other peripheral literatures and languages. Second, the semi-peripheral status of Italian actually marks its fall down the hierarchy of the world language system: as the language of the Renaissance, music, art and science, it comes with far greater cultural capital than does Swedish, which started accumulating cultural capital much later. For this reason – and also due to its geographical proximity and the intermingling of the nationalities and cultures along the Italian–Slovene border – the dynamics of translation from Italian may also be closer to the dynamics of translation from central languages.

61 We do not yet have in-depth case studies for Italian, but a partly similar pattern can be seen in the general situation as well as in the translation of movie titles (Chapter 5.2).

Table 6: The use of different translation strategies in translation into English and Slovene (source: Sebastian 2014: 54–61).

STRATEGY		retention			descriptive translation, functional equivalent, cultural equivalent	general-ization	free/ expressive translation	omission	
CATEGORY	LAN-GUAGE	preservation, transference, transcription or calque	retention with expansion	retention with note				omitted element, replaced by descriptive translation	total omission
Personal proper names (18)	SLO	13	1	1	0	0	3	0	0
	ENG	8	2	0	0	0	3	3	2
Commercial proper names (34)	SLO	18	1	0	6	0	2	0	0
	ENG	12	1	0	7	2	2	3	7
Geographical proper names (55)	SLO	51	2	2	0	0	0	0	0
	ENG	13	7	0	0	7	0	2	26
Food and beverages (17)	SLO	9	0	1	4	2	0	0	1
	ENG	3	0	0	7	5	0	0	2
Quotations and literary allusions (8)	SLO	5	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
	ENG	4	1	0	0	1	0	1	1
Other culture-specific elements (13)	SLO	6	0	0	7	0	0	0	0
	ENG	2	0	0	5	3	2	0	1
TOTAL	SLO	102	12	5	18	2	5	0	1
	ENG	42	11	0	19	18	7	9	39

3.5 COMPARISON OF TRANSLATIONS OF *MALETES PERDUDES* (JORDI PUNTÍ) INTO SPANISH, SLOVENE, ENGLISH AND GERMAN

Maletes Perdudes (Lost Luggage) by the Catalan author Jordi Puntí was published in 2010 and has so far been translated into 16 languages. It is a story of four half-brothers from different parts of Europe who meet for the first time after the death of their truck-driving father and try to untangle his life story. The study (Dodič 2017) looked into the strategies concerning culture-specific elements in four translations of the work, namely into Spanish, English, German and Slovene.

The Slovene translator, Veronika Rot, obtained a degree in Spanish and Philosophy and went on to study Hispano-American Literature at the Universitat Autónoma in Barcelona. She learned Catalan from friends, but also did some of her subjects in the language. She also had two translator residencies in Barcelona.

Rita da Costa García, the Spanish translator, was born in Lisbon, and has a degree in translation and interpreting from Lisbon University. She translates from Portuguese, Catalan and English into Spanish.

Julie Wark, the English translator, was born in Australia, and has been living in Barcelona for the past 20 years. She studied social sciences. She translates literature, philosophy and political sciences from Catalan and Spanish into English.

Michael Ebmeyer is a German writer and musician. He translates from English, Spanish and Catalan. He took part in a translator residency in Barcelona, translating *Maletes Perdudes*, which is his only translation of a novel to date.

The results of this study are in some way expected, but in others surprising. The Spanish translation mostly keeps Catalan culture-specific elements unchanged except for the spelling, with one exception, replacing a Catalan type of sausage (*botifarra*) with a Spanish type of sausage (*morcilla*) when describing somebody's fingers. This is expected, as Spanish and Catalan not only are very close linguistically, but have had, and continue to have a shared history within the same political and cultural frame, similar to Slovene and Croatian.

The fact that the Slovene translator mostly opted for foreignizing translation strategies of explaining and translating things word-for-word, rather than neutralizing or omitting them, is similar to the strategies used in the other Slovene translations analysed. What is new is the way the translator went about it, opting for often lengthy and unnecessarily didactic footnotes instead of incorporating the explanations in the text (the strategy often used by the English translator).

It is also comparable with the strategies used in *Redbreast* that the native speakers of languages other than Catalan that are used in the text, corrected or adapted those languages in their target versions. Such an example is the use of the English-language term "Far West", which is apparently widely used in the Spanish-speaking world instead of "Wild West". Far West was changed into Wild West in both the English and the German translation, but remained unchanged in the Slovene and the Spanish ones.

What is surprising, however, is that the German translation featured a number of target-oriented changes, such as neutralizations and omissions, but the English one did not. While neutralizations are popular also in the German translation of the other novels that were analysed, omissions and reorganizations are usually more frequent in translations into English. We can only guess why this translator was less inclined to make life easy for the readers of the English version. It could be because of the genre – unlike the two other novels in the study, which are usually classified as popular fiction, this one is classified as literary fiction; or it could be because of the personal circumstances of the translator, who has been living in Catalonia for the past 20 years.

3.6 THE FOREST SPIRIT, OUR MAN ON THE GROUND, THE LIKA CINEMA: THREE TRANSLATIONS BY DUŠAN ČATER

This study (Repina 2012) differs from the others in that it deals with three translations by the same translator: *Šumski duh* (The forest spirit, by Goran Samardžić), *Naš čovjek na terenu* (Our man on the ground, by Robert Perišić) and *Kino Lika* (Cinema Lika, by Damir Karakaš), all translated by Dušan Čater. Conversely, it does not cover translations into other languages, only into Slovene. The analysis encompassed language, style and lexical changes, and found that the proximity of the two languages and cultures was an obstacle rather than an advantage in literary translation, because of many false friends on all levels.

On the lexical level, for example, the word *ljubimec* means "lover" in Slovene and *ljubimac* "pet" in Croatian. On the morphological and syntactical levels, some verbs that are transitive in Slovene are intransitive in Croatian, and some of the same prepositions take different cases. On the cultural level, for example, *mali Isusić* (literally Little Jesus) is one of the names for Father Christmas in Croatian but was not recognized as such in the Slovene translation, and was rendered simply as *mali Isus* (Little Isus) as if it was just a random personal name.

Another group of changes in this study occurred because of misunderstandings of the source text that did not result from the proximity of the two languages, but from a lack of familiarity with the source language on the level of word or phrase. For example, the Croatian word *jednjak* (esophagus) was translated as *rit* (buttocks), and *podvornica* (housekeeper) as *ravnateljica* (headmaster). As the author of this study emphasises, there are so many such changes that they indeed change the message of the text.

4 Slovene as the Central Language

Slovene certainly belongs to the peripheral languages in the world-system model of languages and translation, yet to its own native speakers it assumes the most central, indeed hyper-central position, influencing their communication in both foreign languages and their mother tongue as well as the mediation between them.

In this chapter we show, through the results of research among students of the program of Interlingual Mediation and students of foreign languages at the Ljubljana University Faculty of Arts, how very important it is for communicating in an international environment to have high linguistic competence not only in a foreign language but also in one's mother tongue, regardless of the position and cultural capital of that tongue on the world stage (cf. Pezdirc Bartol 2001). The role of the mother tongue in foreign-language learning and communication is also stressed by studies like those of He (2012), Atkinson (1987) and Butzkamm (2003), who noted: "Using the mother tongue, we have (1) learnt to think, (2) learnt to communicate and (3) acquired an intuitive understanding of grammar. The mother tongue opens the door, not only to its own grammar, but to all grammars […]. This foreknowledge […] is the foundation on which we build our Selves" (ibid.: 31).

Although these experts discuss the role of the mother tongue in learning a foreign language, it may be assumed to play the same role in subsequent comprehension and text formation in foreign languages. Therefore, a solid foundation in the mother tongue is essential to multilingual written communication (as well as oral communication, though this was not dealt with in our study).

In this regard, Slovene schoolchildren – and even university students, judging by our research – are not on as firm ground as they need and deserve. We have found relatively poor literacy among students at the beginning of their university studies, as confirmed also by the results of other studies on literacy, such as the PISA tests, which showed Slovene primary- and secondary-school students to be below the OECD average in reading literacy both in 2009, 2012 and 2015, though there have been some positive changes in recent years (Anon. 2010, 2016; Štraus, Šterman Ivančič, and Štigl 2013).[62] Since experts in the theory of reading hold that reading abilities at least to some extent are transferred from the mother tongue to foreign languages (Huntley and Peñate 2003; cf. Zupan Sosič 2014), we took as our starting hypothesis that there was considerable need for further literacy training in Slovene, even on the higher education level.

We have been researching these questions at the Department of Translation Studies since 2007, and have also involved three other departments of the Ljubljana

62 This is not a problem that only Slovene students face: Lang (1994: 395–397) finds similar problems with her English students and remarks that "[p]rofessional translating standards require an impeccable level of competence in the target language", therefore she believes that it would be "both logical and practical if trainee translators can acquire a similar set of resources for processing both source and target languages".

Faculty of Arts, with a total of about 300 students participating. Three different studies were carried out. In the first, we measured the students' literacy level at the beginning of higher education, that is, after the high-school *matura* exam (Grahek Križnar and Zlatnar Moe 2007), as well as at the end of their BA studies at the Department of Translation Studies (Zlatnar Moe and Grahek Križnar 2011). In the second, we studied the differences in translation competences – as tested by translation into their mother tongue from their first or second foreign language – between students at the end of their BA studies at the programs of Interlingual mediation, German, English and Italian (Zlatnar Moe, Mikolič Južnič, and Žigon 2015). In the third, we studied the differences in competences between students of Interlingual Mediation and the above-mentioned foreign-language departments with regard to translation from their mother tongue into their first or second foreign language. In the following, we briefly summarize the findings of all three studies and draw conclusions about problems that in our view very likely concern the entire student population. We also offer some solutions that would contribute to improving the competence of Slovene professionals both in their (peripheral) mother tongue and in their hyper-central, central and semi-peripheral foreign languages. Without a very good knowledge of their mother tongue, namely, these future translators (and other young professionals coming from Slovene institutions of higher education) will struggle to meet the challenges posed by translation and mediation between different languages, as well as forming original texts both in their mother tongue and in languages that occupy a more central position (whether globally, regionally, or in a given field of expertise).

4.1 READING LITERACY AND TEXT COMPREHENSION AT THE BEGINNING AND END OF THE BA PROGRAM

The first study was motivated by the deficiencies in reading literacy that we observed as teachers of first-year students of Interlingual Mediation. These deficiencies are especially apparent on the highest levels of reading comprehension, which Pečjak (1993: 56–60) calls "interpretative" comprehension, where the reader must grasp the gist of the text, understand how parts of the text are connected, and draw conclusions about linkages between events and points of view; and "creative" comprehension, where the reader is able to transform the reading from one abstract form into another, or summarize it in their own words. At the Department of Translation Studies we start with exercises in summarizing texts before we go on to translation.

The research was carried out in two phases by Marija Zlatnar Moe and Nina Grahek Križnar (2012).[63] In the first phase, during the 2006/2007 academic year, 38 first-year students in the BA program took part. We assessed their reading literacy through the kinds of exercises that students were used to from class. They had to read an English-language text (see Appendix 9.6) dealing with illegal immigration to the island of Tenerife and summarize it in 100 words in Slovene. They did not use any translation aids or other language aids. We graded the summary according to the assessment criteria for summaries in the subject Interlingual Mediation.[64]

When assessing the summaries, we focused on the interpretative and creative understanding of the text. The most frequent errors involved missing or wrong information, such as the geographical position of the Canary Islands or the role of the EU in solving the problem. What surprised us most was the prevailing tendency to omit information on tolerance and solidarity among people, as well as information that presented the migrants in a positive light (for instance, the students mentioned only economic reasons and not war as reasons for emigrating, and only dissatisfaction and not sympathy as reactions from the natives). The mean score – 6.79 points out of a possible 10 – shows that the students did not only have difficulty reading and rewriting the content of the source text, but also dealing with its language and style.

Since the research findings suggested that that the interpretation and rewriting of a source text in the target language was also affected by the prevailing ideology in society and the personal opinion of the translator, we decided to repeat the experiment at the end of the BA program, but now with a focus precisely on these ideological aspects. We adopted Hatim and Mason's definition of ideology as "a body of assumptions which reflects the beliefs and interests of an individual, a group of individuals, a social institution, etc., and which ultimately finds expression in language" (Hatim and Mason 1997: 218). Accordingly, "prejudices, stereotypes or prevalent negative stories about the Others in everyday conversations, news reports, political and corporate reports or educational materials […], private and public text and talk, express […] 'underlying' social cognitions of many in-group members" (Van Dijk 1996: 15–16).

The second phase of the study involved 95 third-year students of the BA program. Most of them had already taken part in the first phase. This time, we intentionally chose a text that dealt with immigration, namely with how well first- and second-generation immigrants do in various school systems (Appendix 9.7). We asked the students to summarize and translate the text, as well as to fill

63 We would like to thank Nina Grahek Križnar for permission to include the results of the study in this book.

64 We assess both the content and style of the target text, as well as the language, in terms of morphology, syntax and text formation.

out a questionnaire that explored their opinions on certain ideological questions. They answered the questionnaire in the Interlingual Communication class, and also wrote the text summary during class. The translation was done as homework, with a two-week deadline, and was again graded according to the assessment criteria for the subject. The results (detailed in Zlatnar Moe and Grahek Križnar 2012) showed considerable improvement in the students' reading literacy, general knowledge, linguistic skill and capacity for creative interpretation over the three years. This time, the only significant changes in meaning were found in passages that were ideologically charged in some way, and only in two cases: when the translator held a very strong and emotional opinion about a certain question (e.g. on relations between children and grown-ups) or when the translator found the text difficult (whether for linguistic, stylistic or lexical reasons). These results are also supported by studies elsewhere, both on translation students (Floros 2011) and practicing translators (Al-Mohannadi 2008).

To sum up, we may say that even students who are fairly successful in secondary school, start higher education with deficient reading skills. This even includes students of language programs, among them the Interlingual Mediation programs, where we expect students to have a talent for understanding and forming texts. We also found that poor reading literacy has a significant effect on the comprehension and interpretation of a foreign-language text, especially when the reader for some reason finds it difficult, which is a relevant problem not only for the students of study programs in languages and translation, but for all professionals who need to find their way in a globalized world and to be able to read, understand and at least somewhat impartially interpret texts not only in their mother tongue, but in one or more foreign languages. The fact that ideology, whether that of the individual or their society, prevails in case of poor comprehension, may lead to highly domesticated translations uncritically based on the expectations of the target society (and/or its representative, the translator). It also means that poor reading literacy actually retards social change and development, since the people who should be bringing changes to society, fail even to recognize them in texts, where instead they mostly see what they already know and what is acceptable in their culture. This raises far wider concerns than the problem of inadequate translations and summaries of readings.

4.2 THE IMPORTANCE OF THE MOTHER TONGUE IN INTERLINGUAL COMMUNICATION

Since previous research has shown that deficient language skills can lead the translator to make interventions in the text, especially ideological ones, and because

translation is often done by translators who have studied a certain language or language pair but lack formal training in translation, we went on to study how the translations of Interlingual Mediation students differ from those of foreign-language students. Some language departments list translation skills among the competences their students gain from their studies. If foreign-language students actually do acquire these competences, it might suggest that a separate program of study for translation is not needed.

This study went on for three consecutive academic years (2012/13–2014/15), across four departments of the Faculty of Arts, namely the Department of Translation Studies, the Department of English, the Department of German, Dutch and Swedish, and the Department of Romance Languages and Literatures. The first part involved 79, and the second part 94 third-year students of the BA program. In the first part of the study (detailed in Zlatnar Moe, Mikolič Južnič, and Žigon 2015), we compared competences in translation from students' first or second foreign language into their mother tongue, specifically, from English, German and Italian into Slovene. We repeated the experiment the next two years, but in the opposite direction, from their mother tongue into their first or second foreign language (again English, German or Italian). Both times, all the third-year students of the Department of Translation Studies participated, as did one group each of third-year students of English, German and Italian. The English students were mainly single-track students, which meant that the large majority worked with their first foreign language. The Italian and German students all followed double-track study programs, mainly a combination of two languages. They translated from their first or second foreign language, like the Interlingual Mediation students (the group that worked with English worked with their first foreign language, the other two with the second one). All the participating students in both rounds were native speakers of Slovene, mainly female, and aged 21–23 years. In both generations, the average age was somewhat higher among students of Interlingual Mediation, which apparently enrolls more of the older students.

We presented the experiment to the students in class, and after the first phase of the study, we also presented the results. Both times, the experiment had two parts. The first part consisted in translating a text of about 1,700 characters (without spaces), the usual length for the exam at the end of the third year in the Interlingual Mediation program. They had fourteen days to do the translation as homework and could use any translation aids they thought useful. The first text dealt with a third culture, which put students on an equal footing regarding extra-linguistic (cultural) knowledge: The topic was the rise of politicized homophobia in Africa (English text in Appendix 9.8.1, German in Appendix 9.8.2, Italian in Appendix 9.8.3). The second text spoke of the introduction of a single ticket for all the tourist attractions in the village of Hrastovlje, and thus dealt with events in Slovenia, which also helped make the task equally demanding for

all students in terms of extra-linguistic knowledge. The second part of the experiment was a questionnaire in which we asked the students for some personal data (age, study group), as well as some questions about the translation process: how long they had taken to translate the text and what translation aids they had used (Appendix 9.9). At the end of the experiment, we assigned code numbers to the translations so that when marking the texts, the authors would not know which program the individual student belonged to. We then graded them according to the criteria we generally use to assess student translations at the Department of Translation Studies, based on the evaluation grids of the European Commission's Directorate-General for Translation. We used an evaluation grid with a starting value of 20 points, from which points were then subtracted for various errors (from errors of omission, addition, orthography and grammar, to errors of meaning and style) or added for successful and creative solutions. The latter included solutions on different levels of the text, from syntax and style to additions that helped the reader understand the text better, or omissions of irrelevant information. When all the translations had been marked, we used the key to sort them by the author's study program.

4.3 TRANSLATION FROM A FOREIGN LANGUAGE INTO THE MOTHER TONGUE

Due to the Interlingual Mediation program's greater emphasis on teaching the target language, Slovene, we expected these students to stand out for their competence in translating from a foreign language into the mother tongue. Among the foreign-language students, only the single-track German students had 30 hours of Slovene. The other two departments did not directly teach Slovene at all. The number of hours focused on Slovene in the study program of Interlingual Mediation is 350. There is a similar, but smaller gap in the number of hours for translation into Slovene: 150 hours in the Interlingual Mediation program, 30 in English, 30 in German, and 60 in Italian. Moreover, the Interlingual Mediation students have courses in which they are trained in the use of translation aids and in text formation, while the language departments mostly deal with the study of a foreign language, literature and culture.

Based on the number of contact hours for translation in the different programs, we expected Interlingual Mediation students to make more frequent and varied use of translation aids and to produce more adequate texts in terms of style and register. Both expectations were confirmed. From the language students we expected more accurate and adequate translations in terms of meaning, based on the hypothesis that with their greater emphasis on the

foreign language, they would understand the source text better. This was not confirmed by our results.

In general, the translations of the Interlingual Mediation students got somewhat higher marks than those of the language students. The greatest difference was in the Italian groups, 5.5 points, against 3 points in the German and English groups. The ranges within each group were also interesting: The smallest differences were found within both the German groups, which is interesting because these were the only foreign-language students who at least had an elective course with training in translation into Slovene.

The most surprising results were those related to deficient knowledge of the target language, i.e. Slovene, such as spelling, punctuation and grammar mistakes. They were surprising both due to the large differences between the Interlingual Mediation students on the one hand and the language students on the other, and due to the fact that there were such mistakes at all, since the majority of the Slovenian population finish learning to read and write in secondary school, so they should already be wholly literate when they reach the university. The greatest difference in translation quality between the language students and the translation students was in orthography: the Interlingual Mediation students produced 40 spelling and punctuation errors (0.93 per student), language students 89 (2.47 per student). The errors were not about complicated problems, but mostly about basic capitalization and punctuation (especially commas), wrong use of numerals (e.g. *v 37. afriških državah*, "in 37. African countries") and spelling mistakes. All the groups in the experiment made the same kinds of mistakes, but these were 2.6 times more frequent among the foreign-language students than among the Interlingual Mediation students.

The gap was somewhat narrower for grammar errors, which were made about 1.5 times more frequently by foreign-language students (146 errors or 4.1 per student) than by Interlingual Mediation students (117 errors or 2.72 per student). The errors may be divided into two categories. In the first we find problems made by native speakers of Slovene, usually due to the influence of country or urban dialects. These include the use of the locative instead of the dative case with masculine nouns and adjectives in the singular (e.g. *izpostavljeni pogostem verbalnem nasilju* instead of *izpostavljeni pogostemu verbalnemu nasilju*, "exposed to frequent verbal violence"); wrong use of the definite form of the adjective in the nominative masculine singular; failure to use the genitive with negation; and wrong use of the possessive or reflexive possessive pronoun. The other category includes errors due to the influence of the source language on the target text, such as the use of the plural instead of the dual number or wrong use of verb tense. Also frequent are errors of non-agreement in grammatical categories (gender, case and number). Such errors usually arise during the translation process due to changes in the target text, and often they are only removed when the text is revised. In

all the mentioned categories we counted more errors in the translations of the foreign-language students than in those by students of Interlingual Mediation.

Errors of style, too, are connected with competence in Slovene language. It was on these levels that both groups of students had the most difficulties, but foreign-language students had 37% more of them than did students of Interlingual Mediation. We divided style errors into several categories, from unusual collocations, failure to observe the stylistic norms of Slovene, and changes in formality level, to changes of discursive field and stylistic interference from the source text. The first two categories relate more to the basic level of literacy, while changes on the level of formality and field relate more to the knowledge of text types, which is to some extent covered already in pre-university education, but, understandably, not enough for professional work with texts.

It may come as a surprise that competence in the target language, i.e. Slovene, was also connected with changes of meaning and ideology in the text (e.g. the use of more neutral expressions for homosexuals than the pejorative ones used in the source text). These, too, were more frequent in the translations by language students than in those by Interlingual Mediation students. We had expected more ideological changes from the language students, since already the 2011 study (section 4.1) had shown that such shifts are difficult for translators themself to detect if they are not specifically made aware of them, particularly at the beginning of their translation careers. At the Department of Translation Studies, too, we have only been working intensively on such issues for the past few years, after we began researching the problem. An additional problem, for Interlingual Mediation students as well, is the fact that "ideology" is often understood very narrowly in the sense of "the totalitarian ideologies of the twentieth century", and that they therefore do not even know what to pay attention to. Here students of foreign languages might have a slight edge thanks to better understanding of the source text, since they might more seldom find a text "difficult" (see above). But any advantages of their putative better understanding of the source text (which was not confirmed in our study, at least not on the creative level of writing a new text) were canceled out by the difficulties they had expressing themselves in the target language, Slovene: Most of the errors in meaning in the translations of the two groups arose because the translators chose a synonym with nearly but not quite the same meaning as the source word or phrase under translation (e.g. *ob-sodba*, condemnation, instead of *sodba*, judgment). (These errors were again more frequent among the language students, with 4.94 errors per student against 3.81 for Interlingual Mediation students.) This problem is was also connected with the problem of using less suitable translation tools, which we discuss more closely elsewhere (Mikolič Južnič, Žigon, and Zlatnar Moe 2014; Zlatnar Moe, Mikolič Južnič, and Žigon 2015).

4.4 TRANSLATION FROM THE MOTHER TONGUE INTO A FOREIGN LANGUAGE

Translation from the mother tongue into a foreign language is another characteristic of peripheral cultures and languages, in which native speakers of the foreign (target) languages able to translate from the source language simply are not available, leaving native speakers of Slovene, for example, to take care of translations of Slovene texts into foreign languages.[65]

Building on the research we did in 2012–2014, we focused on translation into three different foreign languages with different statuses in the world language system. Thus some students translated from a peripheral into a hyper-central language (English), others into a central one (German), and yet others into a semi-peripheral one (Italian). Another special feature of this study was comparing translations from the mother tongue of the participants into their first and second foreign language. If we assume that most of the students of English, German and Italian have the language they study as their first foreign language, this is not the case for students of Interlingual Mediation. English is considered the first foreign language for all students at the Department of Translation Studies, while German and Italian (and French, which was not included in the study) are considered their second foreign language.[66]

All the participating students were native speakers of Slovene, largely female, and aged 22–23 years on average. This time, too, in both generations the average age of Interlingual Mediation students was somewhat higher.

Before starting the study, we expected somewhat better translations into Slovene from the students of Interlingual Mediation and somewhat better translations into the foreign language from the language students, due to the exclusive attention devoted by the language courses to a specific foreign language, literature and culture. When we completed the analysis of the first experiment and realized to what extent mother-tongue competences affected translation, we became uncertain what to expect. New questions arose: To what extent can deficient competence in the mother tongue (the source language) influence the target text? Does a likely better knowledge of the target language and culture suffice to make up for a lack of competence in the source language? And on the other hand, is better training in the use of translation tools and greater competence in the mother tongue enough to make up for a somewhat shallower and narrower knowledge of the target language with its literature and culture?

65 On translation into a foreign language, see Kocijančič Pokorn (2005).

66 Regardless of this division, the study program provides for the same number of contact hours for both foreign working languages.

Regarding use of time and use of translation aids, the results were comparable with those of the first experiment: Interlingual Mediation students used more numerous and varied translation aids (mono- and bilingual dictionaries, corpora, websites) than did the language students. The German students relied mostly on bilingual dictionaries and the Pons online dictionary for German, the Italian students did likewise, while the English students made somewhat greater use of online monolingual English dictionaries in addition to bilingual dictionaries. Once again, Interlingual Mediation students spent more time on the translation, on average 52 minutes more than in the first experiment (translation into the mother tongue), and they more often split the translation over several days (in eight cases for English, 14 for German and five for Italian). The translators from the language programs mostly translated the text in a single day (17 of 26 students for German, 11 of 16 for Italian and 5 of 8 for English) and spent on average about three hours on the translation.

Comparing the total results of the students of Interlingual Mediation on the one hand and language programs on the other, we get a somewhat surprising picture that fails to confirm our advance predictions. The translations of the Interlingual Mediation students, namely, surpassed those of students of the individual languages in all categories save one.

Table 7: Average number of changes per translation in translations by Interlingual Mediation students and language students.

Category	Interlingual Mediation	Language programs
Total score	12.5	11.4
Style errors	5.5	6.3
Spelling/punctuation errors	3.1	3.4
Grammar errors	8.7	7.8
Shifts of meaning	1.6	2.5
Shifts of ideology	0	1.3
Exceptionally good solutions	1.6	1.3

Our expectation that the language students would translate better out of their mother tongue into their first or second language of study was confirmed only on the level of grammar, which no doubt reflects the greater attention to and concentration on a single language in these programs. In all other categories, the translations of the Interlingual Mediation students were better on the whole, though only slightly better in some categories (such as spelling and punctuation). The total score, too, was somewhat higher for Interlingual Mediation students (12.5) than for language students (11.4), but it should be noted that neither score

suggests that they produced particularly good translations, which is understandable, considering that the students translated into a foreign language (something that many a practicing translator does not attempt even in Slovenia, let alone in more central cultures). Regardless of which language they studied, the language students also turned out to make translations of fairly similar quality (the average score was 11 for English and 11.7 for German and Italian). The translations of the Interlingual Mediation students, on the other hand, varied considerably in quality depending on what language they translated into: They achieved 11.4 points for English, similar to the translation quality in the language programs, but a much better 16.6 points for German and a somewhat poorer 9.5 points for Italian. In the following, we present the findings for individual language pairs.

4.4.1 English

We started by taking another look at the number of contact hours devoted to teaching the target language (English) and translation into it in the two departments. At the English Department, the English language (not including society, culture and literature) had a total of 960 contact hours, of which 300 in the first year and 270 in the second and third, plus another 30 hours of general introduction to linguistics and 90 hours of historical grammar. Out of this total, 30 contact hours in the third year were devoted to translation into English. At the Department of Translation Studies, 510 hours were devoted to the English language (again not including society, culture and literature), of which 195 in the first year, 165 in the second and 150 in the third. Out of this total, 60 hours were devoted to translation into English in the third year. We see that the Department of Translation only devotes a little more than a third as many hours to English as the English Department, but twice as many to translation into the language, which is to be expected given the aims of the two study programs.

What about the translations? This time the two groups were qualitatively more even than in translation from English into Slovene. The average score was 11.4 for the Interlingual Mediation students and 11 for the English students, less than half a point of difference (corresponding to, say, one comma or definite article more or less). Nevertheless we were somewhat surprised to see the translation students one comma ahead of the English students. Analysing the data by category, we find that both groups this time had the most difficulty with style, but also with grammar: the Interlingual Mediation students made 8 errors of style on average, against 9.25 for the English students. The most frequent errors were calques, unusual collocations, wrong use of idioms and – once again – discursive field or language variety. For example, one student translated the

sentence *Hrastovci […] so združili svoje turistične moči in […] ponudili doživetje svoje vasice (Hrastovelj) z eno samo skupno vstopnico* ("The inhabitants of Hrastovlje […] have joined forces to [… let] you experience the village on a single joint ticket") as "[they] have joined forces and turned their village into a hotspot for tourists". The grammar errors prevalently included wrong use of the definite and indefinite article and of prepositions (*with a single ticket*), trouble with the plural ("the pass will include the entrances to the church") and various problems with syntax ("[they] came together to promote themselves to tourists"). This category shows the clearest effect of the English students' emphasis on the study of the target language: They made 7.25 grammatical errors on average, against 11 for the Interlingual Mediation students.

The two groups were tied in the categories of spelling/punctuation and exceptionally good solutions. In the former category, students in both groups made 6.4 errors on average, mostly in the capitalization of titles of paintings, institutions etc. and in punctuation. Both groups averaged 0.5 exceptional solutions per student, suggesting that neither group feels sufficiently at home in English to risk creative interventions in the text. The results for omissions and additions point in the same direction. There was very little of this in either group, but slightly more among the English students (1.6 omissions and 1.6 additions as against respectively 1.4 and 0.8 for the Interlingual Mediation students). It should perhaps be mentioned that most of the omissions were due to the fact that the students had not translated the picture caption, while the additions were more creative and made the text more informative – some of the students added short explanations of culture-specific elements in the text.

We also studied shifts of meaning and ideology. Ideological shifts were not found this time (probably on account of the entirely uncontroversial content of the text). Shifts of meaning did occur in both groups, and more often among the English students (6 errors per student on average) than the Interlingual Mediation students (4.7). Shifts of meaning were largely due to careless reading of the source text. Thus *četrt evra od vsake vstopnice*, "a quarter of a euro from every ticket", became "one quarter of the price of every ticket"; *najbolj znana slovenska istrska vas*, "the best-known Slovene Istrian village", became "the best-known Istrian village"). Sometimes they were due to misuse of particular English phrases such as connectors ("above all" for "especially", "nevertheless" for "but" and so on).

To sum up the results, we find that a high level of proficiency in a foreign language is certainly important for successful translation into that language (and probably for other forms of communication in it) – as important, we might add, as proficiency in the mother tongue is for translation in the other direction. But it is not sufficient, not even in the case of a hyper-central language that surrounds us in various forms so to speak every day. In most categories, the Interlingual

Mediation students were able to make up for their fewer hours of training in the foreign target language with the competences they acquired in their Translation and Slovene courses.

The only field where the foreign-language students clearly had an edge was that of grammar, but it should be kept in mind that even these were not severe language errors (in any of the groups); the large majority of errors concerned (in)definite articles (two persons from the translators' group stood out for their non-use of articles), prepositions and clumsy syntax. They no longer had an obvious advantage in the category of spelling and punctuation, probably partly due to the somewhat laxer rules of English in this regard; here, the students of Interlingual Mediation were ahead by two-tenths of a point, probably due to more careful reading of the text. The second paragraph of the text, namely, lists the subjects of the murals in the Hrastovlje church. Some capitalized the subjects, as though they were the titles of paintings, others (mainly among the Interlingual Mediation students) lower-cased them in accordance with the context that made it quite clear they were motifs: *Vasica z znamenitimi freskami, ki prikazujejo stvarjenje sveta, izgon iz raja […]* ("The little village with the famous frescoes that show the creation of the world and the expulsion from paradise […]").

The English students also made more creative interventions in the target texts, as they both omitted more (though mostly the picture caption, which may be chalked up to forgetfulness) and added quite a bit more than the students of Interlingual Mediation. This shows that they were more at ease forming texts in English, which was no doubt a result of their focus on English during their studies. Where the best solutions were concerned, however, the two groups did equally well.

Careful reading of the source text also makes an essential difference to the two last categories of errors, those of style and meaning. To successfully convey a meaning in the target language we must first thoroughly understand it in the source text, including all its implications, undertones nuances and hidden meanings. Only through a careful and mindful reading of the source text can we form an idea of the style and register of what we have read and decide how to convey it in the target language. And precisely in these two categories, the Interlingual Mediation students did better.

4.4.2 German

In the double-track BA program of German, 240 contact hours over three years are devoted to the German language on various levels (from phonetics to word

formation) and 270 hours to language exercises. The students encounter translation into German in the third year, with a 45-hour mandatory class and the option to take an elective 30-hour Translation Into German class. In the study program Interlingual Mediation (Slovene–English–German) the students have 195 hours of grammar and phonetics and 125 hours of language exercises, as well as 60 hours of text formation in German; in the third year, they also have 60 hours of translation into German.

All the participating German students were taking the double-track program. Most of them were studying a combination of two languages, but some combined German and some other subject (e.g. history, geography, andragogy and pedagogy, sociology, comparative literature). Here, too, our expectations were dashed by the finding that Interlingual Mediation students' translations were better than those of the language students. Even more surprising, the quality difference amounted to a considerable five points (the average score of the German students was 11.7, that of the translation students 16.6).

The Interlingual Mediation students made fewer omissions and additions and fewer errors of style, similar to the results from the other two groups. The German students struggled with idioms in particular – they mostly translated the phrase *privezati si dušo* literally as "tethering one's soul" rather than having a meal, without pausing to ask what it actually meant – and with the appropriate level of formality. The Interlingual Mediation students had no trouble with idioms, and less trouble with the level of formality (the language group had 0.6 formality shifts per translation, the translator group 0.3). Both groups had some difficulty observing rules of style in the target language, the German students more so than the translators, which was surprising, since their courses devoted considerably more time to the target language and culture than did Interlingual Mediation. In one area both groups had the same number of errors: The results showed that all the students dealing with German were equally afflicted by stylistic interference, that is, the influence of Slovene style on their German. Neither group had a problem with changes of ideology, but there was one such change among the German students: In a sentence about how part of the ticket earnings would be set aside for community projects, *delček sredstev* ("a small part of the funds"), referring to a fairly modest revenue, was translated as *ein Bruchteil des Vermögens*. The word *Bruchteil* (fraction) sounds almost ironic in this context, and in connection with *Vermögen* (wealth, a fortune) it gives the impression that the village is going to become enormously rich off this modest project. Moreover, in the first part of the sentence (*vloženo delo in stroškov*, "the work and expenses invested"), this translation completely omitted the role of the labor that had been invested and only took account of the financial aspect (*Geldaufwand*), giving the misleading impression that the project revolved around making money.

More surprising yet were the results for shifts in language and meaning. The Interlingual Mediation students made considerably fewer grammar mistakes (3.6 errors per translation, against 8.6 for the German students), contrary to the findings for the English and (as shown below) Italian. The language students also made more spelling and punctuation errors (3.16 per translation against 1 error per translation for the Interlingual Mediation students). Shifts of meaning formed a different picture: Interlingual Mediation students made more of them – 2.1 shifts per translation, against only one in the language-student group. There were 1.5 exceptionally good solutions per translation in the translator group, and 0.48 among the German students. It is also interesting that these particularly good solutions were contributed by 10 of the 21 students of Interlingual Mediation, but 7 of the 25 German students, one of whom stood out with four creative solutions. (Among Interlingual Mediation students, the greatest number of exceptional solutions in a single translation was five; there were three such translations.)

4.4.3 Italian

At the Department of Translation Studies, the students devote 180 contact hours to Italian grammar and phonetics, 105 hours to Italian language exercises, and 90 hours to text formation in Italian over the three years of the BA program. They have 60 contact hours of translation into Italian in the third year. At the Department of Romance Languages and Literatures, 300 contact hours are devoted to linguistic matters (from morphosyntax to contrastive grammar, syntax, language exercises etc.) in the first year, 240 hours in the second year (plus 30 additional hours for students who opt for one of the language-oriented elective courses), and 120 hours in the third year (plus another 30 elective hours). In the third year they also have 60 contact hours devoted to translation from Italian into Slovene, but there are no contact hours for translation from Slovene into Italian.

All the participating students studied Italian language and literature in the double-track program, most of them in combination with another language program, but some in combination with other programs (e.g. Sociology or History). All the participating translation students followed the single-track study program Interlingual Mediation (Slovene–English–Italian).

The Italian case confirmed our prior expectations that the language students would make somewhat better translations from Slovene than the Interlingual Mediation students, although the average score was not very high in either group: The Italian students scored 11.7 points on average, the translators 9.5, and the average number of errors per translation was 18 and 23.1 respectively.

A closer look at the results shows that the Interlingual Mediation students made more spelling and punctuation mistakes (2.1 compared to 0.9 among the Italian students) and grammar mistakes (11.6 compared to 7.8) and had fewer exceptionally good solutions (1.7 compared to 2 per translation on average among the Italian students). The Interlingual Mediation students did have somewhat less difficulty achieving coherence in their text (0.2 errors per translation) than the Italian students (0.3), and they also made fewer additions and omissions (0.8 against 1.2), as well as fewer shifts of meaning (0.7 per translation against 1 per translation).

The two groups had about the same number of shifts of style (7.1 cases in the translations of the Italian students and 7.5 among the translators). The stylistic features of the text caused both groups the most difficulty, and to the same degree. They also had trouble with some slightly technical terms; here, the Interlingual Mediation students did somewhat better, with an average of 1.2 errors per translation compared with 2 in the translations of the Italian students. This was probably due to the attention paid to technical language in the translation courses and in the teaching of all three working languages. Thus, for instance, one of the Italian students rendered "the Leader program of the European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development" as *programma Leader dall fondo europeo auricolare per lo sviluppo rurale*, where *auricolare* means "auricular", i.e. "of or pertaining to the ear", rather than "agricultural".

As with the other groups, intercultural stylistic interference caused problems for all the students, regardless of what they studied; however, there were hardly any problems with the level of formality (1 case in one translation by a translation student) or with ideological shifts (1 case in a translation by an Italian student).

To summarize, then, the translations into Italian, unlike the other two groups, showed a somewhat more noticeable advantage stemming from more intensive work on the grammar and orthography of the target language, the two areas where the translations of the Interlingual Mediation students lagged about 2 points behind on average. The practice they had in translation competences nevertheless proved to be important and successful, since the Interlingual Mediation students did better than their fellow students in the Italian program on all levels that were not strictly tied to linguistic knowledge (e.g. meaning, terminology, coherence).

The importance of continuing education in Slovene language was yet again confirmed, even though it here played the role of source language, not target language: The students who had had more contact hours of Slovene (by itself or in connection with a foreign language) wrote more adequate translations than those who had not had further training in Slovene for professional use, both in terms of meaning and, in some respects (e.g. terminology), style.

This brings us back to the question of the reading abilities of future Slovene professionals and the need for continuing literacy training in higher education, not only because, as we have seen, even the most linguistically talented secondary-school graduates (who surely choose these fields of study out of a greater affinity for languages) start their studies with with a lack of reading competence, but also because general education does not ensure professional literacy, which is not its task, nor is meant to be.

The results clearly show that mother-tongue competences (G. Tivadar and Tivadar 2015: 43–44; cf. also H. Tivadar 2015) are essential to comprehension, not only of the meaning of a text, but also of its function (registers), purpose and style, regardless of the source language, as Slovene skills affected both translation into and out of Slovene, and regardless of the role played by the target language in the world translation system. Understanding the meaning, function and purpose of the text is the foundation of all interlingual, intercultural and international communication in a closely connected world where languages and cultures meet, intertwine and enrich each other all the time. Only when this fundamental condition is satisfied can we devote ourselves to discerning and conveying the differences that arise in translation between languages with different roles in the world system (as well as in a more narrowly local system). We find, then, that despite the importance of multilingual speakers and of the cultural capital that translation can bring to a language community, the mother tongue and the competences connected with it remain of key importance to all further linguistic activity. One implication is very pragmatic in nature: Native speakers of Slovene can only be successful in the wider world in any field if they know how to present their innovations, discoveries and solutions in one of the central (or at least semi-peripheral) languages, but they will only succeed in doing so (in any language) if they are sufficiently competent in their mother tongue. Regardless of its peripheral status on the world stage, like any other language Slovene is the first and most central of all languages to its own native speakers, and to those with the required competences, it is the language that opens the doors to the world.

5 Concluding Thoughts

The complexity of translation and the intertwining influences and factors that combine to shape a translation have been studied by many translation scholars. Particularly in recent years, translation studies oriented toward culture studies (Bassnett and Lefevere 1990) and sociology (Wolf and Fukari 2007) has foregrounded a number of factors and contributors that have traditionally remained outside the focus of research on translation. One such factor is the position that a certain language community (along with its language, culture, literature and other characteristics) holds relative to other language communities, on the more narrowly regional level as well as in the global frame. As we have seen in the first chapter, Slovene – which is by any criterion a peripheral language in relation to other languages in the world system – can nevertheless play the role of the center for a smaller system in certain circumstances, a center toward which constellations of other languages gravitate, to borrow a phrase from De Swaan (2001). Indeed, languages are highly dynamic systems, and it is not surprising that their interactions, too, are dynamic in nature.

On the other hand, Slovene – at least in terms of the production of written translations, for which we have studied statistical data and concrete cases of both literary and non-literary genres – is undoubtedly a peripheral language. This holds true both with regard to the amount of cultural capital we hold as a people and a state (as compared to other European and world cultures), and with regard to the situation in the publishing market, where a far greater share of literature is translated into Slovene than from Slovene original texts into other languages[67] (see Chapter 2). As stated in Chapter 1, we define the centrality of a language based on the role played by that language (and language community) in the world translation system as defined by Heilbron (1999) based on related sociological theories of translation. The division of roles in the world translation system relies on multilingual speakers who enable communication between different language communities and thus connect them into a unified network. The role of a language can change, sometimes even relatively quickly, due to changing circumstances (examples include the shifting role of Russian, once a central language, and the succession of languages in the hyper-central position over the past centuries). Furthermore, an otherwise peripheral language (like Slovene) can take on a higher role in the hierarchy on the local or regional level in special circumstances (see section 1.4).

We have also studied the influence of the centrality/peripherality of a language on the macro level and examined the situation in the field of literary translation into Slovene as well as into numerous European peripheral and semi-peripheral languages. These studies contribute both to our grasp of the situation in the Slovene language community, and to a more in-depth understanding of certain

67 Here we are referring particularly to translations published in book form, as it is extremely difficult to assess the amount of translations of pragmatic, everyday texts translated for the concrete needs of users, which cannot be recorded in practice.

characteristic features of other language communities. Such features may influence e.g. the amount of translated works. They include subsidies, support networks for translators, and other incentives for increased translation from a certain language. We have presented the case of a central language (German), two semi-peripheral languages (Italian and Swedish) and a number of peripheral languages (see section 2.3).

In the case of German, we found that more than 3,300 books had been translated into Slovene in the previous 15 years, and that there is a great number of translators on the market. In line with our expectations, a fair number of translations from Slovene into German have also been published (728 books), but this represents only a negligible share of the entire production of books in German-speaking countries.

As for the translation of Italian literature, including both poetry and prose (novels), we have found that the changing social situation after 1991 left a substantial imprint also on the amount of translations appearing in book form or – in the case of poetry – in literary magazines. By world standards, Italian is a semi-peripheral language with great cultural capital; moreover, from a Slovene perspective, it is the language of a neighboring state and of an autochthonous minority on Slovenian territory. Therefore, it is not surprising that the number of translations from Italian is relatively large.

Swedish, too, falls among the semi-peripheral languages in the world system, but it plays a somewhat more peripheral role in the Slovene translation system than Italian. While there have been 75 translators of novels from Italian since 1991, and 167 translators of Italian poetry since World War II (though many have translated only a poem or two, see Chapter 2), translators from Swedish can be counted on one hand, due to the greater distance and the weaker traditional ties in the cultural and other fields.

We have also given an overview of the dynamics of translation for numerous other European languages that share a peripheral status with Slovene. We found that translation into these languages depends even more on the availability of translators from such languages, who are typically very few. Perhaps equally important are the publishing incentives offered by the source-language communities' states and by the European union. The data presented confirm the second hypothesis and demonstrate, based on the Slovene case, how translation differs on the macro level between central, semi-peripheral and peripheral languages.

Not to remain only on the macro level, we have also presented specific studies concentrating on linguistic analysis of specific elements, particularly cultural ones. Analysing the translation of titles of popular-science articles from English into German and Slovene, and of movie titles from English into German, Italian,

Slovene, Norwegian, and Croatian, we have shown how the strategies used differ between translators into central, semi-peripheral, and peripheral languages: Translators into peripheral languages frequently use foreignizing strategies – they preserve culture-specific elements or seek to explain them to the target readership without depriving them of their "foreignness". We have noticed considerable similarity between the translation strategies used for translations from German and Italian (a central and a semi-peripheral language respectively) on the one hand, and for Slovene and Croatian (two peripheral languages) on the other. However, another peripheral language – Norwegian – stood out for having taken a completely different approach to movie titles over the past decades, which alerts us to the need to check the above-mentioned tendencies against the realities of other peripheral languages.

Additional support for our findings in the non-literary genres comes from the studies of literary works: specifically, a novel translated from Norwegian into Slovene, English, and German, and another novel translated from Swedish into Slovene and English. The Norwegian case in particular – but to a lesser extent also the translation from Swedish – shows that strategies of translation into a central or peripheral language can differ considerably depending on which norms the translator adapts to, those of the source or the target language: As Heilbron (2010: 4) points out, translations into the most central languages are rare, and the translators do not have a particularly high status. In such language communities, translation norms derive from domestic literary norms, meaning that translators largely follow the taste of the domestic (expert) public. In the more peripheral language communities, translations are more important, enjoy a higher status, and foreignizing strategies are more legitimate and frequent. Consequently, the differences appear on different levels, and they are particularly noticeable in connection with culture-bound elements, or realia, where the quality of a translation might also be considerably affected by limited knowledge of peripheral cultures in general.

In the last part of the monograph, we have devoted particular attention to the role of the mother tongue in successful communication between different language communities. In today's globalized world, knowledge of other, more central languages is necessary and to some extent unavoidable for speakers of a peripheral language like Slovene. We are constantly surrounded by texts in foreign languages, most frequently in English, with frequent appearances by other languages as well.[68] Despite this – or perhaps precisely for this reason – high competence in the mother tongue is a prerequisite for good knowledge of foreign languages, with direct impact on the quality of translations both from foreign languages into the mother tongue and the other way around, as we have pointed out in Chapter 4.

68 In the Slovenian case, the border regions have Italian (a semi-peripheral language) and Hungarian (a peripheral one) as the languages of autochthonous minorities; due to geographical proximity and historical influence, German also has a strong presence.

In this monograph, then, we have presented the place of Slovene in the world translation system, discussed the influence of this position on the choice of translation strategies most frequently used by translators, and shed light on the differences between translation strategies characteristic of peripheral and semi-peripheral/central languages. For the most part, we found quite clear tendencies common to peripheral languages on the one hand and to central languages on the other. These findings, of course, call for further research on other language pairs, particularly languages with weaker historical and/or geographical ties. There are also a number of gaps that could usefully be filled with regard to Slovene. For example, translations in both literary and non-literary genres should be systematically analysed to compare the features we found in selected text types with other areas as well. Likewise, the question of translations of Slovene literary works into foreign languages remains open and, with rare exceptions, unresearched. We will be working on these and other research questions in the future. Even after completing only the present studies, however, we can say with certainty that translation between languages in different positions, as well as between languages on the same level in the world system, has characteristics that strongly affect the translation process, all the way from the selection of texts for translation, down to individual word- and phrase-level translation decisions; and that translations both into and out of Slovene would be improved if participants in the translation process were aware of these characteristics and took them into account in their work. Based on our findings we can also say that a language – regardless of its position in the world language and translation system – is always a hyper-central language to its own native speakers, and that their level of competence in it affects communication both within their own language community and in their contacts with other language communities and cultures. Therefore, though it may not be evident at first glance in today's interconnected and globalized world, the mother tongue needs adequate attention and care on all levels of education, and not only until the end of secondary school.

6 Izvleček (Slovene Summary)

Revidirana izdaja monografije *Center in periferija: razmerja moči v svetu prevajanja* obravnava odnose med jeziki, ki so del prevodnega postopka. Pri tem ne gre za odnose enakosti, saj imajo različni jeziki v globalnem jezikovnem in prevodnem sistemu različna mesta. Nekateri dejavniki, npr. število maternih govorcev ali gospodarska moč države, v kateri se jezik govori, ki vplivajo na relativni prestiž in položaj določenega jezika in kulture, so opazni na prvi pogled, a poleg njih obstajajo še drugi, manj vidni dejavniki, npr. kulturni kapital določenega jezika (Bourdieu [1986] 2011) ter položaj jezikovne skupnosti znotraj globalnega jezikovnega, književnega in prevodnega sistema (Casanova 2010; De Swaan 2001; Heilbron 2000). Monografija se v okviru teorij, ki temeljijo na Wallersteinovi teoriji svetovnega sistema (2004), ne ukvarja le z odnosi med centrom in periferijo, ampak z veliko bolj zapleteno mrežo odnosov, vključno z različnimi odnosi med hipercentralnim, centralnimi, polperifernimi in perifernimi jeziki.

V jedru monografije je vprašanje, kako položaj posameznega jezika vpliva na prevajanje in druge oblike medjezikovnega in medkulturnega posredovanja. V svojih raziskavah različnih jezikovnih parov, besedilnih vrst, literarnih žanrov in različno izkušenih prevajalcev ugotavljamo, da se kažejo posamezni prevodni vzorci, ki so značilni prav za periferne jezikovne pare. V svoji raziskavi smo se osredotočile predvsem na to, kako položaj posameznega jezika vpliva na prevod na makroravni (na področju prevodne politike, količine, posrednosti prevodov in žanrske raznolikosti prevedenih besedil), kot tudi na mikroravni posameznih prevodnih strategij in rešitev znotraj posameznega prevedenega besedila, povedi, besedne zveze. S svojimi raziskavami smo preverjale naslednje hipoteze:

- Definicija jezika kot centralnega ali perifernega temelji na modelu svetovnega prevodnega sistema (cf. Heilbron 1999), a njegov položaj ni nespremenljiv; se lahko spremeni s časom, nanj pa lahko začasno ali trajno vplivajo tudi različne (zgodovinske, kulturne, politične) okoliščine.
- Na makroravni se prevajanje iz perifernih jezikov razlikuje od prevajanja iz centralnih glede razlogov za prevajanje, postopka izbora besedil za prevod, števila in vrst prevajalcev, ki so na voljo, itn.
- Tudi na mikroravni lahko opazimo določene razlike pri najpogostejših prevodnih strategijah, posebej kadar gre za kulturno vezane prvine v izhodiščnih besedilih.
- Ne glede na položaj jezika v svetovnem sistemu je vsak jezik za svoje materne govorce centralen; če govorec/pisec besedila nima zadostnih kompetenc v maternem jeziku, to lahko ovira njegovo komuniciranje tako v nacionalnem kot mednarodnem okolju in vpliva na vse vrste medjezikovnih stikov in posredovanja in ustvarjanja.

Monografijo odpira opis teoretičnega temelja za jezikovni/prevodni sistem in prikaz spremenljivega položaja posameznega jezika v njem, ki se lahko spreminja zaradi časa in različnih okoliščin in vpliva na vse vidike medjezikovnega komuniciranja, od možnosti, da bo do stika med dvema jezikoma sploh prišlo, do načina, kako se bo to zgodilo, in nazadnje do posameznih prevajalskih odločitev na mikroravni.

V naslednjih poglavjih predstavljamo rezultate posameznih študij medkulturnih in medjezikovnih stikov med hipercentralnimi, centralnimi, polperifernimi in perifernimi jeziki na eni strani in slovenščino na drugi. Vsaka od študij se na svoj način ukvarja s teoretičnimi vprašanji, predstavljenimi v uvodnem poglavju.

Drugo poglavje prinaša pregled založniške prakse pri prevajanju in izdajanju književnosti različnih jezikov in kultur, rezultati pa temeljijo na podatkih, ki smo jih skupaj s študentkami pridobile iz Cobissa in z intervjuji z udeleženci v prevodnem postopku, namreč s prevajalci, uredniki, založniki in pokrovitelji (ustanovami, ki ponujajo finančno in drugo podporo pri promociji različnih književnosti s pomočjo prevajanja).

Tretje poglavje prinaša študije primerov prevodov umetnostnih in neumetnostnih besedil med slovenščino in drugimi jeziki in kaže, kako na posamezne prevajalske odločitve vplivata položaja izhodiščnega in ciljnega jezika v svetovnem sistemu, pa tudi, kako lahko zgodovinske okoliščine in povezanost dveh jezikovnih skupnosti povzročijo, da ima določen jezik v določeni skupnosti veliko pomembnejši ali manj pomemben položaj kot v svetovnem sistemu.

Zadnje poglavje obravnava vlogo, ki jo v vseh medjezikovnih stikih in komunikaciji igra materni jezik, ne glede na to, kako (ne)pomemben je v svetovnem okviru, in opozarja na potrebo po stalnem vseživljenjskem izpopolnjevanju kompetenc v maternem jeziku, ki svojim govorcem omogoča, da lahko uspešno delujejo ne le znotraj svoje jezikovne skupnosti, ampak tudi v mednarodnem prostoru.

Na koncu monografije predstavljamo še povzetek svojih raziskav in jih primerjamo s hipotezami, predstavljenimi v uvodu. Na ta način predstavljamo podrobno sliko o tem, kaj pomeni prevajati v periferni jezik, kakršen je slovenščina, in iz njega in kaj vse vpliva na te prevode.

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8 Index of Names

9 Appendixes

9.1 QUESTIONNAIRE FOR PUBLISHERS AND LITERARY MAGAZINES (TRANSLATING POETRY FROM A SEMI-PERIPHERAL LANGUAGE, ITALIAN)

1. Who selects the works of Italian poetry and the translations that are published by your publishing house/journal?
2. According to what criteria do you select the works of Italian poetry that you translate and publish in your publishing house / in your journal? Are there more translations of classical poets or modern poets?
3. Does your publishing house / journal employ translators who translate poetry for you in particular, and do the translators propose poems they would like to translate?
4. What determines how many Italian poems are translated for your publishing house / journal in a certain period? Is there a limit to the number of such poems?
5. How does funding affect the number of translated Italian poems and the publishing of translated poems at your publishing house / in your journal?

9.2 QUESTIONNAIRE FOR PUBLISHERS (TRANSLATING NOVELS FROM A SEMI-PERIPHERAL LANGUAGE, ITALIAN)

1. Who selects the novels to be translated? Does the same also apply to translations of Italian novels?
2. What are the criteria for publishing a translated novel? Are the criteria for publishing translated Italian novels the same? Are there more translations of classical novels or of modern bestsellers?
3. What determines how many Italian novels are translated a year? Is the number of such translations per year limited? To what extent does funding affect the number of translations of Italian novels?
4. Do the translators often propose novels that they would like to translate? Are their proposals usually accepted?
5. Do you have regular translators for translating Italian novels?

9.3 QUESTIONNAIRE FOR TRANSLATORS (TRANSLATING FROM PERIPHERAL LANGUAGES)

Why did you begin to learn Dutch/Danish/Estonian etc.?

Where did you learn Dutch/Danish/Estonian etc.?

a) Parents

b) Surroundings

c) Formal education

d) Other (indicate how, or explain the chosen answer more closely)

Do you also translate (from your mother tongue) into Dutch/Danish/Estonian etc.?

a) Yes

b) No

Please list your other language combinations.

Please list your fields of translation for the language combination Dutch/Danish/Estonian etc.—Slovene. For literary translation, please note the genre.

What share of the demand for translations from Dutch/Danish/Estonian etc. into Slovene is made up by literature?

a) Only literature

b) Mostly literature

c) Literature makes up half

d) Literature makes up less than half

How great is the demand for translations from Dutch/Danish/Estonian etc. in general into Slovene?

Who selects literature for translation?

a) The authors

b) The editors

c) The publishing house

d) The readers

e) Other (please indicate)

What are the criteria for approving, selecting and publishing a translation of a literary work?

Have you ever come across a work you wanted to translate that the publisher did not want to publish? How many times?

Who funds translations?

Do you have the impression that the demand for translation of literature from Dutch/Danish/Estonian etc. into Slovene has been rising or falling in recent years, and why?

9.4 QUESTIONNAIRE FOR PUBLISHERS (TRANSLATING FROM PERIPHERAL LANGUAGES: DUTCH, DANISH, FINNO-UGRIC AND BALTIC LANGUAGES)

1. Does the publishing house solicit the translation of a book, or do the translators themselves decide to translate a work?
2. What are the criteria for publishing the translation of a literary work?
3. Who selects literature for translation?
4. How often do translators propose literature to you that they want to translate?

9.5 QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE SLOVENIAN BOOK AGENCY

1. Who are the most translated authors, and which translators have translated the most works from Danish/Dutch into Slovene and the other way around?
2. Do you have a completely up-to-date database of literary translations into foreign languages? (For what languages do you have complete databases?)

9.6 QUESTIONNAIRE FOR FIRST-YEAR STUDENTS OF INTERLINGUAL MEDIATION (READING LITERACY STUDY, PART 1)

Please read the article and answer the questions, then write a standard summary. Participation in the study is of course anonymous. If you also wish us to grade your summary, send it to me in the virtual classroom as well.

Year of birth:

1. Explain in one sentence what the article is about.
2. What is your opinion of illegal immigration? Causes? Culprits? Solutions?
3. Why do some people not believe that the refugees are really coming by boat?
4. Why are the refugees coming?
5. What do the natives think about it?
6. How do the tourists react to such incidents?
7. What does the European Union have to do with all of this?

Write a 100-word summary.

Text:

Small islands' migration drama

By Dominic Bailey

BBC News, Tenerife

Families visiting Tenerife's resort of Los Cristianos tuck into their paellas, steins of beer and piles of ice cream, mainly oblivious to the wretched boatload of African immigrants being escorted into the harbour by the Coastguard. The more curious holidaymakers gather to watch the spectacle for a while before drifting back to celebrations marking the patron saint of local fishermen. On the quayside, the emergency services continue in a now familiar routine of disembarkation and health checks before packing the immigrants on to buses and transferring them to the courts and overloaded detention centres.

Over the past few years, the Canary Islands have been used to the arrival of "pateras", small boats holding up to 12 immigrants from Senegal or Guinea.

Now, bigger "cayucos" – brightly painted Senegalese fishing boats – are arriving daily, packed with up to 150 young men desperate for a better life, hoping for work or schooling in the West. Some speak of escaping war and poverty by risking eight to 10 days on treacherous seas with little more than rice and biscuits to eat. The state of those arriving has varied dramatically. Some have been taken away on stretchers, weak and emaciated, with arms burnt by the sea salt. Others have arrived in good health, needing little medical assistance at all.

One policeman guarding the latest arrivals told the gathered journalists not to be taken in by stories of hardship and days at sea. "If they had been at sea for 10 days, in open boats, they would not be in the state they are in," he said. "Where are the signs of salt from the sea, the sunburn, legs that have been soaked in water for 10 days? Some of these are arriving fresher than lettuce. Something else is happening out there."

There is a theory that the cayucos are being loaded up with passengers from bigger boats when they are within closer range of the Canaries. A GPS system was found on one boat, which may suggest its helmsmen ensured a direct crossing. But many of the 73 on board were grateful for the attentions of the Red Cross – the drinking water, new clothes and sandals, the younger ones showing their age by peeling size-labels off the clothes and sticking them on each other's faces.

The police presence made the immigrants reluctant to talk too much - the less the authorities know about what language they speak and where they are from, the harder it is for them to be repatriated. One, who called himself Maiasinko, said he had saved up little by little since 2000 to pay the fare for the journey, which is said to be a few hundred euros per person. He said they were fleeing a rebellion in Casamance, Senegal. "I have come to look for work and left behind my whole family. There was no help for us there." He said of the journey: "It was between living and dying."

Another, Sall, said he was 16, but did not pay for his place on the boat. "I came to save my life. I could stay there and die or come here. In Casamance there are too much problems, the rebellion just kill, kill, kill. "I lost my sister, my father and have left behind my mother. I need to go to school. I haven't finished school."

Another, who did not have time to give his name before a guard's glare silenced him, said there was little food on the boat – rice cooked on small stoves and dry biscuits. "We crossed the ocean, the waves were high and water came in," he said. Not all the boats make the crossing and some migrants have arrived dead

or dying. One nearby beach was recently the scene of bikini-clad sunbathers taking water and food to a boatload of immigrants washed up on the shore.

Many islanders are losing patience – both those who make their living from the tourist industry, and the authorities, who are struggling to cope. Lorry driver Antonion Miguel, 44, says there are just too many migrants for a small island with few jobs. "Where do we put them all?" he asks. "Something is happening, it's not normal. The government has to take steps… or is it because they want cheap labour?"

Luis Spinola, who runs whale-watching trips, is also unhappy. "They are poor people and it is bad for them, but as we have to take care of them, it is eventually going to push up our taxes," he says. "I blame Europe – we are all Europeans now, not just Spanish or English, so other EU countries need to do more to help, they have to collaborate more. They have to help out with centres to hold them. "There also has to be more help to fight corruption in the African countries they are coming from. "The majority of tourists don't know about the situation, but if less attention is paid to them – as all our police are taken up looking after the arrivals – it could affect them in the longer term."

As the immigrants are bussed away, business soon returns to normal for the ferry passengers and sun worshippers of Los Cristianos. The emergency tents of the Red Cross are taken down between landings. The cayucos are emptied of their stinking contents and sprayed clean before being broken up and taken away, the scar removed from the landscape of pleasure boats and giant ferries. Until the next time.

(BBC)

9.7 QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THIRD-YEAR STUDENTS OF INTERLINGUAL MEDIATION (READING LITERACY STUDY, PART 2)

CODE:

This is the second part of a study of literacy that we started in the 2006/07 academic year. We want to find out how three years of study in our department affect the development of students' reading literacy, so we carry out this study with first- and third-year students every year. We therefore ask you to fill in the questionnaire, write a summary of the text, and translate the text at home. We are grateful for your cooperation, not least because we know how students feel about writing summaries.

General instructions: Answer the questions and write a summary of the text in Slovene in the questionnaire. Sign the translation **with the code number, not with your name** and hand it in by 4 January 2010 in the virtual classroom the usual way.

Questionnaire

1. Summarize the content of the article in one sentence.
2. Briefly state your opinion as to what affects how well first- and second-generation immigrant children do in school.
3. How are the [PISA] studies of the effectiveness of the education systems carried out?
4. How does the performance of the immigrant schoolchildren differ by host country?
5. What does the author think is the reason for the differences in performance between school students coming from countries of the former Yugoslavia on the one hand, and those coming from countries of the former Soviet Union on the other?
6. How is the success of different education systems in the PISA study connected with the number of immigrant school students?
7. Summarize the content of the article in 100 words. IN SLOVENE.

Text:

Educating migrant children

Huddled classes

How migrants fare in school, and what schools can learn from them

Sep 11th 2008

MOST teachers admit that occasionally, when a lesson is going badly, they suspect the problem lies not with the subject or pedagogy, but with the pupils. Some children just seem harder to teach than others. But why? Is it because of, say, cultural factors: parents from some backgrounds place a low value on education and do not push their children? Or is it to do with schools themselves, and their capacity to teach children of different abilities?

It might seem impossible to answer such a question. To do so would require exposing similar sorts of children to many different education systems and see

which does best. As it happens, however, an experiment along those lines already exists – as a result of mass migration. Children of migrants from a single country of origin come as near to being a test of the question as you are likely to find.

Every three years, as part of its Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA), the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, a Paris-based think-tank, measures how 15-year-olds in around 50 countries do in their own languages, mathematics and science. The OECD recently sorted the data from its 2006 study of science performance according to the countries of origin of children and their parents. Four places – Turkey, China, the former Soviet Union and ex-Yugoslavia – have each sent enough citizens to enough countries for conclusions to be drawn about the quality of schooling in their host countries.

Almost everywhere immigrant students fare worse than locals – unsurprisingly, as they are often the children of poor, ill-educated parents and do not speak the local language. When data are adjusted to take account of these disadvantages, much but not all of the gap is closed (see chart). More interestingly, children from the same country do very differently, depending on where they end up.

One reason is connected with how much countries "track" pupils (ie, sort them into ability groups and teach them separately). Large numbers of first- and second-generation Turkish children go to school in Austria, Germany, Belgium, Switzerland and Denmark. In the first four countries, pupils are tracked on leaving primary school. But those in Austria and Germany do worse than those in Belgium and Switzerland because, it seems, tracking is earlier and more rigid in the first two, and a child's socio-economic status has a very large effect on the track he ends up on. Most Turkish kids go to technical schools that don't fit them for university.

Their poor showing in Denmark's comprehensive schools, where there is no tracking and all children should in theory have access to equally good education, is a little more puzzling. Andreas Schleicher, the OECD's head of education research, speculates that their chances are damaged by the way in which poor Danish children are heavily concentrated in some schools, rather than scattered around the place. In general, countries where there is considerable difference in intake between schools tend to do worse in PISA.

Grouping children by ability is not necessarily a bad idea, though, as the experience of mainland Chinese children shows. Those who migrate to Hong Kong do very well despite being poor – and despite the fact that Hong Kong tracks school-children early and often. But there, which track a child ends up

on has less to do with the parents' wealth and education. Moreover, children can move to a different track if they do better than expected. "In general, socio-economic status has less impact in East Asian countries than in western European ones," says Mr Schleicher.

Among the world's best performers are Chinese children taught in Australia. The average Chinese first- or second-generation immigrant there outperforms two-thirds of all Australians (themselves no mean performers), and three-quarters of all the children who take the PISA test worldwide. Mr Schleicher praises the Australian school system for its diversity – within schools, not between them – and ability to capture the talents of all students.

The contrasting fates of children from the former Soviet Union and ex-Yugoslavia provide extra proof that the host country makes a difference, over and above the intellectual baggage immigrant children bring with them. Kids who arrive in Kyrgyzstan from other ex-Soviet lands do badly, albeit better than the locals; those who go to successful little Estonia do far better. By contrast, Yugoslav kids do much the same pretty well everywhere – whether they move to another post-Yugoslav state or some richer and more stable place. The difference is timing: the Soviet Union imploded earlier than Yugoslavia, so "ex Soviet" children spent less time in education in their home country; those from Yugoslavia less in the host one.

Wrong sort of migrants or schools?

At least in theory, the new findings should help counter some of the sillier things that policymakers say about the influence of migrants on a country's overall attainments. "When we started to do the PISA rankings in 2000, many countries were shocked at how badly they did," says Mr Schleicher. "And excuses we often heard were: 'We get too many migrants,' or, 'we get the wrong sort of migrants.'"

Although immigrant children typically do worse at school than locals, there is no country-wide effect. The OECD's analyses show an insignificant correlation between the number of immigrant children a country has and the average pupil's attainment – and it is countries with more immigrant children that do (slightly) better.

As well as testing children on what they know, PISA also asks them how motivated they are: whether they think they will need the subject in question (most recently, science) for their future, and whether they like to study it for its own sake. In most countries, first-generation immigrant students are more motivated than second-generation ones, who are in turn more motivated than

the children of the native-born. Germany is a striking exception: new immigrants turn up with the usual ambitions and dreams, but by the age of 15 their children have already given up hope.

That suggests that any country that figures out how to let incomers shine will reap big benefits. Immigrants, however poor, are a self-selected bunch of ambitious, hard-working people, and their children usually know that, lacking the informal networks that let locals get ahead, they must study hard to succeed. Their varying fates – helped to the top in some places, consigned to the scrap-heap in others – show that although what happens outside the school gates is important, what happens in classrooms is too.

9.8 TRANSLATION FROM A FOREIGN LANGUAGE INTO THE MOTHER TONGUE (SLOVENE): QUESTIONNAIRE AND ENGLISH, GERMAN AND ITALIAN TEXTS

Instructions

Please translate the text and answer the attached questionnaire. You can use all the usual translation aids while translating; the only thing that matters is that you translate it YOURSELF. Please also fill in the questionnaire and give as much information as possible in your answers (so you forget as little as possible). Since you are anonymous, please do not even omit details that might strike you as unimportant or silly. Hand the translation into your teacher, and also submit **the translation and the completed questionnaire** in the virtual classroom.

To ensure anonymity, please do not write your name or study program anywhere in the translation. Write your study program (Translation or English, further detail is not needed) in the indicated place, but not your name.

Thank you for your cooperation.

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE TRANSLATION

Please answer the below questions about the translation aids you used. Since you remain anonymous throughout, we ask you to write down everything, even if it might strike you as unimportant or silly. You can answer very briefly, in bullet points, giving only titles and similar. Hand in your answers together with the translation.

1. **Study program:**
2. **Age:**
3. **How much time** did you spend from starting the translation to the final version?
4. **Which translation aids** did you use (also indicate if you used the paper or electronic version):
    1. **bilingual dictionaries** (list the title and year of publication)
    2. **monolingual dictionaries** (list the title and year of publication)
    3. **other language manuals** (corpora, style manuals, terminological collections, parallel texts – for paper sources, list the title and year of publication; for electronic sources, the page title and link)
    4. **other general reference** (Google, Wikipedia, web pages of organizations, individuals, newspapers, news websites, encyclopedias, maps etc. (with page titles and links))
    5. **other people** (experts in the field, people with experience in the topic of the article, fellow students, relatives, more experienced translators, linguists (without names)). For each source, note how they helped you.
    6. **anything else that helped you translate the text**

9.8.1 English text

The below excerpt is part of an article titled "A Well-Locked Closet: Gay Rights in Developing Countries", which was published in *The Economist* last May. Imagine that you are translating for the Slovene magazine *Global*. If you want to explain any of your translation solutions, do so in the notes.

THEIR crimes were "gross indecency" and "unnatural acts". Their sentence was 14 years' hard labour: one intended, said the judge, to scare others. He has succeeded. A court in Malawi last week horrified many with its treatment of Steven Monjeza and Tiwonge Chimbalanga, a gay couple engaged to be married. The two men are the latest victims of a crackdown on gay rights in much of the developing world, particularly Africa.

Some 80 countries criminalise consensual homosexual sex. Over half rely on "sodomy" laws left over from British colonialism. But many are trying to make their laws even more repressive. Last year, Burundi's president, Pierre Nkurunziza, signed a law criminalising consensual gay sex, despite the Senate's overwhelming rejection of the bill. A draconian bill proposed in Uganda would dole out jail sentences for failing to report gay people to the police and could impose the death penalty for gay sex if one of the participants is HIV-positive. In March Zimbabwe's president, Robert Mugabe, who once described gay people as worse than dogs or pigs, ruled out constitutional changes outlawing discrimination based on sexual orientation.

In many former colonies, denouncing homosexuality as an "unAfrican" Western import has become an easy way for politicians to boost both their popularity and their nationalist credentials. But Peter Tatchell, a veteran gay-rights campaigner, says the real import into Africa is not homosexuality but politicised homophobia.

This has, he argues, coincided with an influx of conservative Christians, mainly from America, who are eager to engage African clergy in their own domestic battle against homosexuality. David Bahati, the Ugandan MP who proposed its horrid bill, is a member of the Fellowship, a conservative American religious and political organisation.

9.8.2 German text

Translate this text, published on the website *www.freiheit.org*, so it would be fit for publication in *Mladina*. Hand in the text together with the attached questionnaire, which you should answer carefully.

Menschenrechtsverletzungen: Homophobie in Uganda

Die ugandische Zeitung Rolling Stone (keine Verbindung zum gleichnamigen US-Musikmagazin) hat bereits 2010 mehrfach Listen mit den Namen homosexueller Bürger veröffentlicht. Besonders schockierend war ein Titelblatt der Zeitung im Oktober 2010, das die Namensliste der 100 „Top-Homos" neben der Aufforderung „Erhängt sie!" druckte. Die Situation für Homosexuelle in Uganda wird immer gefährlicher. Nach Angaben von Menschenrechtsgruppen gab es nach der Veröffentlichung dieser Liste mindestens vier gegen Schwule gerichtete körperliche Angriffe.

Homosexualität kann in Uganda unter bestimmten Umständen jetzt schon mit über zehn Jahren Haft bestraft werden. Im Jahr 2009 schlug der ugandische Parlamentarier David Bahati ein Gesetz vor, das diese Strafe auf lebenslänglich verlängert, und zudem z.B. für homosexuellen Sex mit HIV-positiven Menschen die Todesstrafe vorgesehen hätte. Nach internationalem Protest wurde der Gesetzesentwurf zurückgezogen. Er hat dennoch Konsequenzen für homosexuelle Menschen in Uganda, die nun zunehmend verbalen und physischen Angriffen ausgesetzt sind.

Der Chefredakteur des Rolling Stone, Giles Muhame, erklärte, er wolle mit den Veröffentlichungen homosexuellen Männern „helfen, ein verantwortungsbewusstes Leben zu führen". Die Zeitung behauptete ferner, dass Schwule durch „Überfälle" auf Schulen bereits bis zu einer Millionen Schüler „rekrutiert" hätten (THE INDEPENDENT).

Eine Menschenrechtsgruppe beantragte jüngst vor Gericht eine Verfügung gegen den Rolling Stone, die der Zeitung derartige Veröffentlichungen verbieten soll. Laut THE INDEPENDENT wurde die Publikation der Zeitung zunächst nicht wegen ihres hetzerischen Inhalts, sondern wegen ihrer mangelhaften offiziellen Registrierung gestoppt. Der Rolling Stone druckt nur ca. 2000 Exemplare, wobei jedoch jedes Exemplar durchschnittlich von mindesten zehn Personen gelesen wird […].

dg

9.8.3 Italian text

The below text was published in the Italian newspaper *La Stampa*. Translate it so that it would be fit for publication in the Slovene magazine *Global*. Complete the attached questionnaire and hand it in together with the translation.

Uganda, ucciso in casa attivista gay. Il suo nome su un giornale omofobo

David Kato colpito alla testa, l'Ue: «Fare subito chiarezza»

KAMPALA

È stato picchiato a morte in casa sua, perchè era gay e si batteva per i loro diritti, in un Paese come l'Uganda dove l'omofobia è quasi una legge dello Stato, visto che il Parlamento sta discutendo un testo che propone di uccidere tutti gli omosessuali.

David Kato si sentiva in pericolo di vita già da tempo, cioè da quando, quattro mesi fa, il quotidiano locale Rolling Stone (che, ovviamente, non ha nulla a che fare con l'omonima testata dedicata alla musica) aveva pubblicato un articolo dal titolo «Impiccateli»: sotto l'esplicito invito, la lista, le foto e gli indirizzi di alcuni difensori dei diritti dei gay, tra cui Kato. Dopo la pubblicazione Kato ed altri due avevano querelato il quotidiano ottenendo il pagamento di danni e un'ingiunzione che vieta ai media di rivelare chi è gay.

David svolgeva la sua attività nel gruppo "Sexual Minorities Uganda". «È morto mentre lo stavano trasportando in ospedale dopo che un uomo lo aveva assalito con un martello o con un'ascia nella sua casa di Kyetume-Mukono», ha detto la portavoce della polizia Jusith Nabakooba, sminuendo il movente dell'omofobia. «Stiamo ancora investigando sui motivi dell'omicidio – ha aggiunto – ma la zona è piena di criminali che usano sbarre di ferro».

Il quotidiano Rolling Stone ha condannato l'omicidio e si è chiamato fuori da ogni responsabilità: «Non volevamo promuovere gli attacchi contro i gay, ma spingere il governo a prendere misure contro chi propaganda l'omosessualità. Vogliamo che sia la legge ad impiccarli, non che vengano attaccati dai cittadini», ha detto il 22enne direttore del giornale. L'omosessualità è ancora reato in 37 paesi africani, dove è vista come una contaminazione occidentale. Pochissimi gli africani che si dichiarano apertamente gay, perchè le storie di licenziamenti, violenze e arresti contro chi l'ha fatto sono all'ordine del giorno.

In Uganda il movimento anti-gay è molto forte, tanto da spingere il parlamento a discutere una legge che prevede la pena di morte per gli omosessuali. La proposta, che ancora pende in aula, è stata pubblicamente condannata dal presidente Usa Barack Obama mentre il segretario di Stato Hillary Clinton ha espresso la sua preoccupazione al presidente ugandese Yoweri Museveni. E il timore delle organizzazioni umanitarie è che la legge possa passare dopo le elezioni presidenziali di febbraio, in cui Museveni è dato per vincitore.

9.9 TRANSLATION FROM THE MOTHER TONGUE (SLOVENE) INTO A FOREIGN LANGUAGE: QUESTIONNAIRE AND TEXT

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE TRANSLATION

Please answer the below questions about the translation aids you used. Since you remain anonymous throughout, we ask you to write down everything, even if it might strike you as unimportant or silly. You can answer very briefly, in bullet

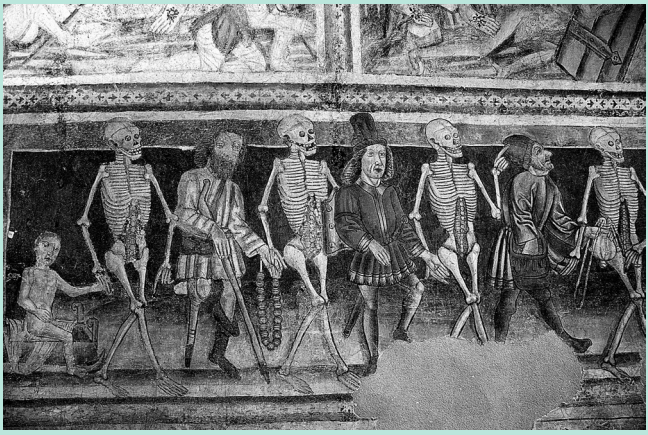
points, giving only titles and similar. Hand in your answers together with the translation.

1. **Study program:**
2. **Age:**
3. **How much time** did you spend from starting the translation to the final version? Please indicate if you split the translation over more than one day.
4. **Which translation aids** did you use (also indicate if you used the paper or electronic version):
    1. **bilingual dictionaries** (list the title and year of publication)
    2. **monolingual dictionaries** (list the title and year of publication)
    3. **other language manuals** (corpora, style manuals, terminological collections, parallel texts – for paper sources, list the title and year of publication; for electronic sources, the page title and link)
    4. **other general reference** (Google, Wikipedia, web pages of organizations, individuals, newspapers, news websites, encyclopedias, maps etc. (with page titles and links))
    5. **other people** (experts in the field, people with experience in the topic of the article, fellow students, relatives, more experienced translators, linguists (without names)). For each source, note how they helped you.
    6. **anything else that helped you translate the text**

Translate this text, which was published on February 19, 2014 in the online edition of *Delo* (http://www.delo.si/novice/slovenija/hrastovci-stopili-skupaj-za-dozivetje-v-hrastovljah. html) so it would be fit for publication on a web page promoting tourism in EU countries. Translate into a foreign language (English, German or Italian). Do **not** translate the struck-out part of the text, but do read it. Hand in the text together with the attached questionnaire, which you should answer carefully.

Hrastovci stopili skupaj za doživetje v Hrastovljah

Slovitim freskam z Mrtvaškim plesom hrastovske cerkve bodo dodali posebnosti domače turistične ponudbe



Janez iz Kastva, Mrtvaški ples, 1490, Hrastovlje. Foto: Wikipedia.

V soboto se bo v vasici pod Bržanijo uradno začel projekt Doživi Hrastovlje, ki bo ta konec tedna obogaten s pestrim kulturno-zabavnim dogajanjem. Začelo se bo že ob devetih zjutraj in bo pestro dva dneva na devetih prizoriščih. Pripravili so razstave, delavnice, plese, glasbene utrinke, dva pohoda, dve gledališki predstavi (Lepo je biti star in Ali ženske kdaj odnehajo). Degustacije pa bodo na Kmetiji Trček, Turistični kmetiji Škrgat oziroma v trgovini s suhomesnimi izdelki Hrastovlje in v Gostilni Švab.

Hrastovlje – Hrastovci, prebivalci v svetu najbolj znane slovenske istrske vasi (pri Kopru), so združili svoje turistične moči in verjetno edini v Sloveniji ponudili doživetje vasice (Hrastovelj) z eno samo skupno vstopnico. Kdor bo plačal 7,5 evra (otroci 4), si bo lahko ogledal vse njene kulturne in naravne znamenitosti in si poleg tega za silo »privezal dušo«.

Projekt Doživi Hrastovlje bo zaživel ta konec tedna in ga bodo potem ponavljali vse leto vse sobote, nedelje, praznike in ob prihodih potniških ladij v Koper. Vasica z znamenitimi freskami, ki prikazujejo stvarjenje sveta, izgon iz raja, prizore iz pasijona in predvsem Mrtvaški ples, je združila svoje turistične moči. Kdor bo kupil takšno vstopnico, bo imel na voljo voden ogled vasi, vstop v cerkvico z ogledom fresk in ogled dveh galerij: Jožeta Pohlena in Viktorja Snoja. Z dvema preostalima kuponoma pa bo lahko izbiral med več možnostmi degustacij domačih dobrot, vina, olja, klobas in sira na turističnih kmetijah ali pa ogled še enega muzejčka – zbirke orožja in drugih predmetov

iz prve in druge svetovne vojne. Poleg kulture in gastronomije majhna vasica ponuja izhodišče za vsaj dva nadpovprečno zanimiva in kratka izleta: v povsem zapuščeno vasico Zanigrad ali v vasico Podpeč pod kraško steno.

Vasico s 155 prebivalci na leto obišče več kot 10.000 turistov. Z vstopnicami si bodo poplačali vloženo delo in stroške, delček sredstev (četrt evra od vsake vstopnice) pa bo ostalo za skupne vaške projekte. Turistična organizacija Koper je s projektom uspela na posebnem razpisu iz programa Leader evropskega kmetijskega sklada za razvoj podeželja. Za promocijo in spremljajoče prireditve bodo namenili nekaj čez 40.000 evrov, od tega bo iz evropskega sklada 30.000 evrov. Projekt so letos zastavili poizkusno, vendar računajo, da bodo tako združeni lahko bistveno pripomogli k večjemu turističnemu obisku v kraju.