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**HAND IN HAND OR WORLDS APART?
AN OVERVIEW OF TRANSLATION AND EDUCATION IN
THE UPPER SORBIAN CONTEXT**

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Abstract: The second smallest of the Slavic languages, Upper Sorbian (*hornjoserbšćina*) is a minority language spoken in Upper Lusatia, located in eastern Germany close to the Czech and Polish frontiers. Building on previous work, this literature-based preliminary study explores the intersection between the domains of translation and minority language education with regard to the Upper Sorbian language. Initially, a historical and contemporary overview of the relevant sociolinguistic environment is provided, which is followed by an examination of the links between translation and education in the Upper Sorbian secondary and tertiary education sectors, as well as in professional training for language professionals. In addition, particular attention is also paid to the role of Domowina Verlag, the Sorbian-language publishing house. Finally, relevant information and new developments regarding the provision of translation and interpreting within the Upper Sorbian context are also presented, and the need for further empirical research is outlined.

Key words: Upper Sorbian, translation, bilingual education, minority languages, Slavic microlanguages

1. Introductory Remarks

Upper Sorbian (*hornjoserbšćina*) is a minority language spoken primarily in Upper Lusatia (*Hornja Łužica*), a small and primarily rural area of eastern Germany located around the town of Bautzen (*Budyšin*) in the federal state of Saxony, close to the borders with the Czech Republic and Poland. Though there is some uncertainty regarding the exact number of current speakers (estimates range from under 7,000 up to around 25,000), it is the second smallest of the Slavic languages and is closely related to Lower Sorbian, a fellow Slavic microlanguage spoken in Lower Lusatia, in the neighbouring federal state of Brandenburg. Together with official language of the European Union such as Czech, Polish, and Slovak, as well as the minority language of Kashubian (spoken in the northern Polish voivodeship of Pomerania), the two Sorbian

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languages form part of the west Slavic sub-family of languages (Bržan & Nowak 2015; Sytsema 2015; Werner 2017).

The Federal Republic of Germany is a signatory to the Council of Europe's European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (Council of Europe 2021) and to that end, Upper Sorbian is recognised as one of the country's five minority languages and therefore enjoys specific protections and rights (Seehofer 2020: 4-5). However, as Marti (2016: 206) notes, the vitality of the language is not assured and it remains vulnerable. Although a solid body of work has emerged in recent years on aspects relating to the historical and contemporary role of Upper Sorbian in schooling within Upper Lusatia (for example, see Budarjowa 2014; Tuz 2018; Westphal 2018; Dołowy-Rybińska 2018, 2021; Dołowy-Rybińska & Ratajczak 2019), less attention seems to have been focused on issues pertaining to the specific role of translation in the education sector. This is despite the influence that translation policies can exert with regard to minority languages (Belmar 2017; Córdoba Serrano & Fouces 2018), as well as the existence of broader discussions examining the intersection of translation with multilingualism policies (for example, see Grin 2017; Pym 2021).

Building on the author's previous translation and interpreting-focused studies of other minority languages such as Irish and Luxembourgish within the European context (Hoyte-West 2019, 2020), this literature-based exploratory overview aims to examine, in a preliminary manner, the importance of translation within the Upper Sorbian education system and centres mainly on secondary, tertiary, and professional education. This will be done by providing a brief panorama of historical and contemporary aspects relating to the Upper Sorbian linguistic context, before exploring the intersection of Upper Sorbian-related translation with the wider education sector in Upper Lusatia and beyond, thus aiming to provide a foundation for subsequent empirical research at a later date.

2. The History and Contemporary Status of the Upper Sorbian Language

Though small in size, Upper Sorbian has a long historical and cultural pedigree. Formerly spoken widely across much of what is now the modern German federal state of Saxony, over time its linguistic territory has diminished as its fortunes have waned. This can be ascribed largely to the overwhelming dominance of the German language, as nowadays all native speakers of Upper Sorbian are also native speakers of German. In addition, the region and its people have undergone significant geopolitical and economic changes over the past two centuries, as Upper Lusatia changed hands from the Kingdom of Saxony, to the German Empire, then Weimar and subsequently Nazi Germany, before forming part of the German Democratic Republic (East Germany) from after the Second World War until German reunification (Kamusella 2005: 55; Bržan & Nowak 2015: 7-8).

These wide-ranging political changes have had significant ramifications for the usage and status of the Upper Sorbian language itself, especially with regard to literary and translational production in the language. As Stone (2015: 41) notes in his comprehensive study of the Sorbs, the first complete Bible translation into the language

was made in 1728. In the nineteenth century, growing awareness of ethnolinguistic consciousness reached the Upper and Lower Sorbian-speaking lands, in common with many similar such minority and minoritized groups across Europe. In cultural terms, this resulted, as Scholze (1999: 209) highlights, in the beginnings of Upper Sorbian as a language of literature, albeit on a relatively small scale. In political terms, this nationalism was to culminate in unsuccessful attempts after the First World War to establish a Sorbian-speaking entity, either as its own independent state or as part of Tomáš Masaryk's newly-formed republic of Czechoslovakia. Nonetheless, the early interwar years saw efforts to advance educational provision in Upper Sorbian. During the Nazi dictatorship and the Second World War, however, the Slavic origins of the Sorbs meant that their languages and cultures were denigrated and virtually banned. In the post-war era, though, both the Upper and Lower Sorbian languages became highly regarded and under East German rule were given official status in certain municipalities, with corresponding implications for the education sector. This included the opening of a bilingual grammar school in Bautzen, as well as a now-closed Sorbian-language teacher training institute in the town of Radibor (*Radwor*). These initiatives also led to the (re)establishment of independent Sorbian educational cultural institutions, and these organisations have continued after German reunification, even if it has been argued that the Sorbs are no longer seen as a privileged minority (for example, see Kamusella 2005: 55-6; Brězan & Nowak 2015: 7-10).

Particularly relevant for aspects relating to translation and education with regard to both Upper and Lower Sorbian are the activities of Domowina Verlag, the Sorbian-language publishing house, which was formally incorporated in 1958 and works closely with its offshoot, the WITAJ Sprachzentrum language centre, to bring relevant linguistic and pedagogical material to the Upper and Lower Sorbian-speaking public. Indeed, the publishing house is part of Domowina, a politically-independent body representing the interests of Sorbs in both Upper and Lower Lusatia not only at the local level, but also on the national stage. From the outset, the publications produced by Domowina Verlag have covered the whole range of literary production, including various newspapers, children's books, academic and popular literature, as well as pedagogical materials for both the Upper and Lower Sorbian languages (Maćijowa 2014: 295-296; Domowina Verlag 2021; WITAJ 2021a). Indeed, during communist times, notions of wider Slavic fraternity ensured that many literary works – including canonical works such as the great Russian classics by Tolstoy – were translated into Upper Sorbian (Scholze 2012: 2134). However, to date translations of Upper Sorbian literature into other languages remain less plentiful. As exemplified by Kamusella's (2021) recent publication on the new and first-ever German translation of the Upper Sorbian writer Jurij Koch's acclaimed novel *Židowka Hana* [The Jewess Hana] (1963), many literary works written in the Upper Sorbian language still remain untranslated and thus inaccessible to a non-Upper Sorbian-speaking reader.

This is not to say, however, that translation is completely invisible in the modern Upper Sorbian context. As noted by Werner (2017), bilingual German-Upper Sorbian signage is common in public places in Upper Lusatia, and thus represents part of the region's linguistic landscape. However, the names of the relevant toponyms in Upper Sorbian are typically written underneath the German, and often a smaller font is used.

In addition, it has been observed that there can often be orthographical mistakes in the Upper Sorbian text used on these signs (Werner 2017: 157). Turning to mass media, another example can be seen in the case of *Wuhlادko*, the monthly Upper Sorbian television programme broadcast on MDR, the regional television station in central Germany, which is also available with German subtitles (MDR 2021).

3. Upper Sorbian Translation in Non-Tertiary Education

In modern Upper Lusatia, teaching in Upper Sorbian is available at a range of different educational levels. At the pre-primary level, Upper Sorbian-language kindergartens are available, where the linguistic immersion model emulates the Breton “*diwan*” model of language education (Budarjowa 2014: 303-4). Provision for tuition in the Upper Sorbian language also continues at primary and subsequently at secondary level. Notably, at the Upper Sorbian gymnasium in Bautzen, as Dołowy-Rybińska & Ratajczak (2019: 6) note, current language policy is based on the “*Konzept 2*” model, which builds on official EU recommendations for students to acquire proficiency in two languages additional to the mother tongue. In the Upper Lusatian context, this typically means both Upper Sorbian and German, plus a further language, with the stated goal that students achieve bilingualism in the first two languages (Sächsisches Bildungsinstitut 2017).

However, as Dołowy-Rybińska & Ratajczak (2019: 6) observe, the effectiveness of this policy has been questioned, given that students are streamed into different Upper Sorbian language groups based on their proficiency in the language, as well as factors such as parental preference, and teacher-based evaluation of their pupils. As such, only one stream generally achieves bilingualism – that is, with the range of school subjects taught in Upper Sorbian and German, whereas this is generally not the case for pupils participating in other streams. In addition, Dołowy-Rybińska & Ratajczak (2019: 6) highlight that this streaming also creates a divide between the pupils – and by extension peer groups – thus creating additional linguistic and social barriers between those who are fluent speakers of Upper Sorbian and those who may not be.

As might be expected, the use of translation in this context could be argued to be omnipresent, but somehow also remains very much in the background. The main example, as noted by Brězan & Nowak (2015: 33), is the translation of the relevant school textbooks used for various subjects such as mathematics, biology, geography and history. Indeed, syllabi are decided at the state level, and as such, the Upper Sorbian textbooks are direct translations of the German originals. On a practical level, this homogeneity ensures that students following certain school subjects in the Upper Sorbian stream(s) can follow exactly the same material as their counterparts educated fully or partially in German, and thus are not disadvantaged or have to complete extra schoolwork owing to linguistic aspects.

Although Domowina Verlag is the publisher of the Upper Sorbian variants of these state-sanctioned school textbooks, the responsibility for developing educational materials in Upper Sorbian lies primarily with the WITAJ Sprachzentrum, which – as mentioned previously – focuses on creating and promulgating pedagogical materials in

both the Upper and Lower Sorbian languages. As such, a language certification programme for both Upper and Lower Sorbian has been launched (for more information, please also see Hoyte-West (forthcoming)). This pioneering initiative comprises a series of independent language qualifications which are linked to the six levels of the Council of Europe's Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR), which appear to emulate similar such qualifications for major international languages, such as the Cambridge examinations for English, the Goethe-Zertifikat qualifications for German, and the DELF/DALF diplomas for French. At present, the language certificates for both Upper and Lower Sorbian are offered up to upper intermediate (Independent User – CEFR B2) level (Sprachzertifikat Sorbisch 2021). An examination of the website of the qualification reveals that translation does not currently appear to play any part in the examination process; however, once the full suite of qualifications is offered, it remains to be seen if it may play a role at the uppermost levels (Proficient User – CEFR C1 and C2).

However, some forms of translation-related activities do appear to take place in other WITAJ-developed pedagogical materials. In 2016, WITAJ Sprachzentrum created an online self-study portal for those interested in learning either (or both) of the Sorbian languages (Minderheitensekretariat 2018). At present, options are available for Upper and Lower Sorbian courses at the Basic User (CEFR A1 and A2) and Independent User (CEFR B1) level, which require the student to select a Sorbian language paired either with German or with English (Sorbisch Online Lernen 2021). In addition, this year (2021) has seen the launch of Sotra, the first Upper Sorbian-German machine translation programme. In common with many other types of proprietary translation software, Sotra uses neural machine translation to provide automatic translations between the two languages. This initiative will, of course, make a huge difference to translation and education in the Upper Sorbian language, both for learners as well as for advanced and native speakers. In addition, in developing this software it is hoped that eventually Upper Sorbian will be able to be integrated into ubiquitous online tools such as Google Translate (WITAJ 2021b), thus avoiding the current situation where the language is often misrecognised by machine translation software (for example, by the automatic language translator on Facebook) as being either Czech or Polish (Lausitzer Rundschau 2021).

4. Upper Sorbian Translation in Tertiary Education and Professional Training

Following the closure of the Sorbian teacher training institute after German reunification (RBB 2021), there is currently no tertiary institution located within the Upper Sorbian-speaking area itself. To this end, teacher training for both Upper and Lower Sorbian is now offered at the Institute for Sorbian Studies (*Institut za Sorabistiku*), which is based at the University of Leipzig's Faculty of Philology. Although the city of Leipzig also lies within the federal state of Saxony, nonetheless it is situated over 150 kilometres from the Upper Sorbian-speaking lands around Bautzen. As noted elsewhere (for example, see Böger 2017; Sächsische Zeitung 2021), there is currently a distinct shortage of teachers with the requisite linguistic skills in

Upper Sorbian. To that end, a special year-long intensive training course is offered to help trainee teachers acquire the relevant level of language skills in Upper Sorbian (Institut für Sorabistik 2021). In addition to teacher training degrees, the Institute for Sorbian Studies also offers undergraduate and postgraduate degrees in Upper and Lower Sorbian language, literature and culture (Plavskaya 2019: 527).

In terms of academic and professional training for language professionals working with Upper Sorbian, there appears to be no state-accredited translation (*Staatlich geprüfter Übersetzer*) or interpreting (*Staatlich geprüfter Dolmetscher*) examination available at the time of writing (Landesamt für Schule und Bildung 2020: 12). In this regard, it can be argued that this is an apparent anomaly since professions tend generally to be highly standardised and regulated within Germany itself (Neal & Morgan 2000: 21). Indeed, although modules offering translation between Upper Sorbian and German translation are incorporated within the postgraduate MA degree programme at the Institute for Sorbian Studies (University of Leipzig 2018: 18), no full degree course is currently offered which specifically focuses on Upper Sorbian translation or interpreting studies. Indeed, a glance at the postgraduate conference interpreting and translation degree programmes available at the University of Leipzig also illustrates that Upper Sorbian does not feature as one of the active or passive languages available for study at the time of writing (University of Leipzig 2021a, 2021b).

Nonetheless, despite the apparent absence of relevant training courses for putative translators and interpreters with Upper Sorbian language skills, it is clear that there is a distinct demand for professional translation and interpreting services and that professional translators and interpreters do operate within the Upper Sorbian linguistic context. To this end, a further state-owned institution (*Serwisowy běrow za serbsku rěč w komunalnych naležnosćach*) was founded in 2019, which offers translation, interpreting, and language consultancy services for Upper Sorbian. These are available free-of-charge to municipal authorities in Upper Lusatia (Klein 2019). In addition, a voluntary list of translators and interpreters working with both of the Sorbian languages is available on Domowina's website (Domowina 2021). Further evidence of the demand for Upper Sorbian language services is illustrated by the recent delivery of high-quality simultaneous interpreting equipment to the public sector within Upper Lusatia. As such, the implications for wider Upper Sorbian language policy are significant, as illustrated by the comments made by David Stanik, the president of Domowina, who observed that the availability of simultaneous interpretation services would allow Sorbs to speak in their language in a wider range of meetings and fora (Klein 2020).

5. Concluding Remarks

Building on Upper Lusatia's complex historical and sociolinguistic background, this literature-based preliminary overview has shown that the intersection between translation and education is extremely important, but remains somewhat understated within the Upper Sorbian context. To return to the title of this study, however, both

aspects certainly remain “hand-in-hand.” At the secondary school-level, bilingual education programmes, with state-level syllabi which require homogeneity of teaching materials, ensure that pupils are working with translated materials on a daily basis. In addition, future work to create advanced-level certifications for Upper Sorbian speakers may offer further possibilities to deepen the links between translation and education, thus building on recent achievements in developing online pedagogical materials as well as up-to-date translation software for this minority language.

At the tertiary and professional levels, although limited training options are currently available, the lack of full academic or professional translation and interpreting qualifications with Upper Sorbian remains a potential issue which may need addressing at a future date. However, in this regard recent initiatives to encourage more widespread usage of the Upper Sorbian language in the region’s local administration may lead to increased demand for qualified professional translators and (conference) interpreters with the necessary linguistic expertise, thereby leading to the provision of further training and development opportunities for linguists with Upper Sorbian skills. By way of comparison, the existence of a similar demand-based trajectory was also noted in the author’s aforementioned research study on Irish in the European context, which observed that the recognition of Irish as the twenty-third of the European Union’s official languages – with the associated linguistic implications for that entity’s institutions – also led to the development of a relevant Irish language-focused training course for conference interpreters within the Republic of Ireland itself (Hoyte-West, 2019). As such, this could provide a template for the creation of appropriate initiatives within the Upper Sorbian linguistic context. Yet what remains clear, though, is that further empirical research relating to aspects of the translation and interpreting of the Upper Sorbian language is certainly needed. In short, this is required not only to complement and deepen the observations of this exploratory literature-based overview, but also to provide a foundation for further comparative work with other similar minority language-based case studies both in Europe and beyond.

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TRANSLATING FOLKLORE: THE MYTH OF *BABA JAGA* IN AFANASEV'S FAIRY TALES

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Abstract: The main aim of this article is to provide a thorough insight about the difficulties encountered when translating fairy tales from Slavic folklore, in a sense that not only it implies the shift from an oral version to a written one, but also it has to face all the challenges of children's literature. In order to do this, we have analyzed one of the hundreds of fairy tales present in the work of the Russian writer and linguist Aleksandr Nikolaevič Afanas'ev, *Narodnye russkie skazki*, an extraordinary collection and classification of a large amount of fairy tales of the Slavic oral culture. Our analysis focuses on the well-known character *Baba Jaga*, the 'wooden leg' witch, who lives in an *izba* and rests on hen's legs in an enchanted wood. In particular, an attempt is made to conduct a translational analysis of Afanas'ev's text, within the framework of textual typology considering the translation macro-strategy, the most significant linguistic factors, as well as some potential translation strategies which help the story to fit in the target language and culture in the best possible way.

Key words: translation, fairy tale, Slavic folklore, mythology, translation strategies

1. Introduction

Having become one of the typical characters of Slavic folklore (and, in particular, of the Russian one), the myth of *Baba Jaga* knows no borders: born in the distant lands of the East, it soon reached many different countries, cultures and peoples. All this has led to the creation of countless fairy tales talking about this mysterious character, like the one present in Afanas'ev's collection of fairy tales and which represents the object of our analysis. Since this is a fairy tale that comes directly from the folkloric oral tradition, it is important to underline that in the translation process a main problem lies precisely in the attempt to understand and become aware of the cultural identity of a certain nation (Palchevska 2019: 73). This is because there is a very strong connection between folklore and the culture of a particular community. Indeed, it can be stated that folklore is nothing more than a mirror of culture, since it refers to the lifestyle of the people who produce it, as well as their beliefs, customs, attitudes, and ways of thinking

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(Rurangwa 2006: 16). In this sense fairy tale, like folklore, can be considered a representative vehicle for the transmission of specific cultural traits, even if they cannot always be fully understood by those outside this reality just by following the translation of a text.

Not surprisingly, one of the most difficult tasks for a translator struggling with a folkloric text concerns the ability to translate the so-called 'gaps', or 'culturally marked lexical units', that is lexical units that do not have an equivalent in one of the languages, due to the absence of the concept itself or of the lexical unity in the culture of the target language. In these cases, the translation can unfold (i) either by replacing the source word (or phrase) by a corresponding equivalent in the target language, or (ii) by interpreting, i.e., in addition to the equivalent meaning of the target language, the translators provide information on the coincidence (or divergence) regarding the cultural component of that connotation. Despite the primitive nature of the narration and the lightness of the themes used in folkloric texts, even the translation of a simple fairy tale – like our story of *Baba Jaga* – hides dangerous pitfalls. In particular, the main obstacles we shall focus on in this article concern (§2) the method of reworking the text, (§3) the translation of cultural elements, (§4) the theories of domestication and estrangement, (§5) the translation of *realia*, (§6) the communicative and semantic translation, an analysis regarding linguistic factors on two different levels: (§6.1) the first one will concern rhythm, proper names and common names, (§6.2) the second one will focus on parataxis, hypotactic and tenses, and finally (§7) we shall deal with the residue and the lost elements during the translation process.

2. Methods of Reworking the Text

In case of fairy tales, it is not unusual to find numerous omissions and deformations of elements considered unsuitable for a young audience. In this event, translation is the result of remakes and profound alterations of the original, of which it often becomes a mere and superficial imitation.

We can thus identify a series of textual interventions that characterize this genre:

1. *Reduction*. It is the process of summarizing what the author stated in a broader way, even by cutting parts and creating gaps on the narrative level. This technique can be considered satisfactory only when it allows the dilution of the most distressing or macabre passages of the text, without ruining its very nature;
2. *Correction*. It modifies the original text in case of inconsistencies in it at the narrative level. For example, in an Italian version of *The Devil with the Three Golden Hairs* by the Brothers Grimm we read *scatola che, gettata in un profondo corso d'acqua non va a fondo* 'box that, thrown into a deep stream of water, does not go to the bottom' instead of the original 'a box, which being made of wood, remained afloat' (Salviati 1981). In this case the translator felt the urge to correct something that in the fairy tale seems incongruent with the logic of everyday life.

3. *Substitution*. It affects one or more terms deemed unsuitable for this type of literature. For instance, a word like ‘pig’ is diminished to ‘piggy’ or ‘little pig’;
4. *Censorship*. This process aims at modifying the message that the content conveys. In children's fairy tales, certain behaviors within the family are frequently censored, with the aim of representing the family context as serene as possible;
5. *Integration*. The translator can insert characters, episodes and phrases that do not appear in the original text for a variety of reasons:
 - a. explanatory additions clarify the relationships between the characters or what the author says in a concise and superficial way;
 - b. reinforcing additions consolidate positive or negative feelings towards a character, thus attempting to direct the reader's feelings towards the best path;
 - c. moralizing additions have the task of imparting teachings to the child through a less cumbersome and repetitive way.

Thus, fairy tales are among the types of narration that are more likely to undergo processes of reworking and modification once translated or readapted. However, this kind of activity might threaten the literary nature of fairy tales, as well as their artistic value. Indeed, it is preferable to introduce the text in its full form but, when this is not possible, we can choose adapted versions of it, as long as they remain as faithful as possible to the original.

3. The Translation of Cultural Elements

Cultural elements and their translation represent another major threat for any translator willing to approach the translation of folkloric fairy tales. The reason is very simple: as the child has a limited knowledge of other cultures, the translator must decide whether preventing the young readers from the difficulties posed by the presence of different cultural elements in the text or stimulating their fascination for what is unknown and extraneous to their reality.

The cultural specificity of a society is regulated by language as well, especially at the lexical level – such as with regard to elements that refer to everyday life – and at the pragmatic level, through the interaction with other speakers (Kramsch 2006: 13, 25-36). Each group of people has its own lexicon, linked to a certain culture, and containing certain words that refer to representative objects of their society. However, these elements are often unlikely to find an exact correspondent in other traditions; hence the study and analysis of different translation theories aim at finding a relevant solution to this type of problem. Furthermore, the educational and pedagogical functions that characterize children's literature entail adjustments and adaptations on the basis of what are considered the main needs of the young readers, especially with the method of ‘purification’, i.e., the modification of the aspects deemed unsuitable for an audience of this type (Nikolajeva 2006: 47). This kind of modification is also

referred to as cultural context appropriation. According to Klingberg (1986: 17), the cultural elements difficult to recognize by the youngest and inexperienced readers include literary references, foreign languages in the source text, references to mythology and popular beliefs, historical, religious, and political notes, food, customs, usages, games, flora and fauna, personal names, titles, pet names, object names, and geographical names (Klingberg 1986: 17).

Being able to maintain the same degree of adaptation of the original text also in its translation represents a fundamental goal for Klingberg (1986), who proposes a series of strategies to fulfill this operation:

1. *Added explanation.* An explanation is added to the element of the original text;
2. *Reformulation.* The source text is reformulated without the use of the cultural-specific element;
3. *Explanatory translation.* The function of the cultural element is explained without using the foreign name of the element;
4. *Explanation outside the text.* The cultural-specific element is explained in a footnote or within the preface;
5. *Replacement.* The element is replaced with either an equivalent or an approximate equivalent element in the culture of the target language;
6. *Simplification.* A more general concept is used instead of the specific one;
7. *Omission.* Cultural-specific words, sentences, paragraphs, or chapters are just deleted;
8. *Localization.* The cultural environment of the source text is compared to that of the reader of the target text.

Being able to maintain this type of adaptation is useful to facilitate the understanding of the text, or to make it more interesting for young readers.

4. Translation Theories: Domestication or Estrangement of the Text?

Talking about translating techniques, they can be read in light of two polar attitudes the translator needs to adopt: on the one hand s/he can opt for 'domestication', i.e., the clarification of what may appear ambiguous and incomprehensible to the reader; on the contrary, s/he may decide to keep the incomprehensible elements, adding only comments, by means of 'estrangement.' In the case of adaptation, the text is brought closer to the reader, whereas in the case of estrangement, the reader is presented with a foreign element. The distance thus created can be filled by the translator through notes and comments (Morini 2007: 225). These techniques are based on the lexical choices adopted by the translator and there is no right or wrong way. However, in the case of children's literature, it becomes more complicated. In fact, if one opted for the estrangement process, the reader would be placed in the position of having to make an extra effort. In the case of young readers, the younger the age, the lower the ability to understand these extraneous elements, so various adaptations will be required to facilitate their understanding. On the other hand, an excessive domestication of the

text, as pointed out by Oittinen, would not allow the child to understand and learn the differences between various cultures, thus eliminating the pedagogical purpose of this literature (Oittinen 2006). In sum, the best path seems to be the adoption of the technique of estrangement, by keeping some foreign words, in order to allow the young readers to deal with a reality that does not belong to them and thus enrich their own cultural background (Nikolaeva 2001: 404-413).

5. The Case of *Realia*

Among the elements that translators have a hard time dealing with in the process of translation *realia* are the most problematic. *Realia* are words "which denote unique objects and phenomena characteristic of a culture or a certain linguistic community" (Johansen 2018). In particular, *realia* are often defined as words (or compound phrases) of the popular language that constitute denominations of objects, concepts, or phenomena typical of a geographical environment, a culture, a material life or historical-social peculiarities of a society, a nation, a country, or a tribe, and which therefore carry with them a national, local or historical color; these words have no exact correspondences in other languages (Osimo 2011: 112). The lack of this equivalence entails a high degree of complexity when *realia* need to be translated. The solution proposed by many scholars are numerous and vary according to the type of source and target texts under consideration.

First, *realia* can be simply transcribed. Furthermore, in case of a different alphabet in the target language, transliteration can be used. Both solutions aim to preserve the foreign element as it sounds in the source language, resulting in "the greatest appropriation of the foreign element" (Osimo 2014). With regard to translation, the two scholars Vlahov and Florin suggest different possibilities, like the creation of a neologism based on a cast or calque (e.g., the Italian *grattacielo* for skyscraper) or the approximate translation of *realia*. In this latter case, the most common technique is "the replacement with a generic expression of a broader meaning" (Osimo 2011: 112). Furthermore, *realia* can be conveyed by periphrasis (e.g., the Hungarian *cigány* becomes "walking violinist from the Hungarian regions"), or by the introduction of an adjective to identify the origin of the term (e.g., "the *Argentine* pampas") (Osimo 2011: 112-113). Finally, an approximate translation consists in the replacement of the original cultural element with a "local counterpart" in the target language, that is a *realia* belonging to this culture (e.g. the French expression *art nouveau* for the German *Jugendstil*) (Osimo 2011: 112).

6. Communicative and Semantic Translation

All the above-mentioned issues were considered by Gigliola Venturi, when she published her version of Afanas'ev's collection in the Italian version *Antiche fiabe popolari* (1953). For the sake of the current analysis, we will consider only the translation of Afanas'ev's (1873) version of the well-known tale *Baba Jaga*.

Speaking of literary texts, the translator can utilize two main translating strategies: *communicative translation*, according to Newmark (1982: 79), is a free, idiomatic translation, oriented towards the reader of the target language, while *semantic translation* aims to render the text literally and be faithful to the original meaning of the text. In the case of fairy tales, we often opt for semantic translation, which consists in trying to be as faithful as possible to the author's style. This choice is the one adopted by the translator of our fairy tale, who aimed at making the story easy for its audience to understand. However, the examined text does not contain numerous elements specific to Russian culture; on the contrary, when these culture specific elements are present, Venturi opted for communicative translation and linguistic domestication, with a view to making the narration as simple and smooth as possible, as well as bringing the young readers closer to a reality unknown to them. A vivid example, as we will see later, regards how the terms *ded* and *baba*, 'grandpa' and 'grandma', the first two characters mentioned in this fairy tale, were translated as *uomo* and *donna*, 'man' and 'woman', probably because the translator thought these terms could sound more familiar and understandable to the Italian reader, hoping to echo the same 'familiar' effect imparted by the original. However, by doing so, our translator sacrificed the great meaning that these two words carry in the Slavic tradition, i.e., the cult of the ancestors, in order to favor the young reader of the target text.

6.1. Linguistic Factors: Rhythm, Proper Names and Common Names

With regards to linguistic factors, in our analysis we have considered the phonological (i.e., rhythmic aspects) and lexical factors (i.e., proper nouns and common nouns). In fairy tales, rhythm plays an important role, as the repetition of patterns creates a smoother and clearer text, which is therefore easier to understand and memorise; furthermore, rhythm helps to create an overall folkloric atmosphere. In this fairy tale, the rhythmic aspects concern, first of all, the repetition of entire phrases – a technique used not only to give a rhythmic pace to the narrative, but also to highlight the most important concepts of the story – as well as consonances. Whereas repetitions are introduced also in the translated version (see bold text in examples (1) and (2)), consonances (see underlined text in examples (1) and (2)) are not maintained in the Italian version:

(1)

<p>«Там тебя, племянушка, будет березка в глаза стегать — ты ее ленточкой перевяжи; там тебе ворота будут скрипеть и хлопать — ты подлей им под пяточки маслица; там тебя собаки будут рвать — ты им хлебца брось; там тебе кот будет глаза драть — ты ему ветчины дай».</p>	<p>«Nipotina mia, là una betulla vorrà pungerti gli occhi, ma tu legala con un nastro; la porta scricchiolerà e sbatterà, ma tu versa un po' d'olio sui cardini; là i cani vorranno morderti, ma tu getta loro del pane; il gatto vorrà graffiarti gli occhi, ma tu dàgli del prosciutto».</p>
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(2)

<p>Вот девочка приклонила ухо к земле и слышит, что баба-яга гонится, и уж близко, взяла да и бросила полотенце: сделалась река такая широкая-широкая! [...] Девочка приклонила ухо к земле и слышит, что баба-яга близко, бросила гребешок: сделался лес такой дремучий да страшный!</p>	<p>Ed ecco la ragazzina poggia un orecchio a terra e sente che la baba-jaga la rincorre, che le è già vicina; allora prese e gettò l'asciugamano, quello diventò un fiume così largo, ma così largo! [...] La bambina poggiò l'orecchio a terra, e sentito che la baba-jaga era vicina gettò il pettinino: divenne una foresta orribilmente fitta!</p>
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The rhythmic aspects can also appear across verses in the form of rhymes. Let us consider how rhymes are translated in the following example (3):

(3)

<p>и я там был, мед-пиво пил: по усам текло, в рот не попалю.</p>	<p>Anch'io sono stato da loro, birra e idromele ho bevuto, sopra i baffi m'è caduto, neanche un goccio mi son bevuto.</p>
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In the original text, the rhyme scheme is of type AA BB, while the translated version does not retain the same model, as the first verse does not rhyme with the others, while the other three rhyme with each other (A BBB). Furthermore, in order to keep the rhymes and create rhythmicity in the verse, some elements of the last two verses in the target text were translated in a different way: (i) the Russian verb *teklo* 'flew' is rendered by the Italian *è caduto* 'has fallen'; (ii) the last verse *v rot ne popalo* '(the beer) in the mouth did not enter' was translated as *neanche un goccio mi son bevuto* 'not a drop I drank myself' for the sake of rhyming.

Similarly, the number of syllables in each verse varies from the original text to the translation, as seen in (4):

(4)

<p>и - я - там - был, (4) мед - пи - во - пил: (4) по - у - сам - те - кло, (5) в рот - не - по - па - ло. (5)</p>	<p>Anch' - io - so - no - sta - to - da - lo - ro, (9) Bir - ra - e - i - dro - me - le - ho - be - vu - to, (11) So - pra - i - baf - fi - m' - è - caduto, (9) ne - an - che - un - goc - cio - mi - son - be - vu - to. (11)</p>
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Moving to lexical factors, a peculiar feature of fairy tales is that they seldom introduce proper names in reference to the characters of the story; instead, common

names of things, people, and animals are more common, such as a man, a woman, a girl, a cat, dogs, etc. This choice has a very specific purpose: the author wants to present the characters of his stories as bearers of values and symbols, so they do not need a proper name in order to identify them. From a translation perspective, even this trivial aspect brings about many problems, as witnessed in the very first sentence of our fairy tale, in (5).

(5)

<i>Жили себе дед да баба.</i>	<i>C'era una volta un uomo e una donna.</i>
“Lived by themselves grandpa and granny.”	“Once upon a time a man and a woman.”

We have already mentioned how in the Russian language the names *ded* and *baba* correspond to the Italian *nonno* e *nonna*, literally ‘grandfather’ and ‘grandmother.’ However, in the Italian translation they have been rendered as *uomo* and *donna*, i.e., ‘man’ and ‘woman.’ In fact, in Russian fairy tales it is not unusual to find this formula, as in most cases at the beginning of the story we find expressions such as *starik so staruchoj* ‘an old man with an old woman’ or *ded da baba* ‘grandpa and grandma.’ According to Beljakova (2010: 13-18), the images of the *ded* and *baba* are to be imply both grandparents and elders in general, and might refer to an ancient archetype, reflecting the cult of the ancestors, the elders, and the hearth, considered the bearers of the entire Russian folkloric tradition.

This role of the elderly, however, does not belong to the Italian popular tradition, the target culture of the analysed translation. Our translator, therefore, opted for communicative translation because, as already mentioned before, the terms *uomo* and *donna* seem to sound more acquainted to the Italian reader.

As for the remaining common names in the story, fidelity to the prototext has been maintained. However, in order not to repeat the same name too many times, the translator has also opted for the use of synonyms or terms of endearment. For example, in the original text we always find the word *devočka* ‘girl’ in reference to the protagonist (except in cases where the aunt and *Baba Jaga* refer to her as *plemjaniška* ‘little niece’), while in the target text in its place we mostly find the term *bambina* ‘[female] child’, but also *ragazza* ‘girl’ and *ragazzina* ‘little girl’; similarly the name *baba-jaga* is kept throughout the story, except at the end, where it is rendered as *strega* ‘witch.’ Finally, as we have already mentioned, the source is rich in terms of endearment and diminutives that help to give a more childish tone to the story.

Another aspect that is important to focus on concerns the use of diminutives. Unlike Russian, Italian has a limited use of diminutives; it is thus not surprising that often, as illustrated in (6) and (7), a Russian diminutive noun is translated with its basic counterpart in Italian.

(6)

« Матушка послала к своей сестре».	“La mamma vuol mandarmi da sua sorella.”
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(7)

«попроси у нее иглочку и ниточку ».	“chiedile ago e filo .”
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The words *matuška*, ‘mom-DIM’, *igoločku*, ‘needle-DIM’ and *nitočku*, ‘thread-DIM’ are in the diminutive form, but in the Italian text they have been translated as *mamma*, *ago*, and *filo*, i.e., without any trace of diminutive morphology. As already mentioned, the use of diminutives in Italian would have been considered superfluous here, as the word *mamma* ‘mom’ already carries with it that sense of familiarity that is found in *matuška*; Similarly, the objects needle and thread are unlikely to appear in the diminutive form in Italian.

In a few cases, however, we can see the opposite phenomenon. In example (8), the non-modified Russian terms have been rendered into Italian through the use of diminutives.

(8)

«Вот тебе гребешок и полотенце ».	“Eccoti un pettinino e unasciugamanino .”
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Therefore we see how the translator has worked very freely, without staying faithful to the original text, but opting for the communicative type of translation.

Finally, there have been situations in which nouns already present in endearment or diminutive form in the original text have also retained in the translation: *tetuška*, *plemjanuška*, *chorošen’ko*, *batjuška*, have been rendered respectively with *zietta*, ‘auntie-DIM’, *nipotina*, ‘granddaughter-DIM’, *per benino*, ‘for good-DIM’ and *babbino*, ‘dad-DIM.’

6.2. Linguistic Factors: Parataxis, Hypotactic and Tenses

Speaking of linguistic factors, another element that must be considered in translation is syntactic complexity. In particular, when translating a text for children, parataxis tends to prevail over hypotaxis. This is because the parataxis implies a simpler discursive typology, unlike subordination, which produces more complex structures; therefore, short and simple periods, connected to each other by a coordinative conjunction, are favored.

The original Russian version displays an extensive use of parataxis, aiming to communicate its message as clearly and directly as possible. On the contrary, the Italian literary style tends to rely on hypotaxis, by introducing long and complex

phrases. However, since our translator has opted for a semantic macro-strategy, no significant shift from parataxis to hypotaxis has been recorded, except for the passage shown in (9).

(9)

Злая мачеха ее не полюбила, была её и думала, как бы вовсе извести.	La cattiva matrigna che non le voleva bene la picchiava e pensava a come liberarsi di lei.
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In this case, in the prototext the sentence *ee ne poljubila* '(she) didn't love her' was rendered in the metatext with a relative sentence introduced by the relative pronoun *che* 'that', coreferred to *zlaja mačecha* 'evil stepmother', while in the prototext it consists of a unitary main sentence, i.e. *zlaja mačecha ee ne poljubila* 'the evil stepmother didn't love her', followed by a series of coordinated sentences.

However, there are also opposite cases in which in the original text there are longer and more complex periods that have been simplified by the translator, as in (10):

(10)

дед овдовел и женился на другой жене, а от первой жены осталась у него девочка.	l'uomo rimase vedovo e sposò un'altra moglie. Dal primo matrimonio gli era rimasta una bambina.
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In the Russian text there are two sentences: *ded ovdoveli ženilsja na drugoj žene* 'the man (lit. grandpa) became a widower? and married another woman' and *a ot pervoj ženy ostalas' u nego devočka* 'and/but a daughter from the first wife remained to him.' This last sentence is introduced by the coordinating conjunction *a* 'and/but' and is separated from the first one by a comma. In the translated text, however, the coordinating conjunction has been eliminated and replaced by a full stop, thus creating two main sentences.

The last linguistic aspect considered here is the analysis of how verbal tense, aspect and mood are rendered in translation. Since we are dealing with a fairy tale, a narrative text, the events are reported in a chronological order and the most frequent tense in the translation is the past; the present and the future often appear in the dialogues together with the imperative mood. As Italian has a complex verbal system, with a marked interplay between tense and mood in order to create a wide range of interactions at the level of *consecutio temporum*, let us consider how different tenses are used in the Italian translation.

The *passato remote* 'preterite' is used to indicate an action that took place in the past, completed and with no connection with the present. In most cases, this tense corresponds to a Russian perfective past, as in the following examples in (11) and (12):

(11)

дед овдовел и женился на другой жене.	l'uomo rimase vedovo e sposò un'altra moglie.
-----------------------------------------------------	-------------------------------------------------------------

(12)

Баба-яга и отошла , а девочка дала коту ветчинки	La baba-jaga si allontanò , e la bambina diede il prosciutto al gatto
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In some cases, the Russian perfective past is translated with the *trapassato prossimo* 'pluperfect', to indicate an action that took place before another in the past, or connected with it:

а от первой жены осталась у него девочка.	Dal primo matrimonio gli era rimasta una bambina.
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Раз отец уехал куда-то	Una volta che il padre era andato in qualche luogo
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The imperfective past, on the other hand, is usually translated into Italian as *imperfetto* 'imperfect' to describe actions that occurred in the past the end or beginning of which is not known, and therefore the result is not important, or their repetition is highlighted:

Злая мачеха ее не полюбила, била её и думала , как бы вовсе извести.	La cattiva matrigna che non le voleva bene la picchiava e pensava a come liberarsi di lei.
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Another tense that often recurs in the narrative is the present tense. Unlike Russian, which allows only one form of present – obviously imperfective, Italian has both a simple and a progressive form. However, in the Italian translation of this fairy tale, the present tense always appears in the simple form, as it is used with the meaning of *praesens historicus*, i.e., to describe actions that occur at the time of narration, as in (12):

(12)

Стоит хатка, а в ней сидит баба-яга костяная нога и ткет .	Vede una capanna, là sta la baba-jaga, gamba d'osso, e fila .
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As regards the Russian perfective future, a verbal form that is missing in Italian, it is translated either with the present or the future. In particular, the Italian present tense appears in the hypothetical period to indicate an action the result of which is undoubted, as in (13).

(13)

<p>если ж баба-яга перейдет через реку и станет догонять тебя, ты опять приклони ухо к земле и как услышишь, что она близко, брось гребешок — сделается дремучий-дремучий лес; сквозь него она уже не проберется!</p>	<p>se la baba-jaga riesce ad attraversarlo e sta per raggiungerti, tu posa nuovamente l'orecchio a terra, e quando la senti vicina, getta il pettinino: diventerà un bosco fitto fitto; lei non riuscirà certo a penetrarvi!</p>
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The future tense, on the other hand, indicates a future action without highlighting its completeness, as in (14).

(14)

<p>«Там тебя, племянюшка, будет березка в глаза стегать — ты ее ленточкой перевяжи; там тебе ворота будут скрипеть и хлопать — ты подлей им под пяточки маслица; там тебя собаки будут рвать — ты им хлеба брось; там тебе кот будет глаза драть — ты ему ветчины дай».</p>	<p>– Nipotina mia, là una betulla vorrà pungerti gli occhi, ma tu legala con un nastro; la porta scricchiolerà e sbatterà, ma tu versa un po' d'olio sui cardini; là i cani vorranno morderti, ma tu getta loro del pane; il gatto vorrà graffiarti gli occhi, ma tu dàgli del prosciutto –.</p>
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The final remark regards the use of the imperative mood; as in Russian the expression of aspect is compulsory, also the imperative mood must be either imperfective or perfective. The perfective imperative usually indicates a request, an order, or a piece of advice, which can be carried out immediately or in the immediate future, as in (15):

(15)

<p>«Поди к своей тетке, моей сестре, попроси у нее иголочку и ниточку — тебе рубашку сшить».</p>	<p>– Va' da tua zia, mia sorella, chiedile ago e filo, per cucirti una camicetta –.</p>
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The imperfective imperative, on the other hand, always indicates an order, a request, or a piece of advice, which, on the contrary, must be carried out immediately,

or in any case the time between the enunciation of the action and its implementation must be limited, as in (16).

(16)

«Хорошо; садись покуда ткать ».	– Bene, siediti e intanto tessi .
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As the Italian language does not differentiate aspect in the imperative mood, and therefore the Italian translation consists of a bare imperative, this overtone of meaning is lost in translation.

7. The Residue and the Lost Elements

Whenever a translation process is carried out on a text, it will inevitably see the loss of some elements, even where an attempt has been made to faithfully reproduce the author's style and message, and inevitably this fact has also affected our fairy tale.

First of all, there were losses at a lexical level related to culture-specific expressions and some *realia* present in the text, which in some cases it was not possible to reproduce in the metatext with the same meaning. This is the case, for example, of how the names *ded* and *baba* were translated into *uomo* and *donna*; as a result, the profound meaning that binds them to the Slavic oral tradition is completely lost. Another case is that of the word *chatka*, the abode of *Baba Jaga*. In the Italian translation, it is referred to as a *capanna* 'hut', but the choice of this word does not at all do justice to our witch's home. In fact, the Italian reader, by listening to the word *capanna* will probably imagine a small house, without foundations and usually built out of wood, leather, fabric, and foliage. However, the *chatka* (or *chata*) is much wider than some simple accommodation made of 'perishable' materials. Probably, a more suitable version could have been *casa rustica* 'rustic house', but the translator must have considered this variant not very intuitive for the young reader. Another example of inappropriate translation can be found in the term *med-pivo*, commonly known in Italian as *idromele* 'mead.' In the translation the term *idromele* alternates with the word *birra* 'beer', as if to underline the alcoholic quality of this drink, a characteristic that, according to Venturi, could be unknown to a child.

There were also losses in terms of stylistic elements. We have noted that the rhythm is one of the distinct features of fairy tales, which the author tries to reproduce above all via repetition and nursery rhymes. Also in this formal aspect the faithfulness to the prototext was not always possible. The original scheme was substituted by a different one; it is worth noticing that despite the rhythm is different, what is preserved is the presence of a rhythmic pattern. With regard to repetitions, the translator has not always managed to stay true to the author's choices, introducing several changes or substitutions; for instance, whereas in the prototext the only word to refer to the character is *baba-jaga*, in the metatext we also find *strega* 'witch'; if our protagonist is *devočka* throughout the narration, in the translation she becomes *ragazza*, *ragazzina*, or *bambina*. All this can be explained by the fact that Russian is a much more tolerant

language than Italian in terms of redundancies; therefore, it is possible to find repetitions of the same word more often in the original text than its Italian translation.

8. Conclusion

This analysis proves once again that perfect translation does not exist. The main reason lies in the diversity between the “languages involved in the translation process, namely that languages are not congruent, and that for a word X in one language there is never an identical word in another language” (Carmignani 2019).

In addition, if the text one chooses to translate belongs to the popular and oral tradition, as in our case, the difficulties increase considerably. In fact, when we translate a text of oral origin, we must always take into account the ‘path’ that led it to become a written text, and therefore consider the elements that have been lost, modified, or added. This process is not devoid of complications and obstacles, which are sometimes impossible to avoid. Furthermore, considering that most of these stories constitute what we now define as “children's literature”, we should be aware that translation is rather challenging in terms of its target audience as well.

This is the reason why confronting Afanas'ev's version of the *Baba Jaga* and this translation into Italian by Venturi contained in the collection *Antiche fiabe popolari* proved to be a very difficult task. In fact, we noticed how in some cases it was possible to stay faithful to the original text, while in other situations it was necessary to make some changes in order to transmit the same sense of closeness and familiarity to the target audience of the translation.

In conclusion, translating a text does not only mean dealing with untranslatable terms and changes that do not distort the original message: “Translating means bringing together two realities, two ways of looking at the world, two ways of feeling the world. It is a great pleasure, but also a great responsibility” (Carmignani 2019).

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DOUBLE-SIDED TRANSFORMATIONS OF CULTURE-BOUND CONSTITUENTS IN WILLIAM SAROYAN'S CROSS-CULTURAL DOMAIN

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Abstract: The article focuses on the transformations, which occur in Russian and Armenian translations of culture-bound constituents in W. Saroyan's fiction with special reference to the analysis of their pragmatic value and both cross-cultural and cross-language identification. The aim of the analysis is to reveal the so-called Saroyanesque identity and the translation perspectives of his specific manner of reproducing the actual reality, his personal vision of the world he lived in and created in, the world which combined the environment, circumstances, conditions, characters, cultures, ethnicity of two different communities – his native Armenian and no less native American. The so-called double-sided transformations of culture-bound constituents occur in W. Saroyan's fiction at basically two levels: the cognitive level of ethnic and mental indicators transformations and the linguistic level of culture-bound elements translation (words, phrases, exclamations etc.). To keep Saroyanesque identity the translators should primarily transform the ideas, the concepts, the ethnic mentality of the characters, then the language media should undergo certain pragmatic modification to be correctly interpreted by the target audience.

Key words: Saroyanesque identity, culture-bound element, pragmatic modification, cross-cultural environment, ethnic mentality

1. Introduction

The primary task for any literary text translator is the identification of pragmatic value of the source text (ST) author's message to achieve an extremely equal comprehension of the target language (TL) readers with the readers of the original. In this regard, the translator needs to make certain changes to the target text so that the reader can adequately interpret the original message. The famous American linguist and translation theorist Eugene A. Nida wrote: "A minimal requirement for adequacy of a translation would be that the readers would be able to comprehend and appreciate how the original readers of the text understood and possibly responded to it. The maximal requirement for translational adequacy would mean that the readers of the translation

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would respond to the text both emotively and cognitively in a manner essentially similar to the ways in which the original readers responded.” (Nida 1991: 26). Thus, the translator’s considerable mission in this type of cross-cultural communication is to keep the pragmatic potential of the ST and make it visible for his/her audience.

The pragmatic transformation of the ST becomes especially significant when translating a text with a profound cultural substance, though Peter Newmark supports the view that there is a cultural value in any translation, as language is partly the reflection of a culture, and translators like linguists tend to define culture as the sum of people’s customs and ways of thinking (Newmark 1991). Possessing absolutely the same view, I would like to pay special attention towards the completely cultural components in the ST and the translation modifications of certain culture-bound elements. It is definitely specified by A. Schweitzer, who defines translation as a process of cross-language and cross-cultural communication in which a secondary text is created based on the primary text to replace the primary one in a different language and cultural environment (Schweitzer 1988: 47). No doubt, any translation becomes a secondary text influenced by the translator’s domestic environment, culture-based world vision and mentality. This is why the new world created by the translator in the target text (TT) in fact reproduces the ST message by means of his/her native cultural elements and translation modifications.

2. William Saroyan’s Identity in Cross-Cultural Environment

The famous American novelist, playwright and short story writer William Saroyan occupies the primary position among the US immigrant writers who strived for the prosperous development of the XX century American literature. However, today few Americans know that he was of Armenian descent and his literary heritage may be characterized as a cross-cultural cluster of both American and Armenian cognition and genetic memory. Once he said: “I do not write in Armenian, but I look at the world in Armenian. The words I use are in English, the surroundings I write about are American, but the soul, which makes me write, is Armenian” (<http://williamsaroyanfoundation.org> › biography). Two languages, two cultures, two varieties of world vision – this is however the so-called Saroyan identity, the identity that was adopted and imitated by a number of American immigrant writers, who borrowed his simple manner, his vision of the world and his symbolic images.

The phenomenon of W. Saroyan’s cross-cultural environment is displayed in its various manifestations. First, it is the cognitive area in which two cultures merge – his native Armenian and no less native American. Then in his fiction the conceptual system as a “system of opinions and knowledge about the world reflecting human experience” (Maslova 2005: 15) is subdivided into several subsystems that combine knowledge and experience of the two mentioned mental and psychological levels together with the information and emotional space of the so-called ‘melting pot’, the type of such a cultural community that has historically developed in the United States for several centuries, when people of different nationalities with their own traditions, languages, ethnic mentality migrated to the USA. Although all these people belong to various cultural and ethnic communities and bear corresponding codes in their minds,

they are unified by one important element of consciousness and world vision – the concept of surviving and protecting their native against a different and non-native one. Otherwise, another, certain category of the world conceptualization occurs.

In the situation with the 'melting pot' one can see that people of different nationalities with a certain set of cognitive primitives that are purely specific to one particular culture united into a single community and having basically common universal cognitive primitives created a new type of culture with new derivative configurations and corresponding modifications (Wierzbicka 1997: 296-297). These universal cultural concepts in the new conditions have been transformed into a different category of cognitive primitives, which basically formed a new type of thinking and world cognition, as well as conceptual structuring of the actual reality according to the schema self/native – different/non-native. This schema identifies W. Saroyan's communicative criterion both in his mind and in his fiction, where two cultures, two conceptual spheres, two complementary worldviews coexist, reflecting the experience and spirit of the two peoples, which become basically the determinants of his cross-cultural discourse.

3. How Saroyanesque Manner is Transferred into a Different Cultural Environment

The term Saroyanesque is widely used to identify W. Saroyan's style and specific manner of reproducing the actual reality, his personal vision of the world he lived in, the world he created in, the world which combined the environment, circumstances, conditions, characters, cultures, ethnicity. W. Saroyan's texts at first glance seem to be easy to translate as there is no vividly manifested stylistic coloring, the vocabulary is rather simple, the characters' portrayal is absolutely visible. But a deeper view will display historically, culturally and socially conditioned background forms, which will create a secondary text in the readers' minds due to their personal interpretations of the subtext information hidden thoroughly in between the words, in behind the lines.

Very much depends on the translator's critical approach and creative skills, the desire to see more, than is put into words, to grasp the author's intention and to decode properly the message targeted at the reader. Sometimes the author's message is differently interpreted by different translators. It means that the pragmatic aspect of the ST may be specified so that the text becomes comprehensible for a different community with its cultural values and traditions.

In W. Saroyan's story "Old Country Advice to the American Traveler" the integrity core, where the coherence of the text is achieved, is located in the central part of the narration, where the elderly Armenian clarifies why he can definitely advice his nephew what to do and how to behave in any situation while traveling:

I have seven children. My life has been a full and righteous one. Let's not give it another thought. I have land, vines, trees, cattle, and money. One cannot have everything – except for a day or two at a time. (Saroyan 1973: 136)

A person of any nationality can be the author of these words. They might be uttered by any representative of the so-called ‘melting pot’ in the USA. Nonetheless, there is something special about the utterance, that takes the reader back to the title of the story “Old Country Advice to the American Traveler.” This is a purely Armenian element ‘old country’ (this element will be analyzed later in double-sided translation of culture-bound components in W. Saroyan’s fiction). This is an exclusively cultural element specifying only Armenian cognition and condition-based comprehension of domestic realia, which is structured within the schema self/native – different/non-native. It is something that generally belongs only to the native, self-Armenian cognition. ‘Old country’ is directly related to “Let’s not give it another thought”, which is the conceptual dominant of the utterance. He believes that his life in his native country (old country) was righteous one, and there is no doubt about it, therefore it should not be necessarily misread. But the fact is that in the Russian translation it has not been “read” at all.

У меня семеро детей. Я жил в достатке и праведно. У меня была земля, виноградники, много скота и деньги. Нельзя иметь все сразу. (Saroyan 1980: 92)

Only five very short and simple sentences of the ST are arranged within four equally short, simple sentences in the Russian version. However, in the latter one the sentence “Let’s not give it another thought” is missing. Why? The translator is supposed to exclude this sentence because a non-Armenian reader, who does not have a relevant background information about the author and his people, would not be able to decode properly the subtext content of the utterance. Though it should be noted, that in the Russian version the sentence “Нельзя иметь все сразу” (one cannot have everything at once) seems to accumulate the entire scope of the character’s experience and emotions embodied in the utterance. Only the peak of the iceberg is seen on the surface of the narration, whereas a deeper analysis reveals the holistic value of content. The information encoded in both ST and TT leads to a certain type of worldview, where the concept of ‘survival’ existing in our people’s mentality is clearly visualized and, accordingly, what is truly important for a righteous lifestyle: the family, its well-being and the ability to be absolutely pleased with whatever you have at the moment. But the most notable is the fact that both sentences are missing in the Armenian translation.

Ես կյանք եմ ապրել ու գիտեմ, ես հացի կարոտ չեմ քաշել ու աչքս ուրիշի ունեցածին չեմ գցել: Ես յոթ ժառանգ եմ մեծացրել: Ես հող ունեմ, այգի, ծառեր, փող ու անասուն: Ամեն ինչ աշխատանքով ու կամաց-կամաց է լինում, չի կարելի հանկարծ զտնել ու ստել գտա: (Saroyan 1988: 299)

Here quite a free interpretation of the translator occurs, and the lower part of the iceberg, that is all the subtext information of the original, is absolutely explicated. In the Armenian translation a rearrangement of sentences appears if compared with the ST and a shift in semantic and conceptual accents if compared with the Russian translation. In the original and in the Russian translation at the beginning of this paragraph the old man talks about his seven children and thereafter about his righteous

and prosperous life, while in the Armenian translation the information about the life he lived occupies the initial position. Special attention should be paid here to what the old Armenian says about his former life: "I have lived my life and therefore I know (meaning I can give advice), I had no lack of bread, and I did not envy anyone." This is whatever he says in the Armenian translation and whatever does not exist in the ST. However, this is exactly the basic extratextual information that is explicated by the translator to specify one of the most important components of the Armenian ethnic mentality and to illustrate that for an Armenian to live a righteous life means to feel pleased with whatever he has and not to envy other people. The last sentence of the paragraph comes to confirm this idea: "You achieve everything gradually, thanks to your work, you cannot suddenly find and say, "I have found." By the way this sentence does not exist in the original either.

Another very important element here deserves attention. The noun 'children' in the Armenian translation has been replaced by its semantic synonym 'heir.' It is also a significant component of the Armenian identity: for people who have lost their homeland, homes, relatives the continuation of their clan becomes vital.

The use of tense-forms here is also of considerable importance. In the ST the author uses Simple Present in the sentence "I have land, vines, trees, cattle, and money", though in fact the old Armenian had all these in his past life when he lived in his homeland. He seems to live in the past and to believe that his previous life which was a righteous one continues despite of the fact that everything has been lost. In the Russian translation a shift of the tense-form to the Past occurs "У меня была земля, виноградники, много скота и деньги" (I had land, vines, a lot of cattle and money), as if the translator wishes to emphasize the fact that everything, the old man is speaking about refers to the past, for the Russian reader to grasp correctly that nothing of the mentioned exists at the moment of his speech. A pragmatic restructuring of narration appears here to ensure a correct comprehension of the facts described.

In the Armenian translation the tense-forms remain the same (as in the ST), as if the translator is absolutely sure that his audience will grasp correctly the author's intention.

Both translations seem to keep the pragmatic value of the ST. The message targeted at the reader is transferred into both target texts. Nonetheless, the Armenian translation due to its rather free interpretation of the ST becomes even more comprehensible for the Armenian audience as it seems to reveal Saroyan's subtext, the way any Armenian wishes to decode and to specify it. Nobody can say now whether W. Saroyan really presupposed whatever is transmitted by the Armenian translator into the TT, which can actually be regarded as a secondary text within the frames of both cross-cultural and intracultural environment. The elements of cross-cultural environment are traced in W. Saroyan's manner to represent the Armenian reality and way of thinking by means of American simple and laconic style of narration, whereas the elements of intracultural environment are marked in the Armenian translation by means of native manner to regenerate the existing content in a special way making it vivid and true to life.

A similar cross-cultural situation may be seen in the translations (Armenian and Russian) of the story "The Armenian and the Armenian." There is a paragraph in the story where the author, speaking about the gestures characteristic of Armenians, gradually turns to the description of the people's destiny, able to survive in any circumstances:

And the Armenian gestures, meaning so much. The slapping of the knee and roaring with laughter. The cursing. The subtle mockery of the world and its big ideas. The word in Armenian, the glance, the gesture, the smile, and through these things the swift rebirth of the race, timeless and again strong, though years have passed, though cities have been destroyed, fathers and brothers and sons killed, places forgotten, dreams violated, living hearts blackened with hate. (Saroyan 1984: 7)

What is so characteristic of the Armenians? Slapping of the knee in mournful and sad situations (which is typical of many oriental peoples), roaring with laughter in curious and cheerful situations, cursing in stressful situations, subtle mockery of the world and its big ideas. The spirit of the people seems to be conveyed by very simple means – by stating facts that, according to the author, do not need to be confirmed: such are the Armenians in sorrow and in joy. However, the enumeration of the features peculiar to the Armenian people is accompanied by the allocation of each of them into a separate sentence, most likely in order to more clearly convey the sense of the separate components in order to transfer the information layer to the emotional level, to intensify the expressive manifestation of the national substance in the narration.

Due to its pragmatic potential, the second part of the paragraph becomes an exact link in the cognitive dimension that ensures the essence of the Armenian people's spirit: because of one word, one glance, one gesture, one smile the people achieve a rapid recovery. W. Saroyan uses the noun 'race' to specify his people. It should be noted that in this context the noun 'race' accumulates almost all of its dictionary meanings. This is primarily a 'race' as a separate subtype of mankind, and the cognitive basis here is the Armenian language as a separate branch of Indo-European languages and the Armenian Church as a separate group of Christian faith (Gregorian), hence the Armenians as a separate 'unique race.' Another meaning directly develops from the previous one: 'grade', 'category.' The Armenian people are a certain kind of humanity, it is such a 'category' of people who cannot be confused with any other. Both meanings bring to the third one: 'descendant', 'genus'; regardless of any circumstances, descendants are born and the Armenian genus continues. Simultaneously the semantics of the noun 'race' includes the meaning of 'fast running', 'fast movement' confirmed by the adjective swift (fast) in combination 'swift rebirth' – people recover very quickly and get back to their previous life. And finally, the last meaning is 'course of life.' This is the fate of the Armenian people: to be destroyed, to perish, but to survive and recover rapidly. W. Saroyan – a maître of short story genre – succeeded highly in transmitting such significant information about the spirit of the people and their life path with the help of a single word. The continuation of the sentence comes to confirm it: the race is characterized by the author as something endless, timeless, but always powerful and again remarkable. The use of the adjective 'timeless' in the meaning of 'infinite' and the adverb 'again' in the meaning of 'always' enhance the emotional intensity of the narrative precisely by the simplicity of its external manifestation and the depth of its semantics: the revival of the people has become something timeless and multiple. And yet, although years have passed, cities have been destroyed, fathers, brothers and sons have been killed, dreams have been brutally violated, and hearts blackened with hate, the people still live – thanks to their traditions, thanks to their spirit.

This part of the text is rather accurately translated into Russian. Only a few Russian culture-bound elements appear to reproduce the Armenian substance shaped in American manner.

А чего стоили армянские жесты, такие многозначительные. Хлопанье по колену и взрывы хохота, и мат-перемат. Изощренное издевательство над всем миром, что носится со своими дутыми ценностями. Армянское слово, взгляд, жест, улыбка — и через них быстрое возрождение народа, неподвластного времени, вновь обретшего силу, несмотря на минувшие годы, назло разрушенным городам, убийству отцов, братьев и сыновей, вопреки преданным забвению родным местам, поруганным чаяниям и сердцам, почерневшим от ненависти. (Saroyan 1994: <https://armeniangc.com> › biblioteka)

One can easily find the pure Russian elements ‘мат-перемат’ instead of English ‘cursing.’ It is missing in the Armenian version, maybe because the translator did not define the boundary in between ‘swearing’ or ‘damning’, as the author does not determine it himself. The translator into Russian believes that it should be ‘swearing’ and that the Armenian people likewise the Russians use swearing obscenities very often. Another culture-bound constituent in the Russian translation is ‘носится со своими дутыми ценностями.’ If in the ST it is only “mockery of the world and its big ideas”, in Russian translation it becomes somewhat like “running around with his inflated values”, whereas in the Armenian version “կյանքի ու մեծ-մեծ զաղափարների ծաղրը” the noun ‘world’ has been transformed into ‘life’, the adjective ‘big’ has become even more intensive ‘big-big.’ Is it because the translator into Armenian and his audience are of the same cognitive and conceptual sphere with the author of the ST? It is supposed to be so and W. Saroyan could really mean the life of his native people while speaking about the mockery of the world and its big ideas, as Armenians always used to tease each other and joke about different situations they appear in.

A certain emphatic reload occurs in both translations in the continuation of the narration. The adjective ‘timeless’ is accurately transferred into Russian ‘неподвластного времени’, whereas in the Armenian version it sounds ‘ուշագուժ’ (late). The Armenian translator emphasizes the fact that though late, the rebirth of the race happens even stronger, even more powerful. Again, an indicator of an Armenian ethnic mentality and lifestyle occurs in the translation as if the author of the ST kept to the Armenian version of the well-known proverb “ուշ լինի՝ նուշ լինի” (the later – the sweeter). Another transformation shift occurs in the Armenian translation of “living hearts blackened with hate.” The Russian translation absolutely corresponds the ST “сердцам, почерневшим от ненависти”, while in the Armenian translation “հոգիները դիւից սևացել են” (souls turned black with anger) the noun ‘hearts’ becomes ‘souls’ and the noun ‘hate’ is transferred into ‘anger.’ In both cases emotional and spiritual intensification of the situation described is designated, but in both translations the adjective ‘living’ is missing. The fact is that the author of the ST combines in it both souls and fury.

The integrity core of this story is located in the final part of the text where the author speaks about his people and challenges all those who wish to destroy his race.

Go ahead, destroy this race. Let us say that it is again 1915. There is war in the world. Destroy Armenia. See if you can do it. Send them from their homes into the desert. Let them have neither bread nor water. Burn their houses and their churches. See if they will not live again. See if they will not laugh again. See if the race will not live again when two of them meet in a beer parlor, twenty years after, and laugh, and speak in their tongue. Go ahead, see if you can do anything about it. See if you can stop them from mocking the big ideas of the world, you sons of bitches, a couple of Armenians talking in the world, go ahead and try to destroy them. (Saroyan 1984: 7)

In order to understand and comprehend this segment of the text, the reader needs to have background information about the events the author refers to and information about cognitive presuppositions. Information about the events is modified by mentioning a specific date – 1915, when the mass deportation of the Armenian population from all provinces of the Ottoman Empire took place, while information about the cognitive presuppositions is specified by the noun ‘desert.’ It is supposed that the reader is aware of the historical facts according to which, in order to completely exterminate the Armenians, they were displaced to the deserts of Syria and Mesopotamia, in particular the Deir el-Zor, the author does not explain to the reader what he means when he says: “Send them from their homes into the desert. Let them have neither bread nor water.” However, being aware of the fact, that in a multi-million audience lots of readers can nohow grasp the essence of the utterance because of the lack of this information, the author names his target audience, addressing directly the people who attempted to destroy his people, but did not succeed in. And the story about two Armenians who, twenty years later, meet far from their homeland in a small, dirty Russian parlor comes to prove it. The author appeals to the people who attempted to destroy his people by “you sons of bitches.” This is how W. Saroyan characterizes all those who attempted to destroy this small tribe of insignificant people, this small tribe of unimportant people, and all those who did not prevent it.

At first glance this paragraph, which has an imperative construction referring to an extra-textual but rather definite addressee, falls out of the general narration. It performs the function of the modifier of the author's conceptual world representation and due to its auto-semantic quality can exist even separately apart the text. It is exactly because of this quality the extract occupies a strong position in the text, as on the one hand, it contributes to a deeper understanding of the narrative itself, on the other hand, it withdraws the facts described in the text to the level of extra-textual generalization of purely Armenian worldview linking the ideas and happening inside the text and real events outside it. In this section of the text, the concept of the ‘future’ is partially implemented. The method of its actualization is of particular interest: the central syntactic construction, including the imperative ‘See’ and the conjunction ‘if’ in the meaning of ‘whether’, is repeated six times, creating the effect of an increase in expressive intensity, which culminates in the last sentence of the text.

Another imperative construction ‘Go ahead’ repeated thrice and the verb ‘destroy’ repeated four times, become the key to the semantics of affirmation. Appealing to his direct addressee, the author seems to encourage him to continue whatever he did twenty years ago, and then he will see if he can finally exterminate the people, who will rise from the ruins and continue their existence and even speak their native language even far from their homeland.

The translation (Russian and Armenian) of this extract also needs a thorough examination, as there are a number of deviations in both of them. Thus, in the Russian translation a few units of colloquial speech occur. The imperative construction ‘Go ahead’ is twice replaced by ‘попробуйте’ (try to), which does not transmit the expressive value of the original, though once it appears in its colloquial sense in the situation where ‘Go ahead’ is missing in the TT: “Destroy Armenia. See if you can do it.” In the Russian version the two sentences are combined into one and the colloquial unit ‘валяйте’ appears: “Валяйте, уничтожайте Армению.” Another colloquial element appears in the translation of “and laugh, and speak in their tongue” – “балагурим и говорим на родном языке”, where ‘балагурим’ combines both ‘joke’ and ‘chat’ in its meaning. In the end “you sons of bitches” in the final sentence of the ST is replaced by ‘Вашу мать’ (a curse not so much specific for western people) located in a separate sentence. So much energy, so much expressiveness, so much fury! This is how the Russian version sounds, while the Armenian one seems to purify and refine the linguistic ‘exterior’ of the speech. Highly bookish style is used by the translator, words and structures which are not so often used in everyday life.

*Փորձէ՛ք կործանել այս ցեղը, սասցէ՛ք՝ դարձյալ 1915 է, ու աշխարհի աչքը՝
պատերազմի ծխով բռնված:*

*Կործանեցէ՛ք Հայաստանը, տեսէ՛ք՝ կկարողանա՞ք: Իրենց տներից քշեցէ՛ք ա-
նապատ, մի՛ մոռացէք ձեռքներից խլել ճամփի հացն ու ջրի վերջին ումպը,
կրակի՛ տվէք իրենց ու իրենց Աստծու տները: Տեսէ՛ք՝ նրանք դարձյալ պիտի
չապրէ՛ն: Տեսէ՛ք՝ ցեղը դարձյալ պիտի չհառնի՞, երբ նրանցից երկուսը քսան
տարի հետո հանդիպեն ու ծիծաղեն իրենց մայրենի լեզվով: Ջանացէք, տեսէ՛ք՝
կարողանա՞ք պիտի, շունշանորդինէ՛ր, նրանց արգելէ՛, որ չծաղրեն ձեր մեծ-
մեծ գաղափարները, որ աշխարհում երկու հայ չխոսեն իրար հետ, փորձէ՛ք
ջնջել նրանց: (Saroyan 2021:*

<https://www.grakantert.am › archives>

While reading this part of the text, one can easily see that together with colorful, very specific Armenian vocabulary the translator again uses the method of addition, as new elements missing in the original text appear in the TT. The very first item worth mentioning is the merging of three sentences into one at the beginning of the paragraph. The simple sentence in the ST “There is war in the world” is replaced in the translation by “աշխարհի աչքը՝ պատերազմի ծխով բռնված” (the eye of the world caught in the smoke of war), as if the translator wishes to make more vivid, more visualized the horror of war for all world, for all peoples. Then three more sentences are combined into one, where again new elements missing in the ST occur: “Let them have neither bread nor water” is replaced by “մի՛ մոռացէք ձեռքներից խլել ճամփի հացն ու ջրի վերջին ումպը” (do not forget to take away from their hands the bread and the last drop of water for the relocation). Here a question arises whether again the method of addition is used by the translator or maybe a new method of conceptualization occurs, when the ST subtext information is explicated and visualized for the Armenian audience.

So, both translations seem to retain the pragmatic potential of the ST and are absolutely comprehensible for their target recipients. They differ in their emotional coloring and the use of culture based linguistic means. Nonetheless, each of them transfers the conceptual schema of the ST and the author's message targeted at the reader.

Thus, in the both texts analyzed above a sort of double-sided transformation of the cultural component is observed, when the author of the ST transmits the Armenian concepts, notions, ethnic principles into English, then the translators into other languages reinterpret and reconstruct them for a different audience due to its world vision and world conceptualization. This type of double-sided translation may be termed as cognitive level of ethnic and mental indicators transformations.

4. Culture-bound Constituents in W. Saroyan's Fiction from the Perspective of Double-Sided Translation

William Saroyan used a great deal of culture-bound elements in his narrative. Very often he translated Armenian expressions, phrases, terms and words into English, and he did not seem to care whether the English-speaking reader would grasp the meaning and the content of such elements. Sometimes he seemed to be writing though in English but for the Armenian reader, yet very often even the Armenian reader could not realize whatever the author's intent was by using those language means. This is why Saroyan's translators have to search for themselves what the author actually meant and then find the relevant equivalent in their native language. So, a sort of double-sided translation occurs in case of Armenian culture-bound elements in W. Saroyan's fiction.

Thus, in the title of the story "Old Country Advice to the American Traveller" there is a culture-based element, which was literally translated by W. Saroyan from Armenian, moreover from Western Armenian, as the population of Eastern Armenia does not use this linguistic unit. This culture-bound element is 'old country', which was not reflected in either Russian or Armenian translations. Old country advice is not merely advice to an American traveller, it is advice of a person who is limited by the same conceptual framework with both the characters of the story and the author himself. 'Country' does not at all mean 'state' or 'village.' It is used in W. Saroyan's narrative rather often and conveys several meanings, such 'province', 'land', 'homeland.' That was how the Western Armenians, especially the old people, called the places they came from 'երկիր' or 'երգիր.' The combination 'old country' becomes a text-constructing element that determines the cultural domain and indicates one of the most important concepts, the core of our ethnic mentality, the concept of "home." Old country advice is the advice of an old Armenian from native land, who will never give harmful advice to his countryman. Unfortunately, this cultural element which determines the behaviour and influences definitely the world perception psychology of a certain group of people, is missing in both translations: "Советы американскому туристу" and "Խորհուրդներ ամերիկացի ճանապարհորդին" (in both versions - advice to an American traveller).

The same element appears in another story "My Cousin Dikran, the Orator." However, in this case the combination 'old country' has not found a proper translation

into the target languages. It is translated into Russian as ‘его родина’ (his homeland), and into Armenian – a word-for-word translation occurs ‘հին երկիր’ (old country or land). None of them conveys the meaning implemented by the author, though it may be explained. Neither for the Russian nor for the Eastern Armenian reader the noun ‘երգիր’ in the meaning it is used in the ST has the expressiveness and the emotional significance that it has for Western Armenians. This element is missing in both Russian and Eastern Armenian linguistic and mental domains. Therefore, it should have been subjected to a certain pragmatic modification to be adequately perceived by the target audience. This is why in the Russian translation the concept “home” is actualized by means of possessive pronoun ‘ero’ (his) in combination with ‘родина’ (motherland), while in the Armenian translation it is actualized by adjective ‘հին’ (old) in combination with ‘երկիր’ (land).

Another culture-bound element of Western Armenian, which is missing in both Russian and Armenian translations, is the combination ‘Old Man.’ It may be explained by the absence of relevant information of basically cultural issues of Western Armenia. It was adapted by W. Saroyan himself for the non-Armenian reader. This part of Western Armenians called grandfather ‘մեծ հայրիկ’ (Big Daddy).

If W. Saroyan used in English ‘big father’ or ‘elder father’, or even ‘Grand Father’, where both elements of the compound noun ‘grandfather’ are introduced separately and with capital letters, the reader would not understand that he meant age seniority, and not size, or another dad who is older than the main one. Therefore, the pragmatic modification occurred primarily in the original text, where ‘Old Man’ is used for the Armenian ‘մեծ հայրիկ’ (Big Daddy) and means one specific person (grandfather). In the Russian translation the combination ‘Old Man’ is transformed by means of noun ‘старик’ (old man), though it is not used in the meaning of elderly or old man, it is used in the meaning of ancestor, a representative of the older generation of the family. The corresponding pragmatic modification of the cultural unit is rather unsuccessfully done in the Armenian translation, where the word ‘ծերունի’ (old man) is used. In the mental scope of the Eastern Armenian reader the combination ‘մեծ հայրիկ’, which could be used in the Armenian version, would work according to the cognitive schema “do not know, but guess”, while for the American and non-American reader, it would be placed within the frames of the schema “do not know and do not guess.” This is why in all versions, including the SL, this combination ‘մեծ հայրիկ’ (Big Daddy) has undergone a certain pragmatic modification. Although, it should be noted that none of the languages, including the original, has determined its deeper semantic layer, because none of them conveys its main meaning – “head of the family”, but not a representative of the older generation of the family.

A number of culture-bound elements, which have undergone the so-called double-sided translation, occur in the story “The Armenian and the Armenian.” Thus, the exclamation ‘Vy’ is implemented by the author in its purely Armenian (in some oriental countries it is also used) phonation. It could not be replaced by ‘wow’, as the Armenian ‘Vy’ occurs in different situations with different intonations to express surprise, delight, admiration, joy, trouble, sorrow, pity, sympathy etc. As seen, there is no need to transmit the exclamation into Armenian as it is of Armenian origin. In the

Russian translation the same ‘Баһ’ (Vy) is used, though for Russian speaking audience it may sound odd, as it is unfamiliar to these people.

Another Armenian culture-based element is the exclamation ‘thief.’ It sounds as ‘սվազուկ’ and in a certain context does not absolutely mean a robber or a raider. People use it often to express delight, admiration or joy. This is one of the culture-bound elements which W. Saroyan used without any care whether the English-speaking reader would understand or even guess its meaning. In the Russian translation it has undergone pragmatic modification and ‘сукин сын’ (son of a bitch) occurs instead of ‘thief’, while in the Armenian version another culture-based element appears although very close in meaning ‘զաղտուկ’ (dodger), which likewise ‘thief’ is often used to express delight or joy. This is whatever may be viewed as double-sided translation: from Armenian into English by W. Saroyan, then from English into Russian and Armenian respectively.

Finally, the expression “God destroy your house” sounds in English with negative connotation, though for the Armenian culture it may have both negative and positive connotations: ‘տնաքանդիչ’ or ‘տնազուկ’ (literally a house crusher or ruiner) in certain situations meaning curse or damnation, in other definite situations it may be used as somewhat meaning wishes for welfare, prosperity ‘տնաշէն, տունդ չքանդվի’ (literally let your house be not ruined). In the context it is used by W. Saroyan it acquires the second meaning denoting delight and joy for meeting a countryman far away in a different country. Thus, the pragmatic potential of the expression is reduced for a non-Armenian reader, as nobody except the Armenians could realize whatever the author really means. In the Russian translation the phrase has undergone a pragmatic modification and acquired a Russian denotation ‘черт тебя возьми’ (meaning damn you), which conveys approximately the significance of the expression and becomes comprehensible for a Russian reader. Meanwhile, into Armenian it is translated as ‘տնազուկ’ (in its second meaning) denoting in this certain context delight and joy. Thus, the Armenian version keeps absolutely the pragmatic value of the ST emotional sense.

5. Conclusion

To conclude the results of the analysis above, it should be noted that when translating a text with a profound cultural substance, the so-called pragmatic modification of the ST becomes especially significant. No doubt, any translation becomes a secondary text influenced by the translator’s domestic environment, culture-based world vision and mentality. This is why the new world created by the translator in the TT in fact reproduces the ST message by means of his/her native cultural elements and pragmatic modifications.

W. Saroyan is ranked among the US immigrant writers whose literary heritage may be characterized as a cross-cultural cluster of both American and Armenian cognition and genetic memory. The term Saroyanesque is widely used to identify W. Saroyan’s style and specific manner of reproducing the actual reality, his personal vision of the world he lived in, the world he created in, the world which combined the environment,

circumstances, conditions, characters, cultures, ethnicity. When translating his fiction where the Armenian substance is dominating, the translator's target goal is further complicated by the fact that the nationally determined elements have already undergone a certain pragmatic modification by the author himself for the English-speaking reader. Very often W. Saroyan translated Armenian expressions, phrases, terms and words into English literally, and he did not seem to care whether the English-speaking reader would grasp the meaning and the content of such elements.

The so-called double-sided transformations occur in W. Saroyan's fiction at basically two levels: the cognitive level of ethnic and mental indicators transformations and the linguistic level of culture-bound elements translation (words, phrases, exclamations etc.). In any case, for both levels W. Saroyan's translators have to search for themselves what the author actually meant and then find the relevant equivalent in their native language. The greatest value of the translation will be the retaining of the ST emotional colouring and expressiveness, pragmatic potential, the author's intention and the message targeted at the reader. To keep Saroyanesque identity in the translation means to transform primarily the ideas, the concepts, the nature and ethnic mentality of the characters, creating the cognitive structures of the community described. Furthermore, the cultural colours of the language media should undergo certain pragmatic modification to be correctly perceived and interpreted by the target audience.

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**MUSICAL ALLUSIONS IN JAMES JOYCE'S DUBLINERS
AND THE PROBLEM OF THEIR TRANSLATION**

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Abstract: The importance of music in the works of James Joyce has long been acknowledged by Joycean scholars, and systematic attempts have been made to deal with musical allusions. A tenor singer in his youth, Joyce fills his writings with musical references and allusions used for certain purposes in his own style. No matter how music is applied, one thing is certain - musical allusions always add a further dimension to his stories, provide a deeper understanding to a piece of literature making it unique and revealing the unknown.

Translation of allusive texts has always been of great interest to linguists, professional translators and literary critics. It requires some strategic and problem-solving competence, as well as cross-cultural awareness, as allusions are closely interconnected with the cultural SL content.

Key words: allusion, music, biculturalisation, double allusions, allusive meaning

1. Introduction

While reading a piece of literature we frequently come across various types of allusions demanding identification and function recognition. Moreover, translators all over the world face the challenge of allusion translation, as being culture-bound elements they are considered potential problems that need to be dealt with. Inaccurate translation can lead to culture gaps, literal translations, puzzling wordings, misinterpretation of the whole text, etc.

In the present article, we would like to focus on the music in Joyce's early volume of short stories, "Dubliners." The books of Zack Bowen (Bowen 1974) and of Gerry Smith (Smith 2000) have traced how deeply the role of music is felt throughout his narrative. We will attempt to highlight the strategies of translating allusions, difficulties and cultural peculiarities of allusion translation, specifically allusions referring to music theme in James Joyce's works.

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The choice of Joyce's "Dubliners" can be explained by the fact that it is a vivid proof of the impact music had on the author's writing career. It is interesting and illuminating, though, to consider the richness and depth that the musical message has already attained in Joyce's earliest and most naturalistic fiction, "Dubliners" (Haas 1992: 19).

The article provides a succinct overview of linguistic and extra-linguistic peculiarities of translating allusions referring to music in "Dubliners." It is also to clarify whether the chosen strategies are applicable and to find out the best and the most appropriate alternatives to translate allusions from the source text into the target text, as well as to focus on the immense role of music and its expression in these short stories. The contrastive analysis enables us to reveal the peculiarities and nuances in translation from English into Armenian and vice versa.

2. "Dubliners": The Study of Musical Allusions in the Theoretical Context

The etymology of the word "allusion" is rather interesting; it derives from Latin word *alludere* (*al* (to) + *ludere* (play)). Although humor is one of its functions, however, not all uses of allusion are playful. More interestingly, allusion is not only a literary phenomenon. We can also find them in non-fictional writing, in music, painting, film, etc. Even Freud made use of the term; he considered dreams as containing allusions to the dreamer's experiences when awake.

Allusion is a figure of speech that makes a reference to an event, place, literary work, myth, or work of art, either by implication or directly. As Ritva Leppihalme explains in her book "Culture Bumps: An Empirical Approach to the Translation of Allusions" some translation problems are caused by small stretches of other texts embedded in the text at hand, which interact with and color it, but may be meaningless or puzzling in translation. Some such embedded texts or "in-texts" are known as allusions (Leppihalme 1997: 87). In fact, one of the most important aspects of alluding is to create new literature out of old, that is, to involve the reader in a recreation by hinting at half-hidden meanings, which the reader is expected to recover and then use for a deeper understanding of the work.

A useful distinction might be drawn between allusions operating mainly on the micro-level of the text and those operating on the macro-level. Simply put, the macro-level involves the internal structure of the text and its interpretation, dramatic intrigue and authorial comment, its narrative and poetic structure. On the other hand, the micro-level is the lexico-semantic and stylistic level (Leppihalme 1997: 56).

Allusions are employed for different purposes: to teach the readers, to produce an aesthetic experience about the text, and connect the reader with a tradition by activating motifs, themes and symbols. In general, allusions are used because of the extra effect or meaning they bring to the text by their associations or connotations. A good translator often notices and analyzes functions of allusions in SL text before deciding how to treat it. Allusions enrich the texts in which they are used and at the same time, they create ambiguity especially when it is not possible to speak directly because of social or political considerations.

Michael Wheeler states that the allusions function mainly within three areas of references: cultural, generic, and textual. Cultural allusions help to identify or define national, regional, or class cultures. Generic allusions indicate the relationship between an adoptive text and a literary convention or tradition. Textual allusions are by far the most common kind in Victorian fiction, establishing links between specific adopted and adoptive texts. They fulfill one or more of four different types of local function, which often complement each other (Wheeler 1979: 67).

One of the functions of allusion is challenging the reader to solve the puzzle. In a sense, any allusion is a puzzle for readers who notice it without recognizing it. It can be inferred that allusion plays an important role in persuading its readers to accept what the author says, especially when they quote parts from religious texts or literary works. Allusions may also be used ironically to detract from the importance of a situation or character. Allusions attempt to communicate, so audience comprehension is important whatever the purpose may be. They may tend to be unsuccessful if they are not understood by the individuals for whom they are intended.

Andrey Kirillov (Technical Translator at Bureau Veritas, Kazakhstan) has categorized allusions into five groups:

- Historical allusion (such as people, places, events)
- Literary allusion (such as characters, settings, plot)
- Biblical allusion (including texts from Old Testament, New Testament)
- Popular culture (related to contemporary people, places, events, literary works, works of art)
- The arts (related to music, works of art, theatre/film) (Kirillov 2003: 102).

Naturally, allusions are culture-bound elements in a context. They are expected to convey meaning that goes beyond that of the mere words used. Culture-bound concepts, even when the two cultures are not too distant, can be more problematic for the translator than the semantic or syntactic difficulties of a text. Translators are required to have good cross-cultural awareness; this is because words that have different connotations in one language might not have the same emotive associations in another language.

Translating allusions seems to be one of the most challenging tasks to be performed by a translator; in other words, allusions are potential problems of the translation process due to the fact that allusions have particular connotations and implications in the source language and the foreign culture but not necessarily in the TL and the domestic culture. Translating allusions requires a high degree of biculturalisation of receivers in order to be understood across a cultural barrier. A translator should take into consideration the fact that every TT receiver will be different from the ST receiver in at least one aspect: they are members of another cultural and linguistic community. It is quite obvious that target text readers, who have educated in a different culture, will usually be rather incapable of recognizing the names or phrases used and to make the necessary connection in order to make sense of target text passages in which source-cultural allusions take place.

Ritva Leppihalme suggests the term "culture bump" for a situation where the reader of a TT has a problem understanding a source-cultural allusion (Leppihalme 1997: 87). Such an allusion may well fail to function in the TT, as it is not part of the TL reader's

culture. Instead of conveying a coherent meaning to TT readers, the allusion may remain unclear and puzzling.

Much of the work that is currently being done in the Translation Studies foregrounds cultural and social aspects of translation, with the emphasis on the macro context of the texts. Culturally oriented translation Studies, then, do not see the ST and the TT simply as samples of linguistic material. The texts occur in a given situation in a given culture of the world and each has a specific function and an audience of its own (Leppihalme 1997: 88). Instead of simply pondering the translatability of STs, there is concern with the functioning of the TT in the TL and its cultural context. The emphasis tends to be on how well a translation functions in the receiving language culture.

Music and literature have always been influencing each other and quite often music plays an important role in literature. Sometimes it contributes an entertaining or even humoristic factor, occasionally it pushes the action and at times it serves as a mirror of the culture to emphasize emotions and environment of the characters.

Music played an essential role in Joyce's life. This can be seen by his immense theoretical knowledge as well as by his practical experience. His biography reveals much of the background of the songs he used in his works. More than a thousand musical incidents, episodes, and allusions can be observed in the great novels of his maturity, such as "Ulysses" and "Finnegans Wake." In "Dubliners" the author applies music in three distinct ways, each of them being very important. First of all, with the help of music he defines the real world in which his characters live. Whether music is a social activity or profession, it forms a vital part of their everyday lives: when, they are not talking it is often because they are singing, playing the piano, or listening to someone else sing. Music, thus, helps to form the framework, the background, and the texture of their lives. More than this, music is essential since the characters of "Dubliners" reveal themselves through it, by playing an instrument, singing, listening to it or simply making comments about it. Over and over again in these stories, the telling incident, the crucial episode, or the moment when the character is revealed, happens in response to music (Haas 1992: 20).

Music formed quite a natural language for Joyce, a language which he managed to use with considerable and practiced skill. He has even applied music in situations other than purely musical performance. The reason is that Joyce was already applying language beyond its limits, making extraordinary demands of language, and music, of course, helped him fulfill these demands.

It was, of course, only later, in "Ulysses" and "Finnegans Wake", that Joyce made bold innovations in terms of using language. Among the so-called techniques he applied to enrich the meaning of his stories, and to push it beyond its limits we can mention his stream-of-consciousness technique, the contact with the subconscious dreams, half-wakefulness, drunkenness, and myth, the puns, and, of course, allusiveness. However, if analyzed closely, the tendencies towards the mentioned directions were undoubtedly present in the writer, and on a more attentive look it becomes obvious that Joyce was already an experimenter.

After reading Joyce's writings it becomes obvious, that music can indeed serve these purposes. In its undeniable power of direct emotional expressiveness, its allusiveness, its connection with the past by means of folk songs, and so on, music, as

such, can even challenge or surpass language. Joyce, by including music in his short stories, enhances their power. That Mozart can reach the frozen soul of Mr. Duffy, a character of "A Painful Case", or that Maria, the protagonist of "Clay", raises her quavering voice in a song, says a great deal about these characters.

The city and people of Dublin are presented to the readers in these short stories. Music formed an important part of both the geographic and the human scene. The streets of Dublin were filled with music that reverberates through these stories: the ballads and "nasal chanting of street singers" are heard in "Araby", the street organs play in "Eveline", etc.

Music also plays a fundamental role in the social world recorded in "Dubliners." It is a natural part of the characters' everyday life, one of their favorite pastimes, a means to escape their dull reality. Thus, it is not surprising to see Little Chandler in "A Little Cloud" invite his good old friend Gallaher to his house so that they could just sit and enjoy music; it is a natural thing for Mr. Duffy in "A Painful Case" to spend his evenings playing music before his landlady's piano. A stressed love for music can be seen when the daughter of Mrs. Sinico leaves the latter alone so much in "A Painful Case" and goes out to give music lessons. That public concerts and operas in general were also a desired way to spend time could be seen in "A Painful Case", since Mr. Duffy and Mrs. Sinico could meet two or three times by chance simply attending concerts, or in "Eveline", when sailor Frank takes her to the opera.

In his short stories, Joyce makes musical allusions quite frequently. In certain cases, they are direct references to characters singing or playing instruments, on others indirect quotes of songs. Joyce expects from his readers not only to simply nod along but also think about the allusions. How Joyce applies music significantly differs from how other authors apply it. Authors may use music for various purposes such as creating humor, depicting cultural peculiarities, etc. Joyce, however, combined literature and music in a very particular way having a subtler approach to the music. Joyce skillfully mastered applying music in all its beauty and power on the unconscious and, consequently, brings music into his text to make it more complex and multifaceted. Studies show that there are nearly 1500 references to musical titles, among which some appear only once, while others as many as 20 times. Music gradually became so important for Joyce that in "Dubliners" we can find about 18 musical references. The songs are seen as a possibility to escape the dull and grey everyday life. Music and singing also serve as a loophole for emotional energies.

3. Strategies of Allusion Translation

In spite of the fact that it is more or less easy to identify the musical references applied by James Joyce, the main difficulties are arisen by their interpretation. The first and most common difficulty occurs when a song, which has been rather famous for Joyce and his contemporary audience, is not directly mentioned in the story but simply lingers in the background.

Another problem in identifying the allusion, and consequently translating it properly, is that double allusions can also be found in the stories. This makes it rather

difficult to decide what the author has intended to allude to: a particular music, his work or both. After identification of the allusion, the translator should decipher its intended function in the SL and source culture so that s/he may try to convey the same function in the TL and target culture. However, both allusion identification and its function recognition cannot be achieved without prior and background knowledge.

Translation strategies are ways of solving translation problems. Various strategies opted for by translators in rendering allusions play a crucial role for achieving equivalence in translation. In order to make decisions on appropriate translation strategies the translator should consider the type of the allusion, its allusive meaning and associations, its intended function in the ST and the linguistic and extra-linguistic peculiarities of the TT. The omission of allusions in the TT is not encouraged, as allusions are an exceptional source of information, key to deeper understanding of the work. In case of omissions we may assume that the whole translation becomes ineffective.

“Eveline” is the first portrait of a female in “Dubliners.” It depicts the contrast between a domestic life in early twentieth-century Dublin rooted in the past and the possibility of a new married life, new experiences abroad.

The main themes are again the failed quest and paralysis: The final destination of the boy in “An Encounter” is the Pigeon House, which he never reaches; the main character in “Araby” seeks the bazaar, closing down by the time he gets there; Eveline seeks Buenos Ayres, a place where she hopes to avoid the threat of her father’s violence. However, she is gripped by fear of the unknown. She also desires to escape the repetition of her dead mother’s “life of commonplace sacrifices closing in final craziness.”

The theme of death pervades “Eveline” too: the deaths of her mother and her brother Ernest, and of a girlhood friend named Tizzie Dunn. Other themes are Irish social conditions and emigration, imprisonment, doubt, etc. We assume that the title “Eveline” is an allusion too, like the title “Araby.” However, we may address two different explanations for it. Perhaps James Joyce alludes to Eve in the Garden of Eden, as she enjoyed her childhood, but, eventually, she had to leave the garden and enter the world of tribulations and hardships. From another standpoint, the name Eveline is derived from the Gaelic equivalent of Helen. Hence, perhaps the author alludes to Helen of Troy. Like Helen, Eveline wants to run away with a man. Nevertheless, as opposed to Helen, Eveline’s motivation is not love, but it is her escape from her mother’s fate and to find her freedom.

Music makes a prominent part of the story depicted both as allusion and as ‘playing in the background’, i.e. there is no reference to a particular song as such. In “Eveline” the musical allusions create a musical pattern throughout the whole story. The combination of various allusions provides the reader with an auditory experience which gives him/her the impression of not only reading the story but being inside it, listening to what the characters hear and how they feel. The implicit auditory experience is further accentuated by a complex system of figures of speech, which help convey feeling, mood and character. This story can be read as a confrontation between realistic and falsely romantic worldviews. This can be seen by the characters striving for a higher, better world that never was and never will be.

He took her to see *The Bohemian Girl* and she felt elated as she sat in an unaccustomed part of the theatre with him. (Joyce 2012: 27)

Ֆրանկը տարավ նրան դիտելու ‘Գնչուհին’ և նա, նստելով տղայի կողքին, իր համար անսովոր տեղում, իրեն զգում էր յոթերորդ երկնքում: (Joyce 1978: 34)

“*The Bohemian Girl*” is a well-known nineteenth-century ballad opera composed by Dublin musician Michael William Balfe. Significantly, characters throughout *Dubliners* refer to songs from this opera. The reference to “*The Bohemian Girl*” is subtle but important. In this opera, the character Arline, who is Count Arnheim’s daughter, has been abducted by gypsies as a child and raised by them. She falls in love with Thaddeus, a Polish nobleman in exile who has joined the gypsy band. He saves Arline from being killed by a deer. When she sings ‘I dreamt that I dwelt in marble halls’, she is describing the splendors of a dimly remembered childhood. There is some similarity between Arline and Eveline. The difference is that Arline’s dream is mainly about an opulent past, while Eveline’s dream is focused on the exotic future.

The allusion “*The Bohemian Girl*” has been replaced with a performed TL item, which is ‘Գնչուհին’. We believe that the translator has been guided by the fact that the main character of the opera was raised by gypsies.

People knew that they were courting and, when he sang about the lass that loves a sailor, she always felt pleasantly confused. (Joyce 2012: 29)

Մարդիկ գիտեին նրանց փոխադարձ համակրանքի մասին, և երբ Ֆրանկը երգում էր նավաստու և աղջկա սիրո երգը, ինքը միշտ հաճելի շփոթմունք էր զգում: (Joyce 1978: 35)

“*The Lass that Loves a Sailor*” is a song about how faithless sailors can be, and the fact that Frank sings it to her seems pretty uncool. It also just reveals how naïve and young Eveline can be.

“*The Lass that Loves a Sailor*” was composed in 1811 by Charles Dibdin for “*The Round Robin*.” It is also the subtitle of a comic opera in two acts, which opened at the Opera Comique in London on May 25, 1878. In the opera it is associated with love and romance not to be, whereas Dibdin’s song is a very gentlemanly ballad about sailors tipping and offering toasts and hence adds an ironic touch to the story. “People knew that they were courting and, when he sang about the lass that loves a sailor, she always felt pleasantly confused.” The lyrics of the refrain fit closely to Eveline’s story. The ‘pleasantly confused’ feeling is mirrored in the lyrics as ‘pleased the most’. When they get to the boat, which is supposed to bring them to Buenos Aires they are on ‘the ship that goes’ and ‘the lass that loves a sailor’ is, of course, Eveline. Nevertheless, the song presents a conflict between reality and imagination, even though it is this time more of a foreshadowing. We can listen to the sailors, presenting their toasts on a Saturday night, each wishing to hail ‘some sweetheart or wife’. Obviously, the sweethearts or wives are not present at this moment. Therefore, even if Frank really married her, she would still be alone, only in a different city this time. For her sailor she would be exchangeable, it is indifferent for them if they hail ‘some Poll or Bess’. In the end, she would be dependent again, waiting for a salvation, which is not sure to come.

The allusion “The Lass that Loves a Sailor” is translated as ‘Նավաստու և աղջկա սիրո երգը’. No matter how loyal the translation is to the original text, certain changes should occur to make it smoother for the TL audience.

Music, in general, goes almost constantly throughout his fiction. “The Dead” is known as the culmination of “Dubliners.” Music plays a prominent role in this story. We can find traces of music almost everywhere, i.e. it is present in the plot, in the theme, and in the lives of the characters. In this story music functions in all of its three primary roles, that is, as a social and professional activity, as a symbol of romance, and as a means for the revelation of the characters (Haas 1992: 29).

It’s nothing very wonderful, but Gretta thinks it very funny because she says the word reminds her of Christy Minstrels. (Joyce 2012: 7)

Զարմանալի ոչինչ չկա, բայց Գրետային դա զավեշտական է թվում, որովհետև այդ խոսքը հիշեցնում է տոնավաճառի երգիչներին: (Joyce 1978: 5)

Christy Minstrels was a group formed by Edwin Pearce Christy, a well-known ballad singer, in 1843. They were white performers “blacked up” as African-Americans in a show consisting of comedy, dancing and singing. Some years after its foundation, the name came to be used for any type of black minstrel show.

To sum up, the reality in this story is present in the musical elements like the street organ. The romantic element is exemplified in the “Bohemian Girl.” The final revelation becomes apparent in the song “The Lass that Loves a Sailor” which shows that Eveline cannot feel enough love for Frank to go to Buenos Aires with him. She is tied so closely to her past that she cannot believe in his promise as much as she wants it to be true and to experience a romance like Arline does.

Translation of allusive texts has always been of great interest not only to linguists and professional translators and interpreters, but also to literary critics, translation theorists and all educated people. In spite of the fact that it is more or less easy to identify the musical references applied by J. Joyce, the main difficulties are arisen by their interpretation. The first and most common difficulty occurs when a song, which has been rather famous for Joyce and his contemporary audience, is not directly mentioned in the story but simply lingers in the background. Another problem in identifying the allusion, and consequently translating it properly, is that double allusions can also be found in the stories. This makes it rather difficult to decide what the author has intended to allude to: a particular music, his work or both.

Joyce’s use of language gives rise to another problem concerning the interpretation of allusions. After all, it remains uncertain whether an allusion has been intended or not, because the author uses phrases that were part of popular speech back then and, consequently, quite frequently appeared in popular music. Therefore, the use of allusions can be obvious if the author mentions an exact quotation; repeats a key word from a certain song; involves evident parody in his piece of writing and so on. After identification of the allusion, the translator should decipher its intended function in the SL and source culture so that s/he may try to convey the same function in the TL and target culture, at the same time taking into account the expectations of potential TL

readers and peculiarities of the cultural context of TL. Both allusion identification and its function recognition cannot be achieved without prior and background knowledge.

4. Conclusion

Translation strategies are ways of solving translation problems. Various strategies opted for by translators in rendering allusions play a crucial role for achieving equivalence in translation. In order to make decisions on appropriate translation strategies the translator should consider the type of the allusion, its allusive meaning and associations, its intended function in the ST and the linguistic and extra-linguistic peculiarities of the TT. The omission of allusions in the TT is not encouraged, as allusions are an exceptional source of information, key to deeper understanding of the work. In case of omissions we assume that the whole translation becomes ineffective.

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Another problem in identifying the allusion, and consequently translating it properly, is that double allusions can also be found in the stories. This makes it rather difficult to decide what the author has intended to allude to: a particular music, his work or both.

Any story in 'Dubliners' abounds with religious, mythological, literary, cultural and historical allusions. By means of these allusions the author expresses his attitude towards the Catholic Church, England and the history of Dublin. A scrupulous reader and translator may figure out the themes and motifs of the stories, become closely acquainted with cultural, national, and regional peculiarities of Dublin life.

As literary translation tightens the connections between representatives of different language communities it is important to emphasize the connection between language, culture and translation. To conclude, it must be mentioned that on the one hand allusions are potential problems for a translator, on the other hand they provide a deeper understanding to a piece of literature making it unique and revealing the unknown.

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INSIGHTS INTO TRANSLATION OF RUSSIAN *REALIA*

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Abstract: This article aims to give a brief overview of the findings of our research on translation strategies, focusing on the issue of transferring the implications and uses of the so-called *realia* from a source language into a target one, which, for the sake of brevity, we will call SL (Russian) and TL (Italian) respectively. After introducing the concept of *realia* and possible strategies to convey their meaning, it will reveal through the analysis of some prototypical examples (i) a number of solutions the translator-lexicographer should consider each time, according to a series of different parameters, (ii) to what extent these choices can vary with respect to different narrative texts or lexicography and (iii) the absence of homogeneity in translation strategies not only in terms of comparing different monolingual or bilingual dictionaries, but also identifying within the same dictionary. Although the issue of *realia* translation has been a matter of interest and study in narrative, as well as in monolingual lexicography, it still needs more research to test and compare certain approaches proposed in bilingual lexicography.

Key words: Russian *realia*, translation strategies, lexicography, narrative text, loans, analogues, calques

1. Introduction

Through this article we aim to provide an overview of various critical issues the translator-lexicographer usually faces attempting to translate culture-specific words, the so-called *realia* (cf. Orioles 1984 & Nicolai 2003). The relevance of this phenomenon lies in particular in the fact that it is always quite difficult to render in a target-translation language (TL) expressions that reveal the customs and traditions of a source language culture (SL), not observable in other cultures. When dealing with *realia*, the translator-lexicographer accepts several challenges, not only cultural-semantic but also lexical, graphic and phonetic. In the process of translation from a SL into a TL various parameters should be considered, which concern not only the translator-lexicographer himself and his knowledge of both languages involved, but also the translation addressee, be it a bilingual dictionary user or narrative text reader.

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The different strategies each time used reveal different purposes and intentions, which are difficult to systematize (Cf. Gusmani 1993; Rybin 2007 & Osimo 2011). The results insofar obtained pay particular attention to the lack of uniformity, striving to evaluate whether (i) on the one hand it is possible to draw a clear demarcation between the criteria adopted in both lexicography and narrative field, and (ii) on the other hand to what extent these criteria reveal special trends, especially from a bilingual lexicographical point of view, a field which nowadays seems still quite unexplored with respect to this question.

2. The Case of *Realia*: a Problem of (un)Translatability?

The process of translating from an SL into a TL involves linguistic and cultural factors in both languages. Any language, indeed, reflects and creates a national culture [Wierzbicka 1986]¹; this implies not only a bilingual, but, crucially, a bicultural approach. *Realia* represent, in this complex bicultural context, a striking challenge for the translator-lexicographer; they are lexical items denoting objects or concepts specific to one culture, for which the TL typically lacks an equivalent. The Italian philosopher, writer and translator Umberto Eco states:

[...] è idea ormai accettata che una traduzione non riguarda solo un passaggio tra due lingue, ma tra due culture, o due enciclopedie. Un traduttore non deve solo tenere conto di regole strettamente linguistiche, ma anche di elementi culturali, nel senso più ampio del termine. [translated by the author: it is a nowadays accepted idea that translation does not simply refer to a transition between two languages, but between two cultures, or two encyclopaedias. A translator should take into account not only linguistic rules, but also cultural elements, in the broadest sense of the term.] (Eco 2003: 162).

The Bulgarian linguists S. Vlahov and S. Florin, authors of a volume dedicated to translation units normally considered or defined as ‘untranslatable’, give the following definition of *realia*:

«[...] слова (и словосочетания), называющие объекты, характерные для жизни (быта, культуры, социального и исторического развития) одного народа и чуждые другому; будучи носителями национального и/или исторического колорита, они, как правило, не имеют точных соответствий (эквивалентов) в других языках, а, следовательно, не поддаются переводу «на общих основаниях», требуя особого подхода» [Vlahov-Florin 1980: 47] [translated by the author: «[...] words (and phrases) referring to objects typical of life (everyday life, culture, social and historical development) of a nation, and unfamiliar to another one; carrying national and/or historical flavour, they, normally, do not have any exact correspondences (equivalents) in other languages, and, therefore, they cannot be translated ‘on a general basis’ and require a special approach]».

¹ Cf. Triberio 2016.

Realia identify not only objects, but signs, words characteristic of each particular culture, typical or exclusive of the material, spiritual and historical heritage of a nation, lexical items which lack of the so-to-say ‘heteronym’ in the linguistic theory:

Negli studi sulla traduzione, l’eteronimia è una particolare relazione di sinonimia tra sistemi linguistici diversi (Beccaria 2004: 702); in altri termini, essa corrisponde alla sinonimia nella relazione infralinguistica; per es., il francese *arbre* è considerato eteronimo dell’italiano *albero* [translated by the author: In translation studies, heteronymy is a particular synonymic relationship between different linguistic systems (Beccaria 2004: 702); in other words, it corresponds to synonymy in the intralinguistic relationship; for example, the French *arbre* is considered heteronym for the Italian *albero*] (<https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/eteronimo>).

Realia have been an area of great interest to translation scholars, either exploring the nature of the relationship between language and culture in the SL (Djachy – Paresishvili 2014), or focusing on the range of strategies used by translators to convey their meaning in the TL (Fernández Guerra 2012). Indeed, it is already difficult to speak about full overlapping in the meanings of words in different languages in general having to deal, in most cases, with a sort of approximation, and it is even more difficult, if not impossible, to translate the so-called ‘culture-specific’ words; they go from the socio-political field to the geographical or ethnographic one, referring to work, cooking, art, fashion and many other socio-cultural fields traceable in many languages [Vlachov-Florin 1970]. How to translate Italian *spaghetti*, *mozzarella*, *lasagna*, *mafia*, *apricena*, or Russian *пирог*, *интеллигенция*, *погром*, *стахановец*, *матрёшка*, *квас*, *царь*, *дума*, *тройка* (in its double meaning of ‘three-horse carriage’ and ‘triumvirate’), or even French *crêpes* and *pois*, Argentinian *pampas*, Spanish *murales* in a TL? One would say they are ‘untranslatable’! The Russian linguist and translation theorist Barhudárov (1975: 74) coined, indeed, for these words, the expression *bezekvivalentnaja leksika* (безэквивалентная лексика), literally ‘non-equivalent lexicon.’ Which translation strategies to choose then?

3. Strategies of Translating Realia

As analysed in (1), a key feature of *realia* is that no equivalent word or expression is available in the TL. Even though modern linguistics denies it (Wierzbicka 2003), on the contrary a pseudo-translation seems to be always applicable. The first fundamental watershed to outline is, therefore, the distinction between its transcription/transliteration² or its translation (Vlachov-Florin 1986). In the absence of direct equivalents, when faced with a *realia*, the translator-lexicographer is left with two main options: (i) either to preserve the lexical item in the SL (sometimes explaining it with additional information) or (ii) to find a word or expression in the TL that approximates the meaning of the archetype in the SL. The former choice (i) refers

² By scientific transliteration we refer to the standards developed by ISO 9: 1995 (International Organization for Standardization).

to what is traditionally defined in linguistics as ‘borrowing’, that is, the process of transliteration from the source language alphabet (SL) into the target language alphabet (TL). The Czech–American historical *linguist and lexicographer* L. Zgusta states that:

The form of such a borrowed word [...] can attain different degrees of adaptation to the phonemic and morphological structure of the language into which it has been accepted, but it can also remain unadapted [...] (Zgusta 1971: 179).

The latter choice (ii) may give rise to a variety of different processes, not mutually exclusive, such as calques, semi-calques, various degrees of translation or pseudo-translation, up to certain attempts at the description-explanation of the *realia*. Different taxonomies have been proposed by scholars working in the field of translation studies (cf. for example Graedler 2012; Harvey 2012). Linguists Vlachov and Florin state that:

Некоторые «реалии» передаются в тексте перевода в неизменном виде (через транслитерацию), другие могут лишь частично сохранять свою морфологическую или фонетическую структуру при переводе, третьи все же необходимо заменять лексическими единицами совершенно разными по внешнему виду [translated by the author: Some «realia» are transmitted into the TL text unchanged (through transliteration), others can only partially preserve their morphological or phonetic structure during translation, and still others must be replaced with lexical units that are completely different as far as their formal aspect is concerned] (Vlachov– Florin 1986: 438).

If, on the one hand, the borrowing keeps the so-called ‘exotic flavour’ of the word (foreignization) giving the reader an impression of a greater immersion in the SL culture, the translation, on the other hand (or a sort of pseudo-translation) should reduce the distance between the two languages (domestication) to the detriment, however, of the semantic value that pertains to realia. In this regard, Venuti (1995: 20) puts forward two different approaches: “an ethnocentric reduction of the foreign text to target-language cultural values [...] and an ethnodeviant emphasis of those (cultural) values that register the linguistic and cultural differences of the foreign text [...]”.

Rybin (2007: 7) states that: “*перевод* представляет собой перевыражение исходного текста средствами другого языка” (translated by the author: “translation represents a reproduction of the original text by means of another language”), specifying then the main strategies used in translation practice for the transmission of *realia* (for a systematic inventory of the various types of linguistic interference, see Gusmani 1993):

В принципе, все способы, используемые в переводческой практике для передачи реалий, можно свести к четырем: транскрипция и транслитерация; калькирование; аналог или приблизительное соответствие; толкование или описательный перевод [translated by the author: Virtually, all the methods used in translation practice to convey realia can be reduced to four ones: transcription and transliteration; calque; analogue or approximate equivalent; explanation or descriptive translation] (Rybin 2007: 137).

Our analysis on Russian *realia* has been conducted on the basis of the broad distinction between loans and calques made by Gusmani (1993) and Rybin (2007). Among the different *realia* that have penetrated the Italian language through specific translation strategies, some prototypical ones will be hereafter discussed as follows: (i) more or less adapted loans, (матрёшка, мужик); (ii) (pseudo) translation (мужик, тройка), (iii) additional information (самовар); (iv) functional analogues (взятка); (v) calques (like коллективное хозяйство, which enters the Italian language also in the form of a loan: колхоз).

All the following examples are presented just for demonstration purposes, without any evaluating aim on translation choices, and without taking into account the broader context they are in. Options may vary with respect to the given narrative texts or lexicography. The question becomes indeed particularly crucial for bilingual dictionaries, as they should provide as many equivalents as possible, ready to be used in various contexts, alongside one or more possible translation solutions (Marello 1989; Massariello Merzagora 1982). It is indeed surprising that far less systematic attention has been given to *realia* in the bilingual lexicographic tradition, where most attention has been focused on how they are encoded in monolingual dictionaries (Fernández Guerra 2012).

Before starting analysing some *realia*, it could be useful to remember the rich inventory of Russian *realia* that entered Italian language made by Orioles (1984), who distinguishes between historical russisms, i.e. expressions concerning customs, geographical environment, material and social life prior to the Russian October Revolution (1917) and sovietisms, that is, words referring to the political and socio-economic institutions of the Soviet State, until its disintegration (1917-1991). The research has been conducted on some proto-typical examples taken from these two typologies³.

4. Phonological Adaptation of Loan Words

We have already pointed out that even when a *realia* is opaque and difficult to understand in TL, it will still be possible to choose its original form, in order to maintain the local flavour of the text. Osimo (2011) states:

Tradurre i *realia* significa tradurre un elemento culturale, non linguistico [...]. Essendo oggetti culturospecifici, nella tradizione interlinguistica non sono modificati per preservare l'ambientazione culturale del prototesto, se non in caso di differenze di alfabeto tra le due culture (scrivo balalajka e non балалайка) [translated by the author: Translating *realia* means translating a cultural, not a linguistic element [...]. Being cultural-specific objects, in the interlinguistic tradition they are not modified to preserve the cultural setting of the prototext, except in case of differences in the alphabet of the two cultures (I write balalajka and not балалайка)].

³ Cf. also Nicolai 2003. For the purposes of this essay this study will in particular focus on various translation strategies, skipping grammatical information, explanation or examples of use in context, for which please cf. bibliography).

Analysing one of the most typical and popular Russism (from the archetype *матрёшка*) we can note different degrees of phonographical adaptations in the way the borrowing *matrioska/matriosca* is given among the entries of some Italian monolingual dictionaries and in [wikipedia.it](https://it.wikipedia.org) as shown in (a) :

(a)

- (i) **matrioska** <*matriòska*> s. f. [adattam. fonetico e grafico del russo *matrëška* <*matrjòška*>⁴] [...] [<https://www.treccani.it/vocabolario/>];
- (ii) **matrioska** ma|tri|o|ska pronuncia⁵: /matrj'òska/ [...] [<https://www.dizionario-italiano.it/>];
- (iii) **matrioska** or **matriosca** [...] [<https://it.wikipedia.org>].

Comparing the above-given three entries with those in the IT-RU section of some bilingual dictionaries, we find that while Dobrovol'skaja encodes the adapted borrowing (a-iv), Kovalev does not record the borrowing, although the archetype *матрёшка* appears regularly in the RU-IT section (a-v):

- (iv) **matrjoška** f. *матрёшка* [...] [Dobrovol'skaja 2001: 1761];
- (v) **матрёшка** f. [...] *matrioska* (Kovalev 1995: 407, RU-IT section)⁶.

Same different degrees of phonographical adaptations can be observed in the encoding criteria of some bilingual dictionaries used for a series of other Russian *realia* that entered Italian as borrowings: *car'* (or *zar*⁷, an Italian word in all respects)⁸, *duma*⁹, *samovar*¹⁰, *trojka* (or the more adapted *troika*¹¹, *troica*¹²)¹³, *balalajka* (or the more adapted *balalaika*, *balalaica*¹⁴), *pirog*¹⁵, all of them reproducing, more or less faithfully, their archetypes *царь*, *дума*, *самовар*, *тройка*, *матрёшка*, *балалайка*, *пирог*, going from a more *source-oriented approach* (e.g., *car'*, *matrëška*, *balalajka*) to a more *target-oriented* one (e.g., *zar*, *matriosca*, ***matrioska***, *matrjoška*, *troica*, *troika*,

⁴ phonetic and graphic adapt. of the Russian *matrëška* <*matrjòška*> (translated by the author).

⁵ pronunciation (translated by the author).

⁶ Neither 'matrioska', nor any other more or less adapted borrowing is encoded in the IT-RU section.

⁷ Kovalev 1995: 2167 (IT-RU section).

⁸ "Zar è una parola italiana, registrata da decenni nei vocabolari italiani, e in italiano è questa la parola corretta" [translated by the author: "Zar is an Italian word, recorded for decades in Italian dictionaries, and in Italian this is the correct word" (Pescatori, 1997: 95)].

⁹ Not encoded in the IT-RU section of Kovalev (1995), although the russism is listed in the RU-IT one (Kovalev 1995: 188).

¹⁰ Kovalev 1995: 1951 (IT-RU section).

¹¹ Treccani <http://www.treccani.it/vocabolario/troika/>.

¹² (Hoepli https://www.grandidizionari.it/Dizionario_Italiano/parola/t/troica/); Kovalev (1995: 2119 IT-RU).

¹³ For further details on *trojka* cf. Triberio 2017-b & Triberio 2021-a.

¹⁴ Kovalev 1995: 1227 encodes both *balalaica* & *balalaika*.

¹⁵ For further details on the entrance of *pirog* into Italian cf. Triberio 2020; the borrowing is neither encoded in Kovalev nor in Dobrovol'skaja, although the russism is to be found in the RU-IT section of both dictionaries, translated through the pseudo-equivalents *torta* or *pasticcio* (Kovalev 1995: 652).

balalaika, balalaica). In similar cases, the lexicographer adds sometimes examples or explanations useful to clarify the meaning and the use of the *realia*, as in ‘trojka’:

trojka f. (**troica**) **1** (*slitta*)¹⁶ тройка **2** (*triumvirato*)¹⁷ тройка; троица, трое; durante le purghe staliniane una ~ fungeva da tribunale¹⁸ во время сталинских репрессий роль суда часто выполняла “тройка” (Dobrovol’skaja 2001: 2331).

An example of ‘naturalized’ borrowing is ‘mugicco’, from the archetype мужик:

the word acquires some structural features of the TL, as in the Italian *mugicco*¹², from the Russian *мужик*¹³, where the grapheme *g* signals a change of phoneme from the fricative [ʒ] (not used in Italian) to the affricate [dʒ], and the addition of the *-co* ending reproduces the prosodic structure of Italian words (ending in a vowel) [Magnani-Triberio 2018: 81]

Three different Italian monolingual on-line dictionaries encode the borrowing (followed by a brief description) in different more or less adapted alternatives, as shown in b):

b)

(i) **mugicco** (o **mugìc**, **mugico**, **mugìk**, **mugiko**) [...] (Treccani

<https://www.treccani.it/vocabolario/>);

(ii) **mugic** o **mugico**, **mugicco**, **mugik** [...] [Hoepli <https://www.grandidizionari.it/>];

(iii) **mugìc** mu|gìc [...] [Dizionario Italiano <https://www.dizionario-italiano.it/>].

Similar criteria are shown in c), with reference to bilingual lexicography, whose IT-RU sections register in (c-i) the fully naturalized borrowing **mugicco**, while in (c-ii) the more adapted **mugic**, offering, in addition, the (pseudo)equivalent **крестьянин**¹⁹:

c)

(i) **mugicco** *m.* мужик [Dobrovol’skaja 2001: 1819];

(ii) **mugic** *m. неизм мужик т., крестьянин т.* [Kovalev 1995: 1721].

Quite surprisingly, in the relevant RU-IT sections, while Dobrovol’skaja (2001: 390) doesn’t include the borrowing ‘mugicco’ along with the supplied (pseudo)equivalents **1** *contadino*²⁰ and **2** (*colloq.*) *uomo*²¹, Kovalev (1995: 434) provides the less adapted borrowing **mugik** (!) instead of the more adapted one ‘mugic’ encoded in the IT-RU section, along with a series of possible equivalents, such as *uomo*, *persona*, *marito* (*pop.*) *burino*, *cafone*²².

¹⁶ sled (translated by the author).

¹⁷ triumvirate (translated by the author).

¹⁸ during the Stalinist purges a ~ served as a court (translated by the author).

¹⁹ farm (translated by the author).

²⁰ *ibidem*

²¹ man (translated by the author).

²² man, person, husband (*pop.*), boor, peasant (translated by the author).

5. (Pseudo)-Translation in Narrative Texts

But what happens when facing a narrative text? Which strategy should be used for translating the *realia* мужик? Examples taken from <https://ruscorpora.ru/new/> show a variety of choices (d), including borrowing (d-i muzik) giving a pseudo-equivalent (d-ii contadino), neutralizing the same *realia* (possibly in cases where the context allows for this choice) (d-iii), or using the more connoted Italian word ‘omaccio’²³ (if compared with ‘contadino’), that gives the idea of a terrible and loutish man (d-iv):

(d)²⁴

(i) «Il “**muzik**” è nudo e si gonfia per la fame.» [...] (original text: Мужик раздет и пухнет от голода [...]);

(ii) oh, naturale, il **contadino** è nemico di ogni ordine [...]; (original text: ага, мужик враг всякого порядка [...])

(iii) Era un mezzo buriato, cordiale e analfabeta [...]; (original text: Это был мужик полубурят, душевный и неграмотный [...]);

(iv) c’è un **omaccio** sconosciuto, nero e terribile [...]; (original text: а чужой мужик черный и страшный [...]).

(Triberio 2021-b)

Different renderings of the *realia* тройка, in the meaning of ‘three-horse carriage’ (e) in the narrative text show various criteria with respect to different needs, going from the not-naturalized borrowing (the so called *strictu-sensu* one) trojka (i)²⁵, to a sort of translation-explanation (ii), to the pseudo-equivalent in (iii), without further explanation or additional expressions. Translation (iii) exemplifies what Rybin defines as a process of ‘desemantization’ [Rybin 2007]; Italian ‘carrozza’ indeed neutralizes the full meaning of the archetype, bringing to it a much more generic meaning (Triberio 2017-b & Triberio 2021-a):

(e)

(i) E come un fantasma una **trojka** scomparve fra il fracasso e la polvere. [...] (original text: И, как призрак, исчезнула с громом и пылью тройка. [...])²⁶;

(ii) Ho qui una carrozza, ma pel tarantass c’è **tre cavalli** [...] ²⁷ (original text: Я здесь с коляской, но и для твоего тарантаса есть тройка);

²³ trivial man (translation by the author).

²⁴ Борис Пастернак. Доктор Живаго (1945-1955) | Boris Pasternak. Il dottor Zivago (Pietro Zveteremich)] (<https://ruscorpora.ru/new/>).

²⁵In similar cases footnotes could help explaining possible obscure meanings.

²⁶ Nikolaj Gogol. ‘Anime morte (Paolo Nori) (<https://ruscorpora.ru/new/>).

²⁷ Ivan Turgenev. Padri e figli (Federigo Verdinois) (<https://ruscorpora.ru/new/>).

(iii) La **carrozza** volava rumoreggiando [...] ²⁸.
(original text: Тройка дружно мчалась).

In certain cases the translator decides to add some useful information. Let's consider the case of 'samovar' (f):

(f)
dove prendevano il tè, intorno a un samovàr, suo padre, una signora e due bambine ²⁹
(original text: где за самоваром сидел отец и с ним дама и две девочки).

Samovar is one of those so-called 'pure' loans, which do not require any particular graphic-phonetic adaptation; it is mostly found as a loan, hopefully it could be accompanied by useful information. In the above example the translator, trying to convey as clear as possible the meaning of the word 'samovar' (which has no equivalent in Italian), and at the same time wishing to preserve its exotic appearance, adds the useful information 'dove prendevano il tè' ³⁰, which the original lacks (Triberio 2021-a).

6. Functional Analogue: Replacing TL Realia by SL Realia

A functional analogue is a word or phrase used to denote a concept, similar to the original one; in other words, a *realia* in the TL, a kind of transposition, suitable to replace the *realia* of the SL. It could be the case of 'bustarella' ³¹ or 'ungere' ³² for the Russian взятка (g):

(g)
(i) è naturalmente del tutto esclusa la possibilità che lei abbia ricevuto una bustarella da quella stupida di Frida [...] ³³
(original text: что возможность получения вами взятки от этой дуры Фриды совершенно, конечно, исключена),

(ii) Non avrei brigato per farmi delle conoscenze utili, non mi sarei messo a «ungere» ³⁴
(original text: Я не буду искать полезных знакомств, давать взятки).

²⁸ *ibidem*

²⁹ Anton Cechov. Racconti (Fausto Malcovati) (<https://ruscorporu.ru/new/>).

³⁰ where they were drinking some tea (translation by the author).

³¹ bribe (translation by the author).

³² to flatter (translation by the author).

³³ Mikhail Bulgakov. Il Maestro e Margherita (p 2) (Vera Dridso, 1967)] (<https://ruscorporu.ru/new/>).

³⁴ Varlam Shalamov. I racconti di Kolyma/I racconti della Kolyma (Sergio Rapetti/Marco Binni)] (<https://ruscorporu.ru/new/>).

Italian ‘bustarella’ in (g-i) and ‘ungere’ in (g-ii) convey, in these contexts, a meaning similar to the original *взятка* and seem to be suitable analogues. It is interesting to note how the translator’s choices shift from the use of the realia ‘object’ (bustarella) to the realia ‘verb’ (ungere), the action for the noun, in what Rybin (2007) defines ‘трансформация’³⁵ (Rybin 2007).

And why not use other possible Italian analogues for ‘взятка’, such as *mazzetta*, *pizzo*, *tangente*³⁶? Choices linked to a series of variables that the translator occasionally evaluates to find the most suitable one. Similar cases make the retrieval of the archetype much more complex and laborious, making it necessary to go through various entries of the dictionary to look for a potentially suitable entry that could act as a functional analogue; this is precisely what happens with the calque described below.

7. Calquing in Realia Translation

Another strategy often used for the conveyance of realia is the calque. Gusmani analyses a variety of calques, among which the two prototypical ones are *semantic* and *structural*. With reference to the latter, he writes:

si tratta, rispetto al prestito, di una copia meno fedele, di un processo mimetico in un certo senso più raffinato [...]. Affinché il calco sia possibile, è necessario riprodurre la struttura del modello alloglotto e per far ciò bisogna che quest’ultimo abbia una «signification» ben individuabile, di essere una parola ‘trasparente’, dunque motivata ed articolata nella sua struttura (1993: 219-222)

(Translation by the author: compared to the loan, it is a less faithful copy, in a certain way a more refined mimetic process [...]. In order for the calque to be possible, it is necessary to reproduce the structure of the alloglot model and to this purpose it needs to have a clearly identifiable «signification», to be a ‘transparent’ word, therefore motivated and articulated in its structure (1993: 219 -222)

Russian sovietism *колхоз* [kolchoz] entered the Italian language through different ways, both in the form of a loan (as in h-i/-ii/-iii), through various types of adaptations, especially from the point of view of the external formal aspect, and in the form of a structural calque or semi-calque:

(h)

(i)

kolchoz <*kalkhòs*> s. m., russo [abbrev. di *kol(lektivnoe) choz(jajstvo)* «azienda collettiva»] (anche italianizzato in *còlcos*) [...] ³⁷
[<https://www.treccani.it/vocabolario/>];

³⁵ transformation (translated by the author).

³⁶ All possible Italian synonyms for ‘bustarella.’

³⁷ abbreviation for *kol(lektivnoe) choz(jajstvo)* « collective farm» (also Italianized in *còlcos*) (translated by the author).

(ii)

kolchoz *m. invar. (stor.) КОЛХОЗ* (КОЛЛЕКТИВНОЕ ХОЗЯЙСТВО) [...] (Dobrovol'skaja 2001, It.-Ru section);

(iii)

còlcos *м. неизм. см. kòlchoz*

kòlchoz *м. неизм. колхоз м.*

(Kovalev 1995, It.-Ru. section).

Treccani, as well as Dobrovol'skaja, gives in addition the Italian calque «azienda collettiva» [*kol(lektivnoe) choz(jajstvo)*], disclosing the Russian abbreviation and supplying the reader with a further useful information on the semantic level. Kovalev, quite curiously, asks the reader to look for *còlcos* under *kolkhoz*, with neither further examples, nor explanatory glosses.

In lexicography the Russian word is then recorded as a more or less adapted loan, which appears with interchangeable solutions between *k* and *c*, between *c* and *ch* and between *z* and *s* [Triberio 2017-a]; in the dedicated literature, loans entering the Italian language can alternate *ch* with *kh*, (as in *kolchoz* or *kolkhoz*), can foresee the rarest form *kolhoz*, up to the more normalized *colchoz*, to the fully normalized form *colcos* (Oriolies 1984).

Sometimes loans undergo the process of adaptation to the morphological-grammatical system of the target language, as in the example below, where the borrowed words (*kolkhozes* and *sovkhozes*) take on the *-es* ending of plural nouns in English:

workers and pensioners of farm enterprises created by reorganization of **kolkhozes** and **sovkhozes**³⁸

(original text: работники и пенсионеры сельскохозяйственных предприятий, созданных в ходе реорганизации **КОЛХОЗОВ** и **СОВХОЗОВ**).

Even as a calque, more or less faithfully reproducing the archetype 'коллективное хозяйство' (*kollektivnoe chozjajstvo*), there are, indeed, many renderings: 'economia collettiva'³⁹ (exactly reproducing the model), 'azienda/proprietà (agricola) collettiva'⁴⁰, that sounds more as a sort of informative translation, 'fattoria collettiva', this one, among the three calques, is the only one recorded in GDLI; the choice for the former member of the construction *fattoria* betrays a probable English mediation through *collective farm*. We are most probably dealing here with forms of semi-calques, for which indeed the reproduction of the model proceeds by imitating the formal (and semantic) structure of the archetype, although articulating the new expression more freely, with a certain autonomy (Triberio 2017-a).

The only possibility of calque recovery is to look for it under the entries referring to each of the two words composing it. There is no evidence of it in both Kovalev and

³⁸ N. Shagaida, Zwi Lerman. *The Land Market Living with Constraints* (2004) (<https://ruscorporu.ru/new/>).

³⁹ collective economy (translated by the author).

⁴⁰ collective agricultural company (translated by the author).

Dobrovol'skaja, neither under the nouns 'economia'⁴¹ or 'fattoria'⁴², nor under the adjective 'collettivo'⁴³; both dictionaries register the expression 'azienda agricola'⁴⁴ under the entry 'azienda', giving for it the calque 'сельскохозяйственное предприятие', which has no relation to *kol(lektivnoe) choz(jajstvo)*. Kovalev, under the noun 'proprietà'⁴⁵ gives 'proprietà collettiva', translating it via the expression 'коллективная собственность', does not clearly reproduce the calque.

8. Conclusion

In sum, even investigating just a few examples, it can be concluded that there are no translation strategies considered to be better or worse than others. It is up to the (i) lexicographer or (ii) translator, on the basis of his experience and knowledge of both languages and cultures involved in the translation process, to make the proper choice for the purposes of his work and with respect to the reader it is addressed to. While the former (i) attempts to find, as much as possible, ready-to-use equivalents, and, where an equivalent is not found in the TL (as in the case of *realia*), the simpler solution probably remains the loan, the latter (ii) takes advantage of his own store of knowledge, to interpret and translate into his native language the content of the foreign word. The analysis reveals that, when Russian *realia* enter the Italian language, a variety of adaptation processes occur at different levels (lexical, semantic, graphic and phonetic). Furthermore, this type of interferences between the two languages suggests important trends in the way Russian *realia* are organised in both narrative texts and lexicography, either monolingual or bilingual, revealing for the latter, in most cases, a lack of uniformity that would probably need further study and systematization.

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⁴¹ economy (translated by the author).

⁴² Cf. note 21.

⁴³ collective (translated by the author).

⁴⁴ agricultural enterprise (translated by the author).

⁴⁵ property (translated by the author)

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