



**CULTURAL SPECIFICITY IN THE TRANSLATION OF POPULAR FICTION FROM
ENGLISH INTO CROATIAN DURING THE SOCIALIST AND TRANSITION PERIODS
(1960-2010)**
Snjezana Veselica Majhut

Dipòsit Legal: T.1291-2012

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DOCTORAL THESIS



UNIVERSITAT ROVIRA I VIRGILI

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DOCTORAL THESIS

Supervised by Dr Nataša Pavlović and Professor Anthony Pym

INTERCULTURAL STUDIES GROUP



UNIVERSITAT ROVIRA I VIRGILI
DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH AND GERMAN STUDIES

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Abstract

Translations of popular fiction from English have constituted a considerable portion of translated texts published in Croatia since the second half of the twentieth century, a period marked with radical changes in the political, economic and social framework of the country. If we take into account the sheer volume of this production since the early 1960s, it becomes clear that, though academically neglected, these translations have been an important part of the reading material for generations of Croatian readers. One specific aspect of the source-target text interface is especially interesting here: the ways elements that indicate the embeddedness of the source texts in the culture of their origin, which we call culture-specific items (CSIs), are handled in translation.

The aim of the present study is to identify tendencies in the rendering of culture-specific items in Croatian translations from English, and to correlate them with developments in the broader context in which the translations were produced. To this end, the study sets out to test the following hypotheses: “Translations of detective fiction from English into Croatian show a growing tendency to employ assimilative solution types in the rendering of CSIs.” and “The greater the presence of source-culture texts of a similar type in the target culture, the stronger the tendencies to employ assimilating solutions to render CSIs.” In the first hypothesis we predict that a growing preference for assimilating solution types will be observed in the translations of detective fiction from English to Croatian over a period of time. In the second hypothesis, we predict the links between the expected tendency to use assimilating solution types and a particular contextual variable – the intensity of translation flows. In addition to translation flows, we have investigated the main features of the publishing industry in the three selected periods assuming that the industry is the immediate social context of the translation activity.

The basic design of this research consists of research into textual and extra-textual variables, with a view to synthesizing our findings in the conclusion. The research into the textual variable – the rendering of culture-specific items – is conducted on a corpus of source and target detective fiction texts produced in three different periods: the early 1960s (Period 1), the late 1970s (Period 2) and the 2000s (Period 3). We have decided to focus on the particular popular fiction genre in order to minimize variables that might stem from the

genre features. For practical reasons, the corpus consists of the translations of Agatha Christie novels.

The quantitative data obtained from the textual analysis are put together with data obtained from interviews with the main agents: translators and editors. The investigation of the contextual variables includes research into translation flows between English and Croatian in the three periods, and the collection of data on the publishing industry that provide the immediate production context of the target texts.

In the concluding part, aware that the design of the corpus limits the ability to generalize, we discuss all these findings with the aim of establishing tentative correlations between the data from the textual analysis, the interview data and the extra-textual data on the contextual variables. This enables us to generate new general hypotheses that might be departing points for future research.

Certificate of supervision



Professor Anthony Pym
URV. Av. Catalunya 35
43002 Tarragona, Spain
anthony.pym@urv.cat

June 30, 2012

I hereby certify that the present study Cultural Specificity in the Translation of Popular Fiction from English into Croatian during the Communist and Transition Periods (1960-2010), presented by Snježana Veselica-Majhut for the award of the degree of Doctor, has been carried out under the supervision of myself at the Universitat Rovira i Virgili and Dr. Nataša Pavlović at the University of Zagreb, and that it fulfills all the requirements for the mention "Doctor Europeus".

Professor Anthony Pym
Intercultural Studies Group
Universitat Rovira i Virgili
Tarragona, Spain

President
European Society for Translation
Studies

Department of English, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb

Ivana Lučića 3, 10 000 Zagreb, Croatia, Phone: 00385-1-6120 053 Fax: 00385-1-6120 234

Homepage: <http://www.ffzg.hr/anglist/>



Dr. Nataša Pavlović

Dept. of English

Coordinator, Translation Track

E-mail: npavlovi@ffzg.hr

Mob.: +385915279432

Zagreb, June 21, 2012

I hereby certify that the study entitled *Cultural Specificity in the Translation of Popular Fiction from English into Croatian during the Socialist and Transition Periods (1960-2010)* presented by Snjezana Veselica Majhut for the award of the degree of Doctor, carried out under the supervision of myself at the University of Zagreb and Professor Anthony Pym at Universitat Rovira i Virgili, fulfills all the requirements for the viva voce, and that it fulfills all the requirements for the mention "Doctor Europeus".

A handwritten signature in blue ink, which appears to read "Nataša Pavlović".

Dr. Nataša Pavlović

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1. Introduction

The present study seeks to identify tendencies in the rendering of culture-specific items in Croatian translations from English, and to correlate them with developments in the broader context in which the translations were produced.

Translations of popular fiction from English have constituted a considerable portion of translated texts published in Croatia since the second half of the twentieth century, a period marked with radical changes in the political, economic and social framework of the country. If we take into account the sheer volume of this production since the early 1960s, it becomes clear that, though academically neglected, these translations have been an important part of the reading material for generations of Croatian readers. One specific aspect of the source-target text interface is especially interesting here: the ways elements that indicate the embeddedness of the source texts in the culture of their origin, which we call culture-specific items (CSIs), are handled in translation.

As an avid reader of English popular fiction both in the original and in Croatian translation, I have perceived that the ways of rendering culture-specific items had changed over time and that these changes were somehow related both to the changes in the relations between the source and target culture and the changing context of the target culture. This led to the idea to investigate changes in the patterns of the rendering of culture-specific items and to establish correlations with the socio-cultural context.

These intuitive insights became the basis for the initial research questions: Can we observe any regular patterns in the treatment of culture-specific items? Can we observe any changes in these patterns over the time? Do the observed changes point to tendencies towards higher or lower preservation of culture-specific content? How do they correlate with the features of the period in which the target texts were produced?

The basic design of this research consists of research into textual and extra-textual variables, with a view to synthesizing our findings in the conclusion. The research into the textual variable – the rendering of culture-specific items – is conducted on a corpus of source and target detective fiction texts produced in three different periods: the early 1960s (Period 1), the late 1970s (Period 2) and the 2000s (Period 3). The quantitative data obtained from the textual analysis are then put together with data obtained from interviews with the main agents: translators and editors. The investigation of the contextual variables

also includes research into translation flows between English and Croatian in the three periods, and the collection of data on the publishing industry that provide the immediate production context of the target texts.

Chapter 2 presents an overview of the main political, economic and social developments in Croatia from the end of World War Two through to the 2000s. Particular focus is placed on developments in the publishing sector in the three periods. In Chapter 3 we present a review of the previous research into culture-specific items, focusing on definitions of the items, various taxonomies of solution types for rendering them, and models of text-level orientations. Our own definition of culture-specific items is presented in Chapter 4, along with the proposed classification of solution types used for rendering culture-specific items and our model of text-level orientations. The definition, classification and proposed model draw not only on the concepts presented in Chapter 3 but also on the data obtained in the research. Chapter 5 presents the aim and hypotheses of the study and discusses methodological issues. In Chapter 6 we present our findings on translation flows from English into Croatian in the three periods. In Chapter 7 we present the data on the publishing sector context of the target texts. In Chapter 8 we present and discuss several sets of data collected in the textual analysis of the handling of culture-specific items in the texts in the corpus. More precisely, we present the data obtained by the quantitative analysis of solution types and text-level orientations in the target texts. They are put together with the data on the ways of rendering the selected subcategories of culture-specific items in the corpus. In Chapter 9 the findings from interviews with the agents in the production of the target texts are presented. In the Conclusion all these findings are discussed with the aim of establishing correlations between the data from the textual analysis, the interview data and the extra-textual data on the contextual variables. This enables us to generate new general hypotheses that may orient future research. This enables us to generate new general hypotheses that may orient future research.

2. Social context – Overview of the political and economic framework

2.1. The political and economic framework (1945-1990)

At the beginning of this chapter we will present a brief overview of Croatia's political, social and economic framework over the span of fifty years. This is relevant because in the second half of the twentieth century Croatia underwent radical political and social changes. From 1945 to 1990 Croatia was one of the six federal republics constituting the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The fall of communism and the violent break-up of the Yugoslav federation coincided in 1990. In the early 1990s Croatia underwent a process of transition from a socialist, planned economy to a market economy, and from a one-party political system to a parliamentary democracy. These two developments partially coincided with the War of Independence (1991-1995). As the Yugoslav federation was becoming increasingly dominated by Slobodan Milošević-led forces in the Presidency, the Croatian Parliament approved a decision to sever all links with Yugoslavia and declared independence. The independence was strongly opposed by Serbs, many of whom lived on Croatian territory. The war was fought between the Croatian forces on the one hand and local Serb forces and Serb-controlled Yugoslav Army on the other. The war ended with Croatia regaining control over its territory but only after suffering major damage to its economy and infrastructure.

2.1.1. The political and economic system 1945-1990

In historiographic accounts, the period of communist Yugoslavia is seen as comprising several distinctive phases. The period before 1975 is usually divided into several sub-periods (Horvat 1984, Sirotković 1989): 1945 – 1952, 1952 – 1965 and 1965 – 1975. As this periodization is used in recent research (Duda 2005), we will adopt it for the purposes of this overview.

2.1.1.1. The political and economic framework 1945-1952 and 1952-1965

From the end of World War 2 up to the split with the Cominform (Communist Information Bureau, a Soviet-dominated organization of Communist parties) in 1949 the Soviet model of social organization was closely followed. This model included the abolition of all forms of private ownership, Soviet-type land reform, a planned economy and high centralization of political and economic life. In the post-war years the omnipresence of the state apparatus in all areas of life was so strong that, as Bilandžić (1999: 236) notes, “there was almost no area of social life, from economy to culture and artistic production, which was not controlled by the state administration.”

Control over the cultural sphere was carried out through Agitprop (the Department for Agitation and Propaganda of the Communist Party), founded in 1945, whose sections existed on all levels of the state apparatus. In this period the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, through the all-encompassing network of Agitprop sections, imposed its vision of what the aim of cultural activities should be: the propaganda of communist ideology. Bilandžić (1999: 240) summarizes the official attitude towards cultural activities: “Decadent Western literature was condemned, and the autonomy of creation denounced as a bourgeois manipulative category.”

However, in 1949 all ties with the USSR and its satellite countries were cut off and in the following years Stalin supporters in Yugoslavia were brutally persecuted. In the early 1950s, in pursuit of “their own road to socialism”, Yugoslav communists introduced radical ideological changes. The new ideology, in the words of Bilandžić (1990: 346), “turned the Soviet Union from ‘paradise’ into ‘hell’, and ‘turned’ Stalin, the ‘teacher’ and ‘leader’ of all progressive mankind, into a tyrant, satrap and oppressor”. Changes affected “all areas of social development” (ibid.), in particular the economy: the first traces of a capitalist economy and market mechanisms were introduced, together with elements of “self-management socialism”, most explicitly formulated in the slogan that became the trademark of the Yugoslav version of socialism “Factories to the workers”.

According to the Law on Workers’ Self-Management, adopted in 1950, workers had the right to serve on workers’ councils, i.e. on elected bodies that formulated business plans and policy. Although nominal powers of workers’ councils were extensive, in reality they had little real power as work organizations’ directors, appointed by the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, had a decisive say in these matters.

Bilandžić (1999: 328) sums up the consequences of the “changes introduced in the economic system in 1951, 1952 and 1953”: “Enterprises were encouraged to base their production on the demands of the market, completely freed of planning directives issued by the state.”

In the ten year-period from 1955 to 1965 Yugoslavia achieved exceptional economic success and political stability (Bilandžić 1999, Goldstein 2008, Duda 2005). Bilandžić (1999: 387) points out that in 1955 the Central Committee of SKJ (the League of Communists of Yugoslavia) decided that the country’s economic policy should undergo more rapid changes, in particular that “a more rapid increase in the standard of living” should be achieved.

According to official data quoted by Bilandžić (1999: 388), in the period from 1957 to 1961 the national income grew at an annual rate of 12 per cent. The annual rate of industrial production was 14.1 percent, the number of the newly employed grew by 7.6 percent every year while the real income of the employed rose annually by 9.1 percent.

These impressive results were accompanied by a rise in the overall standard of living. Thus, Duda (2005, 2010) and Goldstein (2008) place the emergence of consumer society, albeit not in the sense in which consumerism is understood in Western countries, in the decade from 1955 to 1965. The claim that the elements of the consumer society entered Croatian everyday life is illustrated by the availability of better cars, electronic devices and an emergence of the new habit of spending holidays at the seaside. Bilandžić (1999: 388) notes that personal consumption grew by the annual rate of over 10 per cent.

The availability of popular media and various forms of entertainment significantly increased. In the period from the mid-1950s to the late 1960s an array of popular magazines was launched: *Svijet* (1953), *Plavi vjesnik* (1954), *Arena* (1959), *Studio* (1964), *Vikend* (1968), *Start* (1969). A number of new radio stations started broadcasting: Split (1954), Pula (1961), Zadar (1968). In 1956 an experimental TV program was launched, the Pula Film Festival was established in 1953 and a number of popular music festivals started running in the early 1960s.

At the same time physical barriers to the Western world started to dismantle. Yugoslavia became more open towards the West, which was also visible in the abolition of

visas for Western tourists and the increasing number of people going to work in Western countries.

2.1.1.2. The political and economic framework 1965-1975 and 1975-1990

The system of workers' self-management, introduced in the 1950s, was further elaborated in the 1974 *Constitution* and the 1976 *Law on Associated Labor*. Detailed accounts of the development of socialist self-management in former Yugoslavia can be found in Bilandžić (1985, 1999) and Goldstein (2008). For the purposes of this overview it should be noted that the system of self-managing socialism, a hybrid form of economy between a state planned and a market economy, evolved into an extremely complex, bureaucratized and economically inefficient structure. The scope of efforts invested in the bureaucratization of the administrative and economic system may be grasped if we consider the picture provided by the sociologist Josip Županov (Bilandžić 1999: 704), who points out that in the late 1970s there were tens of thousands of "self-management acts", thousands of laws and regulations, tens of thousands of delegations and millions of delegates.

Goldstein (2008), labels the 1970s and 1980s a "period of political apathy". After Josip Broz Tito's death in 1980, the economic and political crisis in Yugoslavia deepened: the 1980s were marked with recession, huge differences between the constitutive republics regarding the concept of federation and the distribution of federal funds, and the disturbances in the Kosovo area, to mention just a few of the problems at the heart of the political crisis.

2.1.2. The political and economic system 1990 - today

Huge institutional and structural changes occurred in the 1990s, with a focus on economic liberalization and the process of privatization. Most authors (Bendeković 2000, Bićanić 2008) point out that by 1991 most aspects of market liberalization were already in place in Croatia.

The process of privatization formally began in 1990, with the passing of legislation on privatization and the establishment of regulatory bodies: the Croatian Agency for Restructuring and Development and the Croatian Fund for Development. Prior to 1990, as

we have pointed out above, the dominant form of ownership was “social ownership” (*društveno vlasništvo*), best described in the following way:

The essence of this form of ownership was that it gave no property rights to those who invested. So, formally it was neither private nor state ownership, or formally it was “everybody’s and nobody’s” at the same time, but in reality it was the ownership of those who ruled the country. (Bendeković 2000: 3)

The process of privatization occurred in the following way: first, social ownership was converted into state ownership and then in the first wave of privatization more than 2,500 state - owned firms were privatized. The process lasted until 1997 by which time the interested firms had to submit schemes that had to be approved by the state. In 1996 the *Law on Privatization* was passed which regulated the privatization of assets owned by the Republic of Croatia. As a result, in the second wave large public enterprises were privatized.

The post-communist government completely deregulated prices in 1996 (Bićanić 2008), but energy prices were not deregulated, as energy companies are state-owned.

After a period of macro-economic instability at the beginning of the War of Independence, a successful stabilization plan was implemented in 1993, and since then the country has enjoyed price stability and exchange rate stability, with higher inflation rates registered since 2007.

In addition to the end of the War of Independence in 1995, the crucial recent political events include Croatia’s membership in NATO and the completion of the negotiating process of accession to the EU. The Accession Treaty was signed in December 2011, marking the final stage of Croatia’s integration into Western associations.

2.2. The developments in the publishing sector

2.2.1. The publishing sector in the period of Communism

According to Juričević (1987: 3), “the period of 29 years (1945-1974) should be divided into three distinct periods: the first period from 1945 to 1954, the second from 1954 (the *Law on Publishing*) to 1965 (the economic reform) and the third period from 1965 to 1974

(the new Constitution and jurisdiction of the republics over the publishing sector).” In line with his division, which is motivated by the changes in the overall socio-economic context, we will first examine the developments in the publishing sector in the period 1954-1965, which includes our Period 1.

2.2.1.1. *The publishing sector in the period 1954-1965*

One of the features of the publishing sector in Yugoslavia before the 1950s was its extreme centralization: the head offices of most publishing houses were in Belgrade, with subsidiaries in other parts of the federation. To illustrate the extent of centralization, Tomašević (2008: 96) points out that the Zagreb-based subsidiaries of only a few publishing houses, such as *Novo pokoljenje* (New Generation) and *Kultura* (Culture), had “permission for linguistic adaptation of only those books that the central office selected”.

There are virtually no systematic studies of the attitudes to and the position of translated literature in the period prior to 1953. The following quotation from a letter sent by the head of Agitprop Milovan Đilas, to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia is illustrative of the attitudes of the governing nomenclature towards translated literature. In the letter, dated 17 October 1946, Đilas comments on annual publishing plans, whose approval was within the range of his responsibility. He recommends that “from English, American and French literature only the best works of critical realism and ‘revolutionary Romanticism’ (*borbeni romantizam*) should be published, as well as the best works of contemporary progressive writers” and that “attention should be paid to Polish, Albanian, Bulgarian, Czech and, to some extent, to Romanian literature” (Vukelić 2012: 9).

According to Juričević’s account, the period up to 1954 was very dynamic. This can be discerned from indicators of the increase in book production: while in 1945 only half a book per inhabitant was published in the whole of Yugoslavia, this ratio rose to one and a half books per inhabitant in 1954. We should bear in mind that in this period the quantitative increase was coupled with rigid state control over what was published. The quantitative increase in book publishing continued well into the 1960s, so that by 1965 the publishing sector doubled its output, with “more than three books per inhabitant.” (Juričević 1987: 97).

The abandoning of Soviet-type planned economy in the early 1950s had its impact on the publishing sector as well. Tomašević (2008) points to the changes on the publishing scene that took place in the early and mid 1950s, which coincided with the changes in the overall political and economic system described by Bilandžić (see 2.1.1). In 1951 *Novo pokoljenje* changed its name into *Mladost* (Youth), which was to become one of the largest and most successful Croatian publishing houses in the socialist period. As we can see from the data in the database of the Croatian National and University Library, the change of name was accompanied by changes in publishing policies and plans. Thus, in 1952, immediately after the change of name, a new publishing series called *Popularna biblioteka* (Popular Library) was launched. In 1958, *Kultura* became *Naprijed* (Forward). In 1963, *Školska knjiga* (Schoolbook) and *Leksikografski zavod FNRJ* (the Lexicographic Institute of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia) were established. Both of these newly established houses based their publishing policy on specialization. *Školska knjiga* started as a publisher specialized in textbooks for primary and secondary schools and higher education institutions. Later, its activities expanded to include the publishing of various types of textbooks and referential literature. *Leksikografski zavod FNRJ* was established as a publisher specialized in encyclopedias and various types of referential books. Sóhar (1999) points out that specialization was also characteristic for the publishing sector in Hungary under Communism.

Stipčević (2008: 49) lists the main features of book production following the 1950s economic reforms: “Publishers who could not count on state subsidies for particular types of books (the so-called progressive literature [*napredna literatura*]), turned to publishing increasing numbers of books that could find their place on the market. These were very often those books which they [Marxists] had disdained (crime novels, romances, spy novels, etc.”

From the late 1950s on, radically new winds were felt in all areas of cultural production. This was also felt in the publishing sector, as changes started in the attitude of the governing nomenclature as to what may be published. The production of communist propaganda books declined and “normal ‘Schund’ (trivial) literature” (Stipčević 2008: 263) became available:

After 1948 [*sic*] books by Soviet authors were replaced with some other books, tolerated, though not recommended, by the Party. These were the books by *popular American and Western European authors; most of them were trivial literature*, and literature which in the eyes of the Party members presented evidence of the decadence of Western civilization, i.e. *romance novels, spy novels, crime novels* and similar books. People accepted and read such books, partly because these books had been denounced by Agitprop propaganda, but also because people really liked reading such books. (ibid.) (our emphasis)

2.2.1.2. *The publishing sector in the 1970s and the 1980s*

Juričević (1987: 96) points to a significant difference in the organization of the publishing sector in the 1970s and 1980s: from the 1970s on each republic had its policy regarding the publishing sector. Juričević's account provides an interesting insight into the developments in the publishing sector in the 1970s and 1980s:

The economic reform caused an intense leap: the number of published books almost doubled in comparison to the previous period (1954-1965). The market had its influence, sometimes even misleading, because this growth was followed by a fall, probably provoked by a discrepancy between the production and consumption of books. The fall in book production in the period 1974-1980 was caused by the abolishment of benefits (which were later reintroduced in the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the Socialist Republic of Slovenia) and a high rise in the prices. The general inflationary wave affected the book as well, but it also contributed to the decrease in its consumption – although this cannot be discerned from the total output, but rather from the number of titles published. (ibid.)

The statistical data collected in the *Statističko-informativni pregled kulture u SR Hrvatskoj 1981.-1985.* (Statistical and Information Overview of Culture in the Socialist Republic of Croatia 1981-1985) shed light on the developments in the late 1970s. The report (Tuđman 1987) was released by the Republic Committee for Education, Culture, Physical and Technical Culture and presents mainly the data for the period from 1978 to

1981. Unfortunately, as such a report does not exist for the previous periods, no comparison of the data is possible.

According to the data released in this report, in December 1979 there were 50 “publishing work organizations” (*izdavačka radna organizacija*) in Croatia. Six years later, in 1985 there were 34 such organizations. A steady drop in the number of publishing houses in the 1980s can be easily explained by the overall economic crisis affecting Yugoslavia in this decade, but also by the reasons cited by Juričević, such as the abolishment of benefits for publishers.

Table 2.1. Statistical data on book publishing in SR Croatia (1970-1978)

Year	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978
No. of books and brochures published	15,176	13,322	13,855	13,405	17,162	18,076	12,904	17,735	16,946

Source: Tuđman 1987: 183

Table 2.1 shows that in purely quantitative terms the 1970s were marked by a drop at the beginning of the decade, a trend that was reversed in the second half of the decade. In spite of that, we can hardly speak of any significant increase in publishing activities over the whole decade, as the number of books published in 1970 is not significantly higher than the number published in 1978.

One of the deficiencies of the report is the random selection of the data presented. This makes it difficult to get a systematic picture of the main quantitative indicators. The data classified according to UDC for the Socialist Republic of Croatia (SRC) and for the whole of Yugoslavia (SFRY) are provided only for the year 1978. We present them as an illustration of the main trends.

The statistical data presented in Table 2.2 show that in 1978 a total of 1,339 titles were published in the Socialist Republic of Croatia. Further, of the total number of books published, 336 books were fiction titles. In other words, fiction accounted for 25 per cent of the books published. Of 336 fiction titles published 207 titles were written by local and 129 by foreign authors. That is, translated fiction accounted for 38 percent of all fiction titles published. It is evident that translated literature, in quantitative terms, was not dominant. The data for the whole of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia show an even more

striking dominance of non-translated over translated literature. The total number of books published in 1978 in the whole of then Yugoslavia was 10,509, of which 1,959, or 18 percent, were fiction titles. Of them only 554, or 28 percent were translations. These data show clearly that the publishing of translated literature constituted a minor segment of the publishing sector activities.

Table 2.2. Data on publishing activities in 1978

	Fiction titles	336
Croatia:	Fiction titles by local authors	207
	Fiction titles by foreign authors	129
	Total no. of books published	1,339
	Fiction titles published	1,959
Yugoslavia:	Fiction titles by local authors	1,405
	Fiction titles by foreign authors	554
	Total no. of books published	10,509

Source: Tudman 1987: 185

The data on the print-runs may contribute to a more nuanced picture: of the 10,433 copies published, 6,478 were written by Yugoslav and 3,995 by foreign authors. In other words, it seems that translated literature had significantly larger print runs.

This may be explained by the fact that books by domestic authors were largely in the category of “books that nobody needs”, typical of communist countries. Stipčević (2008: 42) describes the practices of publishers under socialism:

In Communist Croatia, as in all other communist countries, all publishing houses were state-owned and the authorities in various ways financed the publishing of books which, as everyone knew, had no possibility of returning the money invested in their production by their sale on the book market.

This practice was strongly present as late as the 1980s, as can be concluded from the provisions of *The Publishing Act* of 1983 (ibid.). This act stipulated that the state would co-finance

[...] those works which, on the aesthetic, scientific, professional or publicistic level, advance and disseminate Marxist thought, assert socialist self-managing democracy, nurture the legacy of the National Liberation War and the Socialist Revolution, promote national equality and non-aligned foreign policy of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia.

Article 16 of the same Act stipulated that “publishing work organizations and publishers” should privilege socially valuable books and other publications for the publishing of which they obtained “social funds” or “social benefits”.

Statističko-informativni pregled kulture u SR Hrvatskoj 1981-1985 provides the data on the ratio of translated to non-translated literature and their print-runs only for the years 1981, 1982 and 1983. Still, even such randomly selected data can help us build a rough picture of the trends in the early 1980s.

Table 2.3. Numbers of published titles in SR Croatia by Yugoslav and foreign authors in 1981, 1982 and 1983

		1981	1982	1983
Yugoslav authors	New titles	341	364	425
	Print-runs of new titles	2,092,620	1,833,152	2,941,459
	Reprinted titles	524	530	509
	Print-runs of reprinted titles	10,684,930	11,508,197	9,558,432
Foreign authors	New titles	271	153	134
	Print-runs of new titles	1,595,925	1,255,443	765,713
	Reprinted titles	64	84	90
	Print-runs of reprinted titles	749,579	764,215	808,795

Source: Tudman 1987: 255

Table 2.3 shows that in the early 1980s publishing of the literature written by Yugoslav authors constituted the major part of the output of Croatian publishers. The number of new titles by foreign authors dropped in the years 1981, 1982 and 1983 while the number of new titles by local authors steadily rose in the same period. In addition to this, the print-runs of translated titles, both new titles and reprints, were significantly

smaller. This can be accounted for by the fact that such books were not subsidized and had to rely on market forces exclusively, at the time of economic crisis.

In the late 1980s, all publishers “suffered from poverty, inflation, large size and unprofitable technology” Živković (2001: 15). The detailed picture is even bleaker:

By the end of the eighties, the problems in publishing had grown to such proportions that publishing non-mass-market books (and this means the entire humanistic and Croatian literary production, with the exception of science fiction) became almost impossible. Royalties had almost disappeared, and the kind of work exchange and concessions publishers and authors were ready to enter into, just to keep book production alive, were unbelievable. Large publishing houses with gigantic bureaucratized plants were completely unprepared for the transformation to the market economy, and smaller publishers subsided on what sponsors managed to hand them down. (ibid.)

Although in the pre-transition period there were about 400 publishers in the whole of the former state (Katunarić 1999, Živković 2001, Tomašević 2008), the publishing scene was dominated by “large state-owned houses like *Mladost*, *Školska knjiga*, *Znanje*, *Otokar Keršovani* and *Naprijed*” (Živković 2001: 16), which experienced great financial difficulties in the 1980s.

2.2.2. *The publishing sector in the transition period*

In the 1990s, as Tomašević (2008) points out, the publishing industry in Croatia underwent two radical transformations: changes in ownership and in information technology. The former refers to the abolition of “social” ownership and privatization of all the agents in the so-called book chain, i.e. publishing houses, printing houses and bookshops. The latter refers to the developments in the information technology, including such novelties as CD-ROM publishing model, desktop publishing systems, e-book technology and “on-demand” printing.

In the Croatian case, these two transformations coincided, largely shaping the publishing sector in the 1990s. Živković (2001: 15) points out that “the post-1990

transformations completely changed the publishing scene, ruined bookshops and the book market, multiplied old publishing-related problems and produced new ones.”

Profound changes affecting the publishing sector in the 1990s were primarily related to the transformation in ownership. In the 1990s, the majority of Croatian publishing houses became privatized. We quote an extract from an extensive account of this process:

Transition to the market economy and privatization turned large publishers into joint-stock companies. The idea was to offer 50 per cent of the shares for sale and 50 per cent to be subscribed by employees at a reduced price. However, what really happened was that some publishers were completely ruined (*Mladost*), some were divided into smaller independent publishers (*Naprijed*), and some have not yet completed the process. People who have nothing to do with books appeared as majority owners in some of the companies that completed the privatization process (*Znanje, Naprijed*), there were also cases when former social property was destroyed and appropriated. (Cvitan 1999: 122-123)

Therefore, two parallel processes went on: the transformation of “socially owned” large publishing houses, and the emergence of new publishers. The figures on the newly established publishers in Croatia after 1993 provide evidence of the rapid growth in the number of publishers. When we take into account the size of the country (according to the 2001 Census, Croatia had a population of 4.437.460 people) and its book market, it is clear how massive the annual rise in the number of publishers in the 1990s was.

Table 2.4. Number of new publishers in Croatia in the early 1990s by year

Year	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996
No. of new publishers	56	57	63	368	391	421	297

Source: Katunarić 1999: 122

The stagnation in the early 1990s can be explained by war, but, as is evident from Table 2.4, a different trend can be detected from 1993. This trend continued into the late 1990s: the number of registered publishing houses in Croatia rose to 2,736 (in 1999), and in 2000 it was 3,182. (Stipčević 2008: 55) These data should be taken with a good deal of reservation as they are obtained from the Croatian Chamber of Commerce, which lists all

the companies that are registered with the Commercial Court as having publishing as one of their activities, not necessarily the main one. As the laws on the registration of private companies were very liberal at the time, many entrepreneurs included publishing in the list of their activities, even though they had no serious intention of engaging in it, or gave it up after initial attempts. According to some estimates (Katunarić 1999), at the beginning of the new millennium there were about 60 “serious” publishing houses.

We should also bear in mind that an enormous rise in the number of publishing houses was not accompanied by a similar rise in the number of books published or an increase in the size of their print runs.

The data on the number of books published every year can be obtained from the ISBN Agency at the Zagreb National and University Library which bases its records of books published on the received copies of each new book published. Since 1997 all publishers in Croatia have been obliged to send a copy of each book published to the National and University Library (the so-called legal deposit), but this regulation is not always obeyed.

The publishing sector in transition-period Croatia exhibited two specific features: a large number of publishers not matched by an expectedly large number of titles published and short print runs of published titles. These two aspects are emphasized by Živković:

Since 1996 Croatia has had an annual average of 1,100 publishers of various kinds, most of whose main activity is not publishing. An analysis of publishing in 1998 shows that about 1,200 publishers published 3,402 books. Only fifty-seven of them published more than ten or more titles, which makes a total of 1,563 titles. Twenty-two of these fifty-seven publishers existed before 1990, and only about thirty of them maintain contacts abroad, mostly by offering their titles on the foreign market or buying foreign copyright. (Živković 2001: 20)

2.2.2.2. The publishing sector in the 2000s

According to official estimates (Živković 2001: 17), in the 2000s the largest publishers in Croatia put out fifty or more titles a year. Applying this criterion to the data on the number of published titles by Croatian publishers in 2000, Živković (ibid.) estimates that there are 11 large publishers in Croatia. In order to provide the reader with a rough picture of the

main characteristics of the publishing sector in this period, we will use the data provided by Živković (2001: 20-22) on the largest publishing houses.

Table 2.5. Largest publishers in Croatia in 2000 by the number of titles and type of published books

Publisher	No. of new titles	Types of books published
Školska knjiga	244	Schoolbooks and university textbooks
Mozaik knjiga	89	Popular handbooks, fiction, history, art
Profil International	86	Schoolbooks and fiction
Algoritam	62	Translations of foreign fiction
Alfa	65	Children's and juvenile literature, Croatian literature, some schoolbooks
Kršćanska sadašnjost	56	Christian literature
Egmont	56	Children's and juvenile literature
Matrix Croatica	47	Croatian and foreign literature, Croatian philology
Znanje	42	Various series of Croatian and foreign fiction, schoolbooks
Naša djeca	41	Children's literature
Naklada Ljevak	N/A	University textbooks, foreign literature, history

The data obtained from the Statistical Yearbook of the Republic of Croatia (*Statistički ljetopis Republike Hrvatske*) illustrate trends in the number of books published in Croatia from 2000 to 2005.

Table 2.6. The number of published books in the Republic of Croatia (2000-2005)

Year	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Total no. of published titles	2,969	3,832	4,298	6,447	6,183	6,027
No. of first published titles	2,571	3,266	3,589	5,680	5,438	5,229

Source: Statistical Yearbook of the Republic of Croatia

The data in Table 2.6 show that after several years of the growth in publishing activity the peak was reached in 2003, and from then on a downward trend in the total number of published titles can be observed. Thus, the number of first published titles doubled in the period 2000-2003, and then started to drop.

Tomašević (2008: 93) explains the fall in publishing activities as a consequence of several factors: a fall in purchasing power, high prices of books, the dismantling of the bookshop network, and the sale of books through newsagents.

The involvement of newspaper publishers' in book publishing is specific to the 2000s. The strategy of offering books along with newspapers at newspaper kiosks, not specific to Croatia, arose in Italy and the Netherlands as well. *The New York Times* reported on March 15 2003 that the Italian newspapers *La Repubblica* and *Corriere della Sera* started offering books along with newspapers, either as giveaways or at significantly lower prices and achieved tremendous success: "Italians have become used to this cultural bingeing at their newspapers".

In Croatia this marketing strategy was first adopted in 2004, when the two dailies with the largest circulations, *Jutarnji list* and *Večernji list*, started selling books at relatively low prices - if bought together with a newspaper, a book cost 29 kuna (around 4 euros), about half the usual price of cheaper editions. The first title published by *Jutarnji list* was *The Name of the Rose* by Umberto Eco within the series *XX Century*, which contained well-known world classics. The emergence of this phenomenon is vividly described:

Soon world classics flooded newsagents. A week or two later, a new series of Croatian novels appeared, published by *Večernji list*. The first series was, without any break in publishing activity, followed by new series (obligatory titles in school reading lists, crime novels, romances...). The daily *Slobodna Dalmacija* started to publish *Selected Works of Miljenko Smoje*. New outlets for selling books appeared, venues that had not had this purpose, such as kiosks, petrol stations, supermarkets, food shops. (Čegec 2004: 12)

The involvement of newspaper publishers in book publishing sparked a heated debate touching on many controversial issues of the Croatian publishing industry in the 2000s. For the purposes of our review we will pay attention to the relations between this type of publishing and translation activities. Representing the standpoint of the Croatian Association of Literary Translators (henceforth Association), Matković, the president of the Association, points out that the Association sent a letter to *Jutarnji list* turning the attention of the editorial board to certain flaws (Čegec 2004: 13), which we detail below. The Association's standpoint regarding these issues is worth considering in detail here, as it is one of the few published records of the Association's reaction to the status of translators and their work in transition-period Croatia. The Association's written suggestions provoked

no reaction from the publisher. The first remark referred to the fact that the names of translators were systematically omitted from the imprint, which is, in Matković's words, "insulting, absolutely unprofessional and fundamentally impolite" (Čegec 2004: 13).

Further, we believed that the criteria for the selection of translations were extremely problematic because some of the published translations *were of low quality*, which was no secret, and *old-fashioned*. When two or three translations of the same book existed, the lower quality translation was chosen for unknown reasons. But, most importantly, and this is why the quality of translation is so important, the series of *Jutarnji list*, thanks to its massive print-runs, will condemn several future generations of readers to reading these translations. To put it more clearly, no publisher will dare to commission a new translation of a book if there are a hundred thousand copies of that book already in circulation. Therefore, the situation of 30 or 40 years ago, and some of these translations are so old, is cemented or petrified for the next 20, 30 or 40 years, as no one will translate and publish these books again. This also devalues an attempt of some other publishing series, such as *Greatest Works in World Literature*, which invest their efforts in improving the existing translations. When the existing translation is considered to be so bad as to be beyond improvement, a new translation is commissioned, with a view to obtaining a collection of quality translations, which can then be of use to libraries, lists of required reading in schools and so on. (our translation) (ibid.)

In spite of profound differences from the socialist period practices, one element has remained similar: the role of the government which, through the Ministries of Culture and Education, subsidizes the publishing industry. As some authors (Živković 2001, Tomašević 2008) point out, three forms of government subsidies are in place: subsidies to publishers for publishing books, subsidies for translations of works by Croatian authors and subsidies to writers. In addition to this, the publishing sector is supported in other ways: the Ministry provides libraries with funds for purchasing books and it purchases books directly from publishers (the so-called book purchase [*otkup knjiga*]). In addition to this, financial support is provided on the level of counties, towns and municipalities.

In this chapter we have outlined the main developments in the political and economic sphere and their influence on the publishing sector in the second half of the 20th century. This outline will serve as a basis for the contextualization of texts in Chapter 6.

3. Previous research on culture specific items

3.1. Definitions of culture-specific items

Before we present different definitions of culture-specific items (further in the text CSIs) we should point out that different authors contributing to the discussion of culture-specific elements in translation have used different terms. Here are some of the terms that have been in circulation in the literature: “cultural word” (Ivir 1987 and Newmark 1988), “realia” (Florin 1993), “cultural reference” (Mailhac 1996 and Olk 2001), “culture-specific item” (Franco Aixelá 1996 and Kwieciński 2001) and “extralinguistic cultural reference” (Pedersen 2007).

Ivir (1987: 36) defines “cultural word” as “an element of the source culture which is absent from the target culture” and places the discussion of these problems in the context of “gaps”, “lacunas” “blank spaces”, “voids” between languages, referring the reader to Vinay and Darbelnet (1958), Rabin (1958) and Dagut (1978). He points to the need to distinguish between two types of gaps: gaps that are “due to differences in extra-linguistic reality” and gaps “due to the different language-specific (lexical) mapping of the same extra-linguistic reality” (ibid.).

Ivir (1987: 37) explains a difference between these two types of gaps:

In the former case, we have cultural gaps in the narrow sense, with culture including the whole of extra-linguistic reality, but excluding language; in the latter case, culture includes also language and linguistic differences are seen as cultural differences. Differences in extra-linguistic reality naturally produce gaps when one culture lacks an element which the other culture has, while differences in the lexical mapping of otherwise shared extra-linguistic reality produce gaps because each language as a symbolic organization “not only refers to experience largely acquired without its help, but actually defines experience” for its readers (Sapir 1949: 578), creating conceptual gaps for them when confronted with another language, which – in response to the different communicative needs and thus also linguistic perceptions of its speakers – focuses on different aspects of the same extra-linguistic reality.

Newmark (1995: 94–103) does not provide an explicit definition of a “cultural word”. The following formulation shows that he also ties the existence of “cultural words” to “gaps” between the SL and TL: “Frequently where there is cultural focus, there is a translation problem due to the cultural ‘gap’ or ‘distance’ between the source and target languages” (1988: 94).

In Newmark’s work, the absence of a precise definition is compensated for by a list of the categories of “cultural words” (1995: 95-96), based on the model of Nida’s (1964) categorization. Five broad semantic fields are identified, and a large number of lexical units pertaining to these fields are listed: (1) ecology (which includes geographical terms, but not toponyms), (2) material culture, (3) social culture, (4) organizations, customs, activities, procedures and concepts and (5) gestures and habits.

In line with Russian and Bulgarian traditions, Florin (1993: 123) uses the term “realia” to refer to “those elements (things like ‘samovars’, for instance, or concepts like ‘samizdat’) in the original that are intimately bound up with the universe of the reference of the original culture.” Florin (*ibid.*) provides a more extensive definition:

Realia (from the Latin *realis*) are words and combinations of words denoting objects and concepts characteristic of the way of life, the culture, the social and historical development of one nation and alien to another. Since they express local and/or historical color they have no exact equivalents in other languages. They cannot be translated in a conventional way and they require a special approach.

Mailhac (1996: 134) provides the following definition:

Suffice it to say that by CR [cultural reference] we mean any reference to a cultural entity which, due to its distance from the target culture, is characterized by a sufficient degree of opacity for the target reader to constitute a problem.

Franco Aixelá (1996: 58) defines CSIs as:

Those textually actualized items whose function and connotations in a source text involve a translation problem in their transference to a target text, whenever this

problem is a product of the non-existence of the referred item or of its different intertextual status in the cultural system of the readers of the target text.

Olk (2001) defines “cultural references” as:

[...] those lexical items in a source text which, at a given point in time, refer to objects or concepts which do not exist in a specific target culture or which deviate in their textual function significantly in denotation or connotation from lexical equivalents available in the target culture.

Pedersen (2007: 91) proposes the following definition:

Extralinguistic Cultural Reference (ECR) is defined as a reference that is attempted by means of any cultural “linguistic expression”, which refers to an extralinguistic entity or process. The referent of the said expression may prototypically be assumed to be identifiable to a relevant audience as this referent is within the encyclopaedic knowledge of this audience.

3.2. Discussion

All the above definitions, except Pedersen’s, share a common element - they tie the notion of a CSI to gaps or non-correspondences between the SL and TL, be these gaps a consequence of gaps in the extra-linguistic reality or of different lexicalizations of this reality. Pedersen, on the other hand, connects the notion of CSIs to gaps in knowledge. We will return to Pedersen’s definition at the end of this section.

The other trait shared by the existing definitions of CSIs is their identification as a source of translation problems: in Newmark’s definition the existence of gaps is identified as a cause of translation problems; in Mailhac’s view a CSI is any reference that owing to its opacity for target readers constitutes “a translation problem”; in Franco Aixelá’s definition they are those items which “involve a translation problem in their transference to a target text”. The above quotation of Florin’s definition does not contain an explicit reference to “the translation problem” issue. However, this element surfaces in his discussion of “realia” (1993: 122), as it can be seen from his rather fatalistic conclusions:

No matter how elegant the different strategies proposed to “solve” the problem of realia, that problem remains without any definitive solution in the end: samovars will remain samovars, and never really become transposed kinds of stoves. Realia constitute those points in the translated text at which “the translation is showing”, simply because the universe of reference of culture A never totally overlaps with the universe of reference of culture B.

Within the framework of this research, we find it inadequate to base the definition of a CSI on the fact that it is a source of “translation problems” and this is for two reasons. For one thing, none of these studies, including our own, examine translation processes but rather translation products. In other words, we have no access to the translation processes that led to particular solutions and cannot know what constituted a “problem” for the particular translator at any one point. This obviously presents a methodological difficulty with regard to concrete demarcation criteria for the extraction of data.

Secondly, if we stick to the translation problem as a defining feature of CSIs, what should we do with those references for which the TC has already provided “ready-made” solutions? Does that mean that they are not to be included in CSIs? In such a case we would have to exclude large portions of textual elements that are usually considered to be “culture-specific” since they refer to certain events, historical figures or phenomena specifically tied to a certain cultural community. Let us name just a few of them in their habitual Croatian renderings: *Treći Reich* (*Das dritte Reich*), *Dan zahvalnosti* (Thanksgiving Day) or *perestrojka* (perestroika). It would be difficult to argue, even without a direct insight into translation processes, that these items still constitute a translation problem for the translator after the receiving culture has found a way of negotiating their culture-specific content. Nevertheless, they are markers of the cultural anchorage of the ST and therefore, we believe, should be considered culturally specific.

Florin’s definition foregrounds the potential of CSIs as textual markers of the cultural otherness contained in a ST. By pointing out that these elements are carriers of “local and/or historical color”, Florin (1993: 123) turns the attention to the potential of “realia” as cultural markers of “the universe of reference” of the ST. This point is further reinforced by his example of *sauna* (ibid.):

On the other hand, it is possible to take a bath in a *sauna* anywhere in Europe, but that bath will be called Finnish, not Turkish or Russian. There is a great difference between an ancient Roman *toga* and *togas* judges wear in some countries. India has *jungles*, South Africa has a *veld*, and Siberia has its *taiga*.

Therefore, CSIs can be seen as carriers of the SC otherness. As such, they can be a cause of problems in translation. Even if we do not have access to what is going on in the translator's mind, and so cannot prove whether or not CSIs present a concrete cognitive challenge, the way they are rendered still contributes to the type and degree of the cultural embeddedness of a TT.

Franco Aixelá's definition, which has been adopted in recent research (Kwieciński 2001), has its advantages over other definitions presented above in that it takes into account several dimensions of the phenomenon. First, Franco Aixelá emphasizes the dynamic character of CSIs. He suggests that we cannot talk about fixed sets of CSIs, irrespective of the concrete translation situation. In his words, the main weakness of Newmark's view of culture-specific elements is their "static character", "the idea that there are permanent CSIs, no matter which pair of cultures is involved and *no matter what the textual function (in one text or the other) of the item under study is*" (1996: 57, my emphasis).

I agree with Franco Aixelá that the properties of the concrete SC and TC pairs determine whether or not an item is culture-specific. In the literature this point is often illustrated with the example of "the lamb of God" in translations of the Bible, which we discuss in more detail below as it is related to the connotative aspects of intercultural gaps. The emphasized part of Franco Aixelá's definition raises a question as to whether the textual function of an item is a defining feature of a CSI. This seems to be closely related to the view of CSIs as a source of concrete cognitive challenges for translators. If an item does not have an important function within a ST, it might be easier for the translator to deal with it. As we have mentioned, the potential for creating concrete cognitive problems for translators does not seem to be a valid criterion within a product-oriented study. It seems to me that the function of an item in the ST may determine the choice of options used to render it, but not its status as a CSI.

“Intercultural gaps”, according to Franco Aixelá (ibid.), can operate on two levels: (1) non-existence of the entities referred to in the TC and (2) differences in connotations that certain lexical items, though present in both linguistic and cultural systems, have:

In other words, in translation a CSI does not exist of itself, but as the result of a conflict arising from any linguistically represented reference in a source text which, when transferred to a target language, poses a translation problem due to the nonexistence or *to the different value (whether determined by ideology, usage, frequency, etc.) of the given item in the target language culture.* (our emphasis)

The classic example used to illustrate this point is the already mentioned concept of the “lamb of God”, which does not present a problem in the translation of the Bible into languages and cultures where the lamb has similar symbolic value and carries connotations of innocence, purity, etc. However, when the Bible is translated into languages and cultures that are not familiar with lambs (for example, the Inuit language) or where the lamb does not carry such connotations, the translation requires a certain degree of “intercultural manipulation”, precisely because of the different culture-specific connotative aspects.

It should be noted that for Franco Aixelá the second level of “intercultural gaps”, the level of connotation, includes “ideological or cultural opacity, or acceptability”. A discrepancy in the set of values shared by the two cultures brought into contact will turn certain lexical items into “culture-specific”. This point is particularly relevant for our research, as we focus on the TTs produced in historical circumstances marked with different ideological stances.

Further, the dimension of intercultural contact, or “intercultural evolution”, is taken into account. Therefore, the concept of cultural specificity is not fixed in time. The dynamic relations between the cultures and languages involved play their part. An example illustrating this point is the treatment of *golf* in the three translations of *The Maltese Falcon* into Spanish. In his analysis of the translations Franco Aixelá (1996: 55) finds that:

[...] the 1933 version offers a sports term like ‘golf’ in italics, underlining its exotic nature and, therefore, its English cultural specificity; whereas the 1967 and 1992

versions repeat the term without any sort of typographical warning, signaling doubts about its English specificity.

It remains open to discussion whether the absence of any typographical markers of “foreignness” of the term is an indication that an item has lost its culture-specific status. Franco Aixelá’s example of golf seems to suggest so. This opens a question of whether we should view CSIs in binary terms: as either being or not being culture-specific or whether we should see the process of their integration into the receiving culture as having different levels of cultural-specificity. According to the example of golf, intercultural evolution seems to be conceived as a basis for exclusion of items that have become integrated: lexical items are culture-specific and at the moment they have become familiar in the TC they are not culture-specific any more.

With regard to this, we are closer to Pedersen’s line of thinking than to Franco Aixelá’s. Pedersen introduces the notion of “transculturality” to account for different level of cultural boundness. “Transculturality” is defined as an aspect of a CSI which “reflects how familiar it is to the ST and TT audiences. In other words, it decides how easily an ECR [Extralinguistic Cultural Reference] can be accessed by the ST and TT audience, respectively, through their encyclopaedic or intertextual knowledge”. (Pedersen 2007: 156)

In Pedersen’s study, transculturality is one of several influencing parameters, i.e. a factor that can influence the textual-linguistic choices made by translators. An interesting example provided by Pedersen is the rendering of a reference to “Pocahontas” in the American movie *Cocktail*. While in the Swedish subtitle from 1989, a reference to Pocahontas was rendered as “Indian princess”, i.e. a hypernym of Pocahontas was used, in 2004 the item was retained. Pedersen explains:

[...] the difference can be readily explained by the Transculturality parameter. What happened between the two versions is that in 1995, Disney released its highly publicized film *Pocahontas*, which received a great deal of attention. Before 1995, the ECR Pocahontas was a Monocultural ECR: it was known in the U.S., but not in Sweden, whereas after 1995, most people in Sweden knew about Pocahontas too: it had become a Transcultural ECR. (Pedersen 2007: 159)

It follows from Pedersen's example of Pocahontas that the appropriation of an SC item in the TC certainly has an impact on the translator's choices but does not result in losing the status of a CSI. Pedersen's view that different levels of cultural-specificity, which he calls transculturality, are an aspect of CSIs that influences the ways of their rendering seems to be closer to the standpoints taken in this study. We will explain in more detail Pedersen's classification of CSIs according to the degree of transculturality below.

In Olk's (2001) definition CSIs are defined as those lexical items which either do not have lexical equivalents in both languages or "deviate in their textual function significantly in denotation or connotation from lexical equivalents available in the target culture" (cf. 3.1). Closely following Franco Aixelá's definition, Olk introduces "significant" deviation from the lexical repertoire of the TC as the crucial criterion for identifying CSIs. This opens another problem: How can we established what amounts to "significant" deviation?

Pedersen's (2007: 98) definition of an extra-linguistic cultural reference (ECR) places emphasis on the fact that for the understanding of ECRs some sort of knowledge of the world, or encyclopedic knowledge, is required. This type of knowledge is not necessary when referents of "ordinary" words are to be identified. Pedersen illustrates his point by an example of three noun phrases: (1) the tree; (2) finishing school (a reference extracted from *Midsommer Murders*), and (3) Davy Crockett (a reference extracted from *Forrest Gump*). The first example is not an ECR, while the latter two are, and the criterion applied is cultural knowledge or cultural literacy necessary for their (full) understanding. Pedersen (2007: 94) points out that the basic meaning of the tree is accessible "if you know the English language, but not English culture". On the other hand, in the case of "finishing school", linguistic knowledge of what "school" and "finish" mean will be helpful in accessing "[...] part of the meaning", but "[...]this is not enough to access the meaning of 'a private school where rich girls learn social skills'" (2007: 94). The example of Davy Crockett "[...] is even more cultural, in that it is a proper name, and proper names of people are almost completely opaque in English." (ibid.)

The separation of linguistic knowledge and knowledge of the world might be problematic in the rapidly globalizing world. Many items that would normally be assumed to be part of encyclopedic knowledge have become globally known. Moreover, it seems that in the era of globalization the level of encyclopedic knowledge, i.e. references to

various personalities, brands and technological devices actually surpasses the level of linguistic knowledge: People who do not know English might still know a lot about Hollywood. Pedersen solved this problem by introducing the concept of transculturality, i.e. the degree of an item's familiarity to the SC and TC audiences. This allowed him to classify CSIs into infra-, mono-, and transcultural CSIs. An Infracultural ECR is

[...] bound to the Source Culture, but it could not be assumed to be within the encyclopaedic knowledge of the ST or the TT audience, as it is too specialized or too local to be known even by the majority of the relevant ST audience. (Pedersen 2007: 157)

Monocultural ECR's referent can be assumed "to be less identifiable to the majority of the relevant TT audience than it is to the relevant ST audience, owing to differences in encyclopaedic knowledge" (ibid.). A transcultural ECR are defined as:

[...]an ECR which is not bound to the Source Culture, but which should be retrievable from common encyclopaedic knowledge of the ST and the TT audiences, as it could be assumed to be known in both the SC and the TC. (ibid.)

We have presented and discussed a number of definitions of CSIs. We highlighted Florin's definition because it puts to the foreground that CSIs are carriers of cultural otherness and plays down the "translation problem" aspect. The highly elaborate definitions by Franco Aixelá and Olk served as a basis for our definition presented in Section 4.1.

3.3. Taxonomies of solution types for rendering CSIs

3.3.1. Terminological issues: strategy, procedure, method and technique

One of the problems affecting scholarly discussions of the rendering of CSIs is terminological inconsistency in the use of the terms "strategy", "procedure", "method" and "technique". Inconsistent and overlapping use of these terms imposes a burden on the entire discipline of Translation Studies, in which a whole range of terms "circulate to refer to

what might be paraphrased as the (form adopted by the) relationship between a source text and a target text segment. The most frequent ones are ‘procedure’, ‘technique’, ‘strategy’ and ‘method’” (Marco 2009: 68). In this section we will address these terminological inconsistencies with regard to handling CSIs.

The authors dealing with CSIs use the following terms to refer to a set of options that translators have when translating lexical units deemed to be culture-specific: “translation procedures” (Ivir, Mailhac, Olk), “strategies” (Franco Aixelá, Kwieciński, Pedersen, Ramière), and “methods” (Newmark). The same set of terms has also been used to refer to the relationship between ST and TT segments on the text-level. Thus, in the introduction to a chapter entitled “The Other Translation Procedures”, Newmark (1995: 81) states that for him “translation methods relate to whole texts” and “translation procedures are used for sentences and the smaller units of language”. The same standpoint is adopted by Ivir (1987: 36):

Faced with an element of the source culture which is absent from the target culture, the translator relies on different *procedures* that enable him to convey to members of the target culture *the content of that particular element*. (our emphasis)

Mailhac (1996: 134) suggests that the procedures that apply to the text as a whole be called “text procedures” and those that are used for individual CRs [cultural references] “CR procedures”. Pedersen (2007: 110), on the other hand, argues for the use of “strategy”:

Translation strategies should really be used for overriding global-level decisions, such as whether to translate the whole text in a domesticating or in a foreignizing way, i.e. the options in Toury’s “norm”. Nevertheless, as it is so entrenched in the field of Translation Studies to use ‘translation strategy’ to denote what is actually descriptive of local-level problem solving, I will use it here too, rather than confuse the reader by fighting what is basically a terminological windmill.

Marco (2009: 73) proposes the following way out:

In the particular area I have been dealing with in this section, what I think is needed is a certain streamlining of concepts. How many concepts do we need? I think we only need two:

a) one for *the cognitive routes which lead to problem-solving and are concerned, therefore, with the translation process*. There is broad consensus, I think, on the use of the term ‘strategy’ to refer to this concept. Strategies could be conscious or automatized; and it would be an important step ahead if the term strategy were used to refer to this concept only. (our emphasis)

b) one for *the various kinds of relationship observable between source text segments and target text segments, which could be referred to as ‘techniques’ or ‘solution types’*. Both terms have advantages and drawbacks. The former has a long history in the literature, can be easily distorted and often carries undesired connotations; the latter is perfectly logical but lacks tradition. (our emphasis)

Pym’s definitions of procedures as “pre-established sequences of actions leading to a solution” and strategies as “inferred macrotextual plans or mind-sets that organize procedures in terms of a purpose involving potential loss and gain” (Pym 2011: 14) reinforce the unsuitability of these terms to refer to the relationships between ST and TT segments in a product oriented research as ours.

We have decided to adopt “solution types”, introduced by Zabalbeascoa (2000), for the very reasons emphasized above: owing to its not having been used in the literature, “solution type” has not yet become loaded with various misleading and confusing connotations.

Zabalbeascoa (2000: 121) defines the term “solution” as “what is reached as a result of a strategy” whereby “strategy” is defined as “any conscious action(s) intended to enhance a translator’s performance for a given task, especially in terms of efficiency and effectiveness.” According to Zabalbeascoa, “behavioral strategies” (consulting a dictionary, writing a draft version, etc.) are to be distinguished from “mental activity” (thought processes). Behavioral strategies “cannot be discovered by descriptive studies of the texts alone since the underlying principle is that a given result might be reached by different

paths.” A “solution type” is “the name given to the relationship between these two segments of ST and TT”, and in this sense a solution type is “the shared characteristic of a number of different solutions” (2000: 121). It seems to make more sense and to introduce certain order into the Translation Studies terminology.

Our definition of solution type can be found in Section 4.2.

3.3.2. *Taxonomies of solution types for rendering CSIs*

In this section various taxonomies of solutions available to translators for rendering CSIs in a TT are discussed. It seems logical to present them chronologically, since the more recent taxonomies (Olk, Pedersen, Kwieciński) were clearly built on the basis of those that preceded them. We present them here in order to lay the ground for the presentation of a consolidated taxonomy used in the analysis in this research. In addition to this, we will take this opportunity to present systematically and in one place the most influential taxonomies in this, quite lively, but terminologically and conceptually rather disorganized area of research within Translation Studies.

Ivir’s and Newmark’s classifications of available solutions for dealing with culture-specific elements served as the basis for many later developed classifications (Mailhac, Franco Aixelá, Kwieciński, Pedersen). Their extensive presentation will enable us to avoid undue repetition of explanations of what certain solutions, common to all taxonomies, refer to.

Many of the solution types we will discuss (namely, borrowing, substitution, omission, literal translation) figure also in classifications of generic translation strategies (see Vinay and Darbelnet (1958/1989), Baker (1992/2008), Chesterman (1997), as they cover basic textual operations at the translator’s disposal.

3.3.2.1. *Ivir*

Ivir (1987) lists the following solution types (or “procedures”, as he calls them) used to translate CSIs:

1. Borrowing
2. Definition
3. Literal translation

4. Substitution
5. Lexical creation
6. Omission
7. Addition

“Borrowing” involves a transfer of a ST item into the TT. The item retains its source language form and is simply transferred to the TT. An example of the employment of this type of solution is the rendition of the English word *pub* in a translation into Croatian as *pub*, or *lunch* as *lunch*. This solution type is very often, though not always, used to render geographical designations, personal names and other kinds of names. Ivir (1987: 37) adds that this solution type “assures a very precise transmission of cultural information”, thus implicitly admitting its “foreignizing” capacity. In order for communication to run smoothly, “it is often combined with definition or substitution” (ibid).

“Definition” is defined as “a procedure that relies on what members of the target culture know in an attempt to make them aware of what they do not know” (1987: 38). An example of the use of “definition” is the rendering of *common law* as “the law based on custom, usage and the decisions and opinions of law courts” (ibid.). Ivir notes that the use of definition is not appropriate in all text types and points out that “definitions are also communicatively too heavy, resulting in overtranslation and drawing attention to themselves in a way that the corresponding non-definitional source-language expressions do not” (ibid.).

“Literal translation” or “calque” is a word-for-word translation of the concept unknown in the target culture. In Ivir’s opinion, this solution type “is the most common method of cultural transference and spread of influence from one culture to another” (1987: 39). The example provided is rendering of *labor-intensive production* as *radno-intenzivna proizvodnja*.

In “substitution” an expression denoting a similar concept in the target culture is used as if it were a full equivalent. Ivir (1987: 42) describes the situations in which this solution type is often used:

Typically, in fact, a source cultural element finds not an empty slot, but something that is like it – though not quite like it – in the target culture. The translator is then

tempted to exploit that similarity and use the corresponding target-language expression as a full equivalent - the case with which he makes the decision depending on the cultural closeness of the two elements.

Though not speaking explicitly of text-level tendencies, Ivir's consideration of these issues is implicitly inspired by such considerations. Thus, for example, assessing the appropriateness of the use of substitution, he points out that its main setback is "that it identifies concepts which are not identical, eliminating the 'strangeness' of the foreign culture and treating foreign-culture concepts as its own" (1987: 42).

"Lexical creation" in the target language consists in coining a new word to translate either a nonexistent or non-lexicalized item. Such products of translators' creativity may become accepted in the target language (for example, the Croatian coinage *nogomet* for English *football*, cited by Ivir). Of course, it very often occurs that they do not get accepted in the target language, but have just a one-time use.

"Omission" refers to the deletion of an item. Ivir's text focuses on situations in which omission of an item might be justified by communicative reasons. For example, the habit of wishing *Bon appétit* before the meal is not common in English-speaking cultures. In translation the Croatian expression *Dobar tek* might be rendered with some sort of paraphrase such as *Have an enjoyable meal*, but omitting the expression altogether also makes sense. We should note that Ivir does not take into account omissions used in order to condense the text, which is characteristic of certain types of translation.

"Addition" means adding cultural information and it usually involves explication of an implicit element, which is understood by the source language readers, but not necessarily by the target language readers. To illustrate this, Ivir (1987: 45) compares the translation of the Croatian sentence *Spomenik autoru "Lijepa naša" nalazi se u jednoj veoma slikovitoj kotlini Hrvatskog Zagorja* with its translation into English:

The monument in honor of the author of the text of the Croatian national anthem, "Our Beautiful Fatherland" stands in a picturesque valley in the region of Hrvatsko Zagorje in northwestern Croatia. (ibid.)

The explicit cultural information contained in the English translation is italicized. As can be seen, the translator added the information that “Our Beautiful Fatherland” is the Croatian national anthem and that Hrvatsko Zagorje is a region in the northwest of the country.

3.3.2.2. *Newmark*

Newmark (1995: 103) lists the following “procedures”:

1. Transference
2. Cultural equivalent
3. Neutralization (i.e. functional or descriptive equivalent)
4. Literal translation
5. Label
6. Naturalization
7. Componential analysis
8. Deletion
9. Couplet
10. Accepted standard translation
11. Paraphrase
12. Classifier

Some categories (transference, cultural equivalent, literal translation, classifier and deletion) overlap with Ivir’s (borrowing, substitution, literal translation, addition and omission respectively), which were explained above. We should, however, point out that Ivir’s “omission” and Newmark’s “deletion” do not fully correspond. Newmark’s (1995: 103) term is defined as deletion “of redundant stretches of language in non-authoritative texts, especially metaphors and intensifiers”, which should not come as a surprise if we have in mind his prescriptive stance.

“Componential analysis” is defined as “the splitting up of a lexical unit into its sense components, often one-to-two, -three or -four translations.” (1988: 90). The use of componential analysis in the translation of “cultural words” is illustrated by the examples of the translation of the German word *Konditorei* as “coffee shop serving and selling cakes and pastries” or Arts Council as “national organization subsidizing the arts in UK” (ibid.).

We will point out below (see 3.3.3) that Newmark is inconsistent in treating componential analysis and functional and descriptive equivalents as distinct categories.

A “translation label” is a new term, coined by the translator, used in inverted commas that should later be removed if and when the term becomes accepted.

“Accepted standard translation” or “recognized translation” represents the use of conventional translations of institutional terms. The distinctiveness of this type of solution seems to lie in the fact that it is usually employed to address a distinct set of problems encountered in certain types of texts.

“Naturalization”, i.e. the use of a loan word, orthographically and/or morphologically adapted to the SL system, is listed as a separate category, although it could also be viewed as a subcategory of transference.

“Couplet” refers to a combination of “procedures” and comprises couplets, triplets or quadruplets, i.e. the cases when two, three or four of the “procedures” are applied for dealing with a single problem. Newmark (1995: 91) emphasizes that couplets are particularly frequent in the case of “cultural words” and provides a vivid description of couplets as “two or more bites at one cherry”.

3.3.2.3. *Hervey and Higgins*

In a chapter entitled “Cultural issues in translation; compromise and compensation” Hervey and Higgins (1992: 28-43) introduce the term “cultural transposition” as “a cover term for various degrees of departure from literal translation that one may resort to in the process of transferring the contents of a ST into the context of a target culture” (1992: 28). The various degrees of cultural transposition are seen as points arranged along the line between the two extremes: “exoticism” (“the extreme option in signaling cultural foreignness”) and “cultural transplantation” (when the elements of a ST setting are relocated into another, TC indigenous setting). The reproduction of Hervey and Higgins’s polarities of cultural transposition is provided in Figure 1, Section 3.4. At this point we are interested in seeing what lies between the two extremes, which are, as the authors point out, rarely used in translation practice. This area is occupied by three solution types: “cultural borrowing”, “communicative translation” and “calque”.

“Cultural borrowing” refers to a verbatim transfer of a ST expression into a TT (1992: 31). The device of “communicative translation” includes “communicative equivalent” and “communicative paraphrase”. The distinction between these two solution types is illustrated with an example from a Hungarian ST where a mother uses the Hungarian proverb: *Reggeli vendég nem maradandó* to comfort her children, who are disappointed to see that it is raining. If the mother’s words were rendered with communicative equivalents, an English proverb would be used and the TT would read “Never mind! Sun before seven, rain before eleven.” This solution has an advantage of being idiomatic, but does not fit the context. If communicative paraphrase were used, the mother’s words would be rendered as “Never mind! It’ll soon stop raining”.

“Calque”, as in the previously presented taxonomies, refers to “an expression that consists of TL words and respects TL syntax, but is unidiomatic in the TL because it is modeled on the structure of a SL expression.” (1992: 33). Examples of calques that have become “standard TL cultural equivalents of their SL origins” are abundantly provided: English *worldview* calqued on German *Weltanschauung* or French *jardin d’enfants* calqued on German *Kindergarten*. “Entrenched” calques, which have become “standard equivalents” are not distinguished as a distinct category, but this distinction is blurred.

Hervey and Higgins’s account is complemented by a discussion of “compensation techniques” (1992: 35), which are defined as “techniques of making up for the loss of important ST features through replicating ST effects approximately in the TT by means other than those used in the ST”. These techniques include “compensation in kind”, “compensation in place”, “compensation by merging” and “compensation by splitting”. As they are not directly concerned with ways of dealing with CSIs we will not pay closer attention to them.

3.3.2.4. *Florin*

Florin (1993: 125) suggests that translators can make use of two ways of dealing with “realia”: “transcription” and “substitution”. Transcription “amounts to little more than a mechanical transfer of realia from source to target language by graphic means” (ibid.). Whenever transcription is impossible or unacceptable, translators can use one of several types of substitution:

1. Neologism
2. Approximate translation
3. Contextual translation

“Neologisms” can be calques or translation loan words and they may consist of a combination of a calque and a TL element, as in the rendering of *Das dritte Reich* in English as *The Third Reich* (1993: 127).

“Approximate translation” comprises the replacement of a specific item with a less specific one and the use of functional equivalents (1993: 126). The example provided is the replacement of *vichy* in the phrase “a glass of vichy” with *mineral water* in “a glass of mineral water”.

“Contextual translation” is not illustrated by any examples, which makes it difficult to probe into what solution types the author exactly refers to. Instead, this method is described (1993: 126) in a rather vague manner:

This kind of translation is characterized by the absence of any correspondence with the translated word or words. Their content or meaning is communicated by means of a context suitably transformed as in the case of many new concepts current in the socialist countries that are totally unknown in other states. This method obviously only succeeds in communicating the general meaning: all local color is lost.

3.3.2.5. *Mailhac*

Mailhac (1996) reviews Ivir’s and Newmark’s sets of “procedures” and proposes his own taxonomy, which consists of nine main “cultural reference procedures” (1996: 137). They include:

1. Cultural borrowing
2. Literal translation (calque)
3. Definition
4. Cultural substitution
5. Lexical creation
6. Deliberate omission
7. Compensation
8. Combination of procedures

9. Footnote.

The practical employment of these solution types is illustrated by examples taken from the French translation of *The Secret Dairy of Adrian Mole*. Mailhac's typology covers basically the same range of solution types as Ivir's and Newmark's; moreover, it closely corresponds to Ivir's taxonomy. When compared to Ivir's taxonomy the main difference of Mailhac's categorization lies in the introduction of two new solution types: "combination of procedures" and "footnote".

Most of these categories have transparent labels and do not need any further explanation. "Compensation" is conceived as some form of explicitation of information deemed necessary to facilitate the target reader's understanding of the TT. Let us quote Mailhac's example of the use of this solution type:

- (3.1) We walked to Sainsbury's. (p.36)
On a été faire des courses chez Sainsbury. (p.55) (Mailhac 1996: 141)
[We went to do the shopping at Sainsbury's.]

The reference to Sainsbury is maintained in the TT and the phrase *do the shopping* is added by the translator in case target readers do not know that Sainsbury is a supermarket chain.

Another novelty in this taxonomy lies in the treatment of "footnote" as a distinct solution type. As it is related to the classification of macro-level "text procedures", as Mailhac calls them, we will refer to this issue in Section 3.4.

3.3.2.6. *Franco Aixelá*

Franco Aixelá's list is clearly divided into two major groups, those pertaining to "conservation" and those pertaining to "substitution". Therefore, the "conservation" pole includes the following solution types:

1. Repetition
2. Orthographic adaptation
3. Linguistic (non-cultural) translation
4. Extratextual gloss
5. Intratextual gloss.

When translators favor “substitution”, they will use one of the following solutions:

1. Synonymy
2. Limited universalization
3. Absolute universalization
4. Naturalization
5. Deletion
6. Autonomous creation.

We will discuss just the categories that are not self-explanatory and do not correspond fully to the already discussed solution types. At the very beginning it should be pointed out that “naturalization” does not have the same meaning as in Newmark’s taxonomy, where it refers to the orthographically adapted form of a borrowed item. In Franco Aixelá’s taxonomy it refers to what is usually called “substitution” or “cultural equivalent”. We should also note that Franco Aixelá’s use of the term “substitution” itself, which in his taxonomy is used to refer to a macro-level tendency, and not to a particular solution type (cf. Ivir), is potentially confusing, too.

In the group of solution types aiming at the conservation of SC “color”, “repetition” refers to what is in other classifications called “borrowing”, “transference” or “retention”.

“Linguistic (non-cultural) translation” refers to cases when the translator “chooses in many cases a denotatively very close reference to the original, but increases its comprehensibility by offering a target language version which can still be recognized as belonging to the cultural system of the source text” (1996: 62). This solution type is frequently used to render units of measurement and currencies, for example English *inch* is rendered in Spanish as *pulgada*. Another example provided is the rendering of *Grand Jury* as *gran jurado*. Franco Aixelá’s “linguistic (non-cultural) translation” therefore seems to correspond to Newmark’s “accepted standard translation”.

“Extratextual gloss” refers to explanations that are marked as such by their placement in footnotes, endnotes, commentaries or italics. “Intratextual gloss” refers to the gloss integrated into the text.

Towards the substitution pole, “synonymy” refers to cases when “the translator resorts to some kind of synonym or parallel reference to avoid repeating the CSI” (1996: 63). In Franco Aixelá’s view this solution is based on the stylistic grounds, for example on

the notion that repetition is not desirable. It is illustrated by the example of diverse renditions of *Bacardi* in one of the studied translations of *The Maltese Falcon*. Thus, ST references to *Bacardi* were rendered as *Bacardi, sabroso aguardiente de caña* [the delicious liquor of sugar cane] and *ron* [rum].

“Limited universalization” refers to the translator’s decision to replace a CSI with “another reference, also belonging to the source culture but closer to their readers” (1996: 63). Examples from the translations of Hammett’s text into Spanish include the replacement of an *American football* with *un balón de rugby* (a rugby ball) or the replacement of *five grand* with *cinco mil dólares* (five thousand dollars) (ibid.).

“Absolute universalization” refers to the deletion of any foreign connotations and choosing a neutral reference: for example, replacement of *Chesterfield* with *sofa* or *corned beef* with *lonchas de jamón* (slices of ham) (ibid.).

It should be pointed out that Franco Aixelá’s “autonomous creation” should not be confused with Ivir’s and Mailhac’s “lexical creation”. According to the author (1996: 64), “autonomous creation” is “a very little-used strategy in which translators (or more often translation initiators) decide that it could be interesting for their readers to put in some non-existent cultural reference in the source text”. Its use is illustrated by an example from *The Maltese Falcon* and its translation into Spanish:

- (3.2) “Shall we stand here and shed tears and call each other names? Or shall we”
– he paused and his smile was a cherub’s – “go to Constantinople?” (ST)
Que nos quedemos aquí derramando lágrimas como Magdalenas o que
vayamos a Constantinopla en busca del verdadero halcón del rey de
España. (TT)
[Shall we stay here shedding tears like Magdalenes or shall we go to
Constantinople in search of the real falcon of the king of Spain?”]

As is evident from the back translation, references to *Magdalene* and *the falcon of the king of Spain* have been added in the Spanish text.

3.3.2.7. *Olk*

Olk (2001) conducted an empirical study into the ways in which German students of English rendered CSIs when translating a text from English into German. The research is presented in his PhD thesis *The Translation of Cultural References: an Empirical Investigation into the Translation of Culture-Specific Lexis by Degree-Level Language Students*. Olk (personal communication) is of the opinion that all existing classifications of solution types for translating CSIs (in his study, they are called “culture reference procedures” or “CR procedures” after Mailhac) include categories that can be placed on the scale ranging from “exoticism” to “cultural transplantation”. The rationale for proposing his own classification lies in the view that “none of the existing classifications, however, seem to base all their categories on this criterion” (Olk, personal communication). In his classification the following solutions are distinguished:

1. Transference
2. Transference + explicitation
3. Transference + explanation
4. Source-culture explanation
5. Neutral explanation
6. Omission
7. Cultural substitution

The concepts of transference, omission and cultural substitution are used in the same sense as in other classifications. “Transference + explicitation” refers to “the procedure in which a cultural item is transferred into the target text with additional information that does not explain the CR’s [culture reference’s] denotation”. Olk illustrates this solution type with the following example from the text used in his empirical study:

- (3.3) [...] ensuring it strong clout with Whitehall.
[...] *was ihren großen politischen Einfluss auf Whitehall sichert.*
[ensuring it strong political clout with Whitehall.]

“Transference + explanation” includes a whole range of interventions (from using a classifier to an explanation integrated in the text or placed in the footnote) with the aim of

explaining a cultural item and at the same time retaining the foreign flavor. “Source-culture explanation” is “the procedure in which a cultural reference is not transferred, but replaced by a word or phrase in the target language which is still rooted in the source culture” (Olk: personal communication). For example:

- (3.4) [...] Britain beyond the Home Counties.
[...] *Großbritannien jenseits der Grafschaften um London*.
[Britain beyond the counties around London.]

This is exactly what Franco Aixelá’s “linguistic (non-cultural) translation” and Newmark’s “accepted recognized translation” refer to. We should also point out that the label “source-culture explanation” is quite misleading because no explanation is involved – there is a ready-made, fixed solution.

“Neutral explanation” comes one step further towards bringing the expression closer to the TL reader in that the culture-specific content is neutralized. Olk describes this procedure as a “cultural watershed”, which illustrates well the neutralization of the culture-specific material at work:

- (3.5) [...] ensuring it strong clout with Whitehall.
[...] *was ihr einen starken Einfluß auf die Regierung sichert*.
[ensuring it strong clout with the government.]

3.3.2.8. *Kwieciński*

Kwieciński (2001: 157-165) develops a taxonomy of solutions primarily with a view to handling culture-specific items, but, as he says, it may be adapted for analyzing ways of dealing with other lexical-level phenomena in translation, for example idioms and word plays. This rather complex structure consists of ten major “procedure groups”, each of which comprises several sub-groups. The major groups, listed from the most “exoticising” to the most “assimilative” procedures, are:

0. Transference of image or sound
1. Borrowing
2. Calque, coinage or semantic extension
3. Borrowing + calque or coinage

4. Borrowing + normalization (gloss)
5. Calque/coinage + normalization (gloss)
6. Other combinations
7. Recognized exoticism
8. Normalization
9. Deletion
10. Covert cultural substitution or covert acculturation
11. Overt cultural substitution or overt acculturation

While some of these solution types are self-explanatory, certain need to be defined and illustrated with examples.

“Transference of image or sound” is a new solution type that was not present in any of the previous taxonomies and is used only in polysemiotic genres, such as films and TV commercials. It refers to “directly transferred images or sounds of culture-specific significance” (2001: 158).

“Borrowing” comprises cases of retention of the ST material, and in Kwieciński’s scheme it includes four sub-groups: (1) “importation” or “ad hoc borrowing”; (2) “morphologically or phonologically or orthographically adapted importation”; (3) “recent borrowing with restricted currency or acceptability” and (4) “morphologically or phonologically or orthographically adapted recent borrowing with restricted currency or acceptability”.

“Calque”, “coinage” or “semantic extension” brings together “various forms that are fleshed out by TL lexicon but have a new, “rough” quality, i.e. nevertheless unconventional, innovative and/or disruptive” (2001: 162). The solution type includes recently introduced calques, such as the Polish expression *Rdzenni Amerykanie*, modeled on the English *Native Americans* and increasingly replacing the traditional Polish expression *Indianie amerykańscy*.

“Combination of procedures” is a set of solutions including: (1) a combination of “borrowing + calque or coinage or semantic extension”; (2) “borrowing + normalization or gloss” and (3) “other combinations: couplets, triplets and quadruplets”.

“Recognized exoticism” includes two sub-categories: “recognized equivalents” and “limited normalization”. The former refers to “designations which are clearly perceived by

TC members as peculiar to SC concepts, but are nevertheless intelligible as such, and which frequently become translation repertoires as a result.” (2001: 163). Examples provided by Kwieciński are the expression *Izbu Gmyn*, the stock Polish translation for English House of Commons or *wielka lawa przysięgłych*, the standard repertoire for *grand jury*. The other subcategory of recognized exoticism is “limited normalization” “whereby an opaque SC-specific item is rendered in terms of a recognized exoticism, usually with consequent generalization”. An example illustrating the use of this solution type is the rendering of *Super Bowl* as *final rozgrywek futbolu amerykańskiego* (the final match of American football).

Normalization is briefly described as “rendering a SC-specific item in supposedly “transcultural” terms.” (2001: 163) It is internally subdivided following Leuwen-Zwart’s semantic and stylistic shifts (generalization, specification, modification, mutation).

The employment of this solution type is not illustrated with any example, which makes it difficult to probe into what it exactly consists of. This brief description leads us to conclude that it entails the replacement of a SC item with another, less opaque SC item.

“Deletion” does not require any special explanation, but we have to pay close attention to the last two “groups of procedures”: “covert cultural substitution or acculturation” and “overt cultural substitution or acculturation”.

“Covert cultural substitution” and “covert acculturation” refer to the replacement “of a SC-specific item with a TC-specific item in a way which does not manifest itself to the TC recipients as a translational manipulation and hence does not result in the translator’s visibility” (2001: 164). The use of “covert cultural substitution” is illustrated with the rendering of *Egg McMuffin* in the line *Get me an Egg Muffin, will you?* in the American sit com *Alf*. In the Polish voiceover version it is rendered as *Kup mi po drodze jajko z niespodzianka* (Buy me an “egg with surprise” on your way there). The ST item, *Egg McMuffin*, is a McDonald’s product unknown in Poland at the time when the sit com was broadcast while *jajko z niespodzianka* is a type of confectionary quite popular and intensely advertised on Polish television at the time. As Kwieciński points out, this solution type does not entail any “credibility gap” “because the brand may conceivably be assumed by the Polish viewers to be found in the US setting as well” (ibid.). Therefore, this solution type corresponds closely to Franco Aixelá’s “limited univerzalization”.

“Covert acculturation”, in Kwieciński’s words, “has a broadly similar end effect” (ibid.) to the previous solution type. It differs from it only in that a TC-specific item is introduced in a place “where the SL version offers a more generalized transcultural content” (ibid.). For example, in the Polish voiceover translation of *Seinfeld*, the line *The shop was closed for health violations* was rendered as *Zamknał ją Sanepid* (It was closed by Sanepid.), whereby *Sanepid* is the acronym of the Polish health agency. Therefore, it seems that the peculiarity of this solution type is that a segment of a ST that actually does not contain a CSI is replaced with a segment that contains a TC-specific item. At first glance, the inclusion of this example as “covert acculturation” might seem odd, as it is expected that the replacement with a TC-specific item might create quite a different effect from “covert substitution” and create a “credibility gap”. However, Kwieciński points out that *Sanepid*, a commonly used acronym in Poland, is here used in its generic sense. Therefore, he explains that

[...] its use in generic sense with reference to the US – while introducing an air of cultural familiarity – is not strikingly “un-American” (Polish-culture-specific) to monocultural TL viewers, and therefore does not create the effect of translational visibility. (ibid.)

“Overt cultural substitution” refers to the replacement of a SC element with a TC-specific element, immediately recognizable as not belonging to the SC. An example illustrating this solution type is taken from the Polish voiceover translation of *Alf*. In the line *This is a Letterman show, is it?*, a reference to the U.S. late-night show hosted by David Letterman, in what is suspected to be a prank call is rendered in Polish as *Pan Janusz Weiss?*. Thus, the original reference is replaced with a reference to a Polish famous television and radio personality known for making prank calls during one of his radio shows. Therefore, a SC-specific item is replaced with an item that manifestly belongs to the TC setting.

“Overt acculturation” is similar, the only difference being that a manifestly TC-specific item is introduced as a rendition of a transcultural item in the ST. No examples are provided to illustrate this solution type.

3.3.2.9. Pedersen

Pedersen's taxonomy of "ECR strategies" (2007: 127-155), developed in order to handle CSIs in subtitling, includes seven major categories:

1. Retention
2. Specification
3. Direct Translation
4. Generalization
5. Substitution
6. Omission
7. Official equivalent.

These categories are clearly classified as being source-oriented ("retention", "specification" and "direct translation") or target-oriented ("generalization", "substitution" and "omission") with the exception of "official equivalent", which is left out of the division for reasons that will be explained below. The seven major categories are internally subdivided into subcategories, which are included in our presentation of Pedersen's taxonomy.

"Retention" is placed at the source-end, as it "allows an element from the SC to enter TT" (2007: 130). This solution type is quite transparent and in Pedersen's scheme includes two subcategories: (1) "complete retention" and (2) "TL-adjusted retention". The latter refers to spelling adaptations or article dropping.

"Specification" involves "retaining an ECR [extra-linguistic cultural reference] in its untranslated form, but adding information that is not present in the ST" (2007: 131). Two sub-categories of specification are distinguished: "completion" and "addition". Completion is illustrated with an example from the film *My Best Friend's Wedding*, where a reference to "Brown" in the line "Sophomore year at Brown" is rendered in a Danish subtitle as *Brown University*. As the function of this solution type is to disambiguate a CSI for the TC audience, (2007: 132), it most often comprises the spelling out of acronyms and abbreviations or completing an official name. On the other hand, "addition" consists in "adding information that is latent in the ECR not as part of the name but as part of the sense or connotations of the ECR" (ibid.). The author illustrates the use of this solution type by the example of a reference to Ian Botham, which is in the Swedish subtitle rendered as

Cricketspelaren Ian Botham (ibid.). Another point used to draw the line between “addition” and “completion” is a difference in their functions: “addition” is not used to disambiguate the viewer but rather to “provide the TT viewers with extra and often necessary information.” (ibid.)

From the description of “direct translation” we can conclude that it consists of translation on the linguistic level. Pedersen says that this solution type

[...] could hardly be applied to most proper names, but it is not uncommon for rendering the names that are constructed of common nouns, and which thus have compositional sense which can be translated. Examples of these are the names of companies, official institutions, technical gadgetry etc. (135)

This solution type has two subcategories: “calque” and “shifted”. Calque is defined as “the result of stringent literal translation that may appear exotic to the TT audience” (ibid.), as in the example of rendering “Captain (of police)” as *politi kaptjan* in a Danish subtitle. The only shifts made in this example are obligatory, required by differences between the SL and TL. If some optional shifts were performed that would make the TT item more unobtrusive, the solution type would be counted as “shifted direct translation”. It should also be noted that Pedersen admits that their “end-result is often identical” (2007: 136) and that he encountered difficulties in the operationalization of this distinction.

Target-oriented strategies include “generalization”, “substitution” and “omission”. “Generalization” covers two distinct solution types: the use of a superordinate term and the use of paraphrase. In Pedersen’s classification, the use of a superordinate term includes the use of “a translated hypernym” (2007: 138) and the use of a holonym (2007: 139). An example of the use of hypernym is taken from M*A*S*H*, which contains a reference to “The Three Stooges”, American slapstick comedy heroes, rendered in a subtitle as “entertainment”. The use of holonyms, i.e. the replacement of a reference to a part of something with a reference to the whole is illustrated with the replacement of “Central Park” by New York. Pedersen (2007: 140) points to the similarities between “addition” and “generalization” in the use of superordinate terms:

Addition could be said often to be the result of Generalization + Retention. The difference between the strategies is linguistic and based on the perspective of the ST ECR. In Generalization, there is an upward movement on a hyponymy scale, producing a TT item that is less specific than the ST ECR. When Addition is used, the movement goes in the opposite direction, and the sense relation involved is not so often hyponymy as polysemy.

The use of “paraphrase” is described in the following way: “When this strategy is used, the ST ECR is removed, but its sense or relevant connotations are kept” (ibid.). An example provided is the rendering of a reference to Casey Jones in a Swedish subtitle. After a train crash the investigators discuss what the driver of the crashed engine might have done. In the ST one of the investigators suggests “I bet he did a Casey Jones”, alluding to an American engine driver who became famous for remaining at his post in a train crash and thus saving the lives of the passengers. In back translation the reference to the event with which Scandinavian viewers are probably not familiar is rendered as “I’m sure he didn’t leave the engine” (2007: 140).

“Substitution” can be of two kinds: “cultural substitution” and “situational substitution” (2007: 141). The use of cultural substitution is illustrated with an example of a reference to the Three Stooges movies in M*A*S*H*. In a Danish subtitle, it is replaced with “Laurel and Hardy movies”, whereby no “credibility gap” is created and Scandinavian viewers are provided with an easily accessible reference. Therefore, the effect of this solution type is that it “removes the more exotic and peripheral ECRs and replaces them with ECRs that are more common and central” (2007: 143). We should note that this fully corresponds to Franco Aixelá’s “limited univerzalization”.

“Situational substitution” refers to the cases when a CSI is replaced with “something that fits the situation” and “could thus be considered a quasi-omission strategy” (2007: 147).

“Official equivalent” or “ready-made solution” is different from other solution types “in that the process is administrative rather than linguistic”, since “for there to be an Official Equivalent some sort of official decision by people in authority over an ECR is needed” (2007: 149). Examples provided include the conversion of measurements into

metric units, regulated by the parliaments of Scandinavian countries, and rendering of *Donald Duck* as “Kale Anka” in Swedish, which was regulated by a decree issued by Disney in Sweden. In addition to official regulations, “official equivalents” may come into being through “entrenchment” and include equivalents found in standard bilingual dictionaries. An example is the Danish rendering of *Statute of Liberty* as *Frihedsgudinden*.

3.3.3. Discussion

The above taxonomies will now be discussed in more detail, particularly in light of their suitability as a tool for our research. None of them have proved to be a completely suitable tool for our research, although we drew heavily on them in the compilation of a consolidated taxonomy that will be presented in Section 4.3.

The aspects to be taken into account in considering the suitability of the above taxonomies as a tool for organizing textual data are their elaborateness and consistency.

In terms of these two criteria we should note that Hervey and Higgins’s and Florin’s taxonomies are too undeveloped and sketchy to be successfully used to classify a large amount of heterogeneous textual data.

On the other hand, Ivir’s and Newmark’s taxonomies served as a basis for a taxonomy which we compiled and used in the pilot study preceding this research. Early on, we became aware that this was an unsuitable tool for several reasons. Both these taxonomies were developed primarily to instruct practicing translators or for translator training and, consequently, were not comprehensive enough for the type of research we were conducting.

Certain solution types frequently used by translators could not be accounted for. For instance, Ivir’s taxonomy does not include a category of “generalization” or “universalization”, i.e. of the replacement of a CSI with another, less specific item. In his classification the use of a classifier to replace an item, as in *Baker Street* → *ulica* (street), is included in the category of “definition”. In other words, it is placed in the same category with solution types that give substantial information on the referred item.

On the other hand, Newmark’s taxonomy suffers from inconsistency. As it has already been pointed by other scholars (Mailhac, Pedersen, Kwieciński), the distinction between componential analysis and functional equivalent seems to be highly unmotivated.

Componential analysis is defined as “the splitting up of a lexical unit into its sense components, often one-to-two, -three or –four translations” (Newmark 1995: 90). The use of componential analysis in the translation of “cultural words” is illustrated by several examples in which it becomes clear that there is no essential difference between componential analysis and functional and descriptive equivalents. Newmark’s examples of componential analysis include the translation of the German word *Konditorei* as “coffee shop serving and selling cakes and pastries” or *Arts Council* rendered as “national organization subsidizing the arts in UK” (ibid.). The translations of *baccalauréat* as *French secondary school leaving exam* (1995: 83) or *taille* as *a tax on the common people before the French Revolution* (ibid.) are offered as examples of functional equivalents. An example of descriptive equivalent is the rendering of *machette* as *Latin American broad, heavy instrument* (ibid.). Therefore, it is clear that functional and descriptive equivalents do not differ significantly from componential analysis in terms of the solution type applied. As a matter of fact, Newmark admits (ibid.) that these are only forms of componential analysis: “this procedure [functional equivalent], which is a cultural componential analysis”.

Likewise, it does not seem justified to treat “label” and “literal translation” or “calque” as two distinct solution types. While Newmark understands “literal translation” or “calque” (which he calls through-translation) in the same way as Ivir, “translation label” seems to be just a developmental stage of either literal translation or lexical creation. More precisely, it is a term, coined by the translator, put in inverted commas, which should later be removed when the term becomes accepted.

Newmark’s understanding of paraphrase and omission seems to be deeply inspired by the prescriptivist agenda. Thus, he defines paraphrase as “an amplification or explanation of the meaning of a segment of the text. It is used in an ‘anonymous’ text when it is poorly written, or has important implications and omissions” (1995: 90). Again, this solution type in Newmark’s taxonomy does not seem to address exactly the problem of CSIs, but is rather a way of improving poorly written STs.

Olk (2001) points out that the taxonomies by Ivir, Newmark and Mailhac are not suitable as tools for research into the levels of assimilative/exoticizing qualities of a TT. Olk’s argument is that they were not compiled with this criterion exclusively in mind. In these terms, Olk’s classification provides some more clearly distinguished solution types,

such as source-culture explanation and neutral explanation. On the other hand, in the drawing up of his taxonomy Olk seems to be limited by the textual material he used and the profile of participants in the study. As the participants were degree-level language students and not professional translators, the range of solution types he proposes does not cover many frequently used solutions, such as omission or generalization.

Another acute problem that should be addressed in this discussion is the wide range of terms used to account for the same or similar solution types. To aggravate the confusion, we come across the same terms used by two authors to denote quite different concepts. A case in point is Newmark's and Franco Aixelá's use of "naturalization", to which we drew attention in 3.3.2.6.

It seems necessary to clarify the terminological inconsistencies to be able to compare these various taxonomies and see clearly in what respects they differ or correspond.

The best way to present clearly the correspondences and differences between various solution types in different taxonomies seems to be a table. Table 3.1 presents all the solution types included in the above taxonomies. The categories that fully correspond but bear different labels are written in bold. Those that only partially correspond are written in plain text and those that have no comparable counterparts in other taxonomies are in italics.

For the sake of neatness we have not taken into account all the subcategories in Kwieciński's taxonomy. His taxonomy is created in such a way as to enable a certain flexibility in the range of distinctions included. We have, therefore, presented it in its condensed form. On the other hand, in the presentation of Pedersen's taxonomy we have split the categories into subcategories and included the name of the category in brackets. The reason for this is that his linking of certain subcategories into one category does not comply with the other authors' practice.

Table 3.1 shows that 13 different solution types have been used in the previous taxonomies for rendering CSIs. Those written in italics are proposed by only one author each; they have no counterparts in other taxonomies. They include Newmark's "paraphrase", Franco Aixelá's "synonymy" and "autonomous creation" and Pedersen's "situational equivalent". All of them have been described above in respective sections.

Table 3.1. Taxonomies of solution types for rendering CSIs

	Ivir	Newmark	Mailhac	Franco Aixelà	Olk	Kwieciński	Pedersen
1	Borrowing	Transference	Cultural borrowing	Repetition	Transference	Borrowing	Complete Retention
1a	-	Naturalization	-	Ortographic Adaptation	-	Morph./phonol./ ortograph. adapted importation	TL adjusted Retention
2	Addition	Couplets	Compensation	Intratextual gloss Extratextual gloss	Transference + explicitation Transference + explanation	Borrowing + normalization	Specification
3	Definition	Neutralization Componential Analysis	Definition	-	- Source-culture explanation -Neutral explanation	-	Paraphrase
4	Literal Translation	Literal Translation	Literal Translation	-	-	Calque, coinage or semantic extension	Calque
5	Substitution	Cultural Equivalent	Cultural Substitution	Naturalization	Cultural Substitution	Overt Cultural Substitution	Cultural Substitution
6	Lexical Creation	Translation Label	Lexical Creation	-	-	Calque, Coinage or Semantic Extension	-
7	Omission	Deletion	Deliberate Omission	Deletion	Omission	Deletion	Omission
8	-	Accepted Standard Translation	-	Linguistic Translation	-	Recognized Exoticism	Official Equivalent
9	-	-	-	Limited univerzalization	-	Covert cultural substitution	Cultural substitution
10	<i>Paraphrase</i>						
11	<i>Autonomous Creation</i>						
12	<i>Situational Substitution</i>						
13	<i>Synonymy</i>						

Solution types 1, 5 and 7 are included in all these taxonomies, irrespective of how sophisticated they are. Moreover, there seems to be almost full correspondence among the conceptualizations of these solution types in all taxonomies. However, they are referred to with a host of labels: borrowing (Ivir and Kwieciński), transference (Newmark and Olk), cultural borrowing (Mailhac), repetition (Franco Aixelà) and retention (Pedersen), to take solution type 1 as an example. We believe that they do not require further attention. Note

that the solution types included in all taxonomies, and thus, somehow constituting core solution types are those that refer to the introduction of a SC item into a TT, the replacement of a SC-specific item with a TC-specific item and omission of an item. The only author who includes omission but has a substantially different view on what this solution type entails is Newmark. Having this in mind, we have placed his “deletion” in a separate category and marked it with italics.

Some scholars have introduced a distinct solution type that comprises the adapted forms of retained items. For example, Newmark has “naturalization”, Franco Aixelá “orthographic adaptation” and Pedersen “TL adjusted retention”.

Solution type 6 is included in Ivir’s, Newmark’s and Mailhac’s taxonomies. Newmark’s taxonomy contains “componential analysis” and “neutralization” as two distinct solution types. We should also note that it is very difficult to draw parallels between some categories in some taxonomies. For example, in Pedersen’s scheme “paraphrase” is a subcategory within the “generalization” solution type. The second subcategory of “generalization” is the use of superordinate term.

3.4. Models of viewing text-level orientations

The majority of recent studies of the rendering of CSIs in translation also examine the global orientation of the translated text, starting from the assumption that the choice of a solution type has an effect on the text-level, and the other way round. The global orientation of the text is viewed as a scale ending in two poles, very much like the Hervey-Higgins model spanning from “exoticism” to “cultural transplantation” at the two ends of the continuum.

The two poles of the spectrum are referred to as “conservation” and “substitution” (Franco Aixelá), “exoticism” and “cultural transplantation” (Hervey-Higgins; Olk), “exoticising” and “assimilative” poles (Kwieciński), and “source-oriented” and “target-oriented” (Pedersen). In addition to these terms, some authors (Ramière, Davies) use the terms “domestication” and “foreignization” to refer to the two options in text-level orientations. However, the use of “domestication” and “foreignization” in this respect is potentially confusing, as we will presently try to explain.

The dilemma and choice between source and target orientation in translation was addressed by the early theoreticians, long before the discipline of Translation Studies as such came into being. In his 1813 lecture entitled *On the Different Methods of Translation*, Friedrich Schleiermacher asserted that the translator can adopt either of the two basic approaches: “Either the translator leaves the author in peace, as much as possible, and moves the reader toward that author, or the translator leaves the reader in peace, as much as possible, and moves the author toward the reader” (cited in Pym 2010: 31). Toury’s (1995: 56) initial norm formulated as “the basic choice which can be made between requirements of the two different sources [the original text and its norms, and the norms active in the target culture]” refers to more or less the same dilemma. Thus “adherence to source norms determines a translation’s adequacy as compared to the source text” while “subscription to norms originating in the target culture determines its acceptability” (Toury 1995: 56-57). It should be noted that the dichotomies of foreignization vs. domestication as conceived by Schleiermacher and later adapted by Venuti, and of adequacy vs. acceptability as conceived by Toury, work at various levels of a TT: that of lexical choices, but also the level of syntax and discourse. However, the research on the rendering of cultural references in translation has been focused on the lexical level alone. It seems, therefore, that terms like “source-oriented” and “target-oriented” and “domestication” and “foreignization” are not the most suitable for the purposes of research on CSIs, precisely because they have been long employed to denote the general orientation of translated texts on levels other than just the lexical.

Kwieciński (2001) makes a point of introducing a distinction between “domestication” and “foreignization”, on the one hand, and “exoticization” and “assimilation” on the other. In his model, which we will present below in more detail, “exoticization” and “assimilation” stand at the two ends of a linear spectrum along which various solution types used to render CSIs in translation are placed. “Domestication” and “foreignization” refer to intersubjectively accessible qualities of translated texts, such as intelligibility, opacity or transparency. In line with this, Kwieciński points out that domestication, as he understands it, is a broader concept than in Venuti’s scheme, since Venuti

[...]associates domestication more narrowly with the discoursal strategy of fluency, i.e. linear syntax, immediate intelligibility and avoidance of polysemy and with the illusionary approach aimed at creating “transparency”, thus with a particularly prominent subcategory of what is here termed domestication, namely with illusionistic naturalization. (2001: 14)

It should be noted, just to round out the picture, that Kwieciński understands foreignization very much in the same terms as Venuti, so the two concepts fully correspond.

3.4.1. *Hervey and Higgins's linear model*

We will pay particular attention to Hervey and Higgins's model of viewing text-level orientations as a result of the employment of a particular lexical-level solution type. The reason for this is that Hervey and Higgins (1992: 28-44) introduce a clear criterion, classifying various solutions with regard to whether the effect is to bring the text closer to target readers and their set of values and knowledge of the world, or to retain the traces of the culture to which the source text belongs. They introduce “cultural transposition” as an umbrella term denoting various degrees of departure from literal translation. In addition to this, they introduce the categories of “exoticism”, which comprises “the extreme options in signaling cultural foreignness in a TT” and of “cultural transplantation”, “whose extreme forms are hardly translations at all, but more like adaptations – the whole transplanting of the entire setting of the ST, resulting in the text being completely rewritten in an indigenous target culture setting” (1992: 30).

“By and large, normal translation practice avoids both wholesale exoticism and wholesale cultural transplantation. In attempting to avoid the two extremes, the translator may have to consider the alternatives lying on the scale between them”, conclude Hervey and Higgins (1992: 31). The scale they refer to has been widely reproduced in other studies. Nevertheless, we reproduce it again (Fig. 1) because it offers a good graphic representation of the available options according to their source/target affinity, i.e. of a linear model in which each procedure is viewed as being a step closer to or farther away from either of the poles.

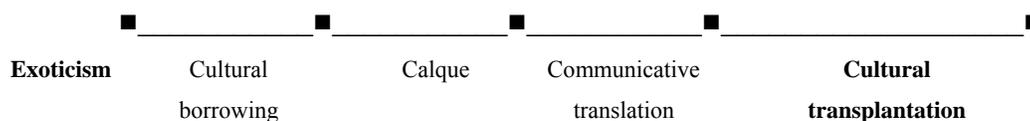


Figure 3.1. Hervey and Higgins's model of text-level orientations

3.4.2. Mailhac's three-options model

The two-pole linear model of text-level orientations is challenged in Mailhac's study. Mailhac (1996: 134-135) suggests that "in reality, the translator faces not two, but three options" on the macro-level. These options are:

1. Cultural transplantation
2. Exoticism with minimum presence of the translator
3. Exoticism with maximum presence of the translator

The example provided by Mailhac to illustrate his categorization is a reference to the British daily newspaper *the Morning Star*, close to the Communist Party. In a French TT this reference may be rendered as *L'Humanité*, if the decision is to convert SC references to TC references, i.e. if "cultural transplantation" is the preferred macro-strategy. If that is not the case, then translators are faced with two options: to render it as *le Morning Star*, i.e. to rely on the strategy of exoticism with minimum presence of the translator, or to render it as *le Morning Star, journal communiste britannique*, i.e. to employ the text strategy of exoticism with maximum presence of the translator. Therefore, Mailhac suggests that the text-level orientation be regarded in terms of three options, two of which do not differ in the level of the retention of SC "color", but in the amount of information on SC references provided by the translator. Mailhac's model differs from Hervey and Higgins's concept in that the exoticizing pole is divided into two subcategories depending on the presence/absence of the translator's intervention aimed at making an item better accessible to the reader.

Mailhac's suggestion is highly valuable in that it makes clear that the level of information supplied, although most often in direct correlation with the choice between an assimilating or an exoticizing orientation of the text, is not necessarily a step toward the assimilating pole. In binary models, all solution types aiming at better accessibility to target

readers are treated as assimilating, which in our opinion is not correct. In other words, in two-pole models the addition of information about the retained CSI is understood as the lessening of its potential as a cultural marker. As Mailhac's example with the name of the British newspaper shows, an item can be retained and certain information deemed to be relevant for the better understanding of its scope of reference added without necessarily making it an assimilating solution type.

However, it seems to us that Mailhac's choice of the terms to refer to the two exoticizing options is somewhat confusing, as there is a risk of equating the translator's presence with the translator's visibility.

We would also like to note here that Mailhac's suggestion deals with only one aspect of the deficiency of a binary model, that of accounting for informationally high and informationally low importation of SC elements. We believe that the problem is that some solution types have the effect of neither domesticating nor retaining SC elements but rather of neutralizing them. Thus, omission and the use of a hypernym can hardly be attributed to domesticating solution types. The effect they have is simply that of erasing any culture-specific content. On the other hand, as Mailhac rightly points out, some solutions strive to overcome the differences between the cultures by "educating" the reader.

In Kwieciński's model (2001) "exoticization" and "assimilation" stand at the two ends of the spectrum along which the solutions described in Section 3.3.3.8 are arranged. The solution types are classified into four large groups. He distinguishes "exoticizing procedures" which include, to use his terms, "importation" [better known as "borrowing" or "transference"] and "calque". The second group, "rich explanatory procedures", includes a whole range of the combinations of importation and explanatory glosses, and in this sense it corresponds to Mailhac's "exoticism with maximum presence of the translator". The third group comprises "recognized exoticism", deemed to be intermediate between exoticizing and assimilative solution types. "Assimilative procedures" include "normalization" and "cultural substitution" (2001: 15).

To conclude, Kwieciński's model essentially sticks to the linear two-pole spectrum, along which solution types are ranged in terms of their proximity to either of the ends. Explicatory solution types, those bringing more information on the item are distinguished but are not clearly presented as constituting a distinct text-level orientation.

The model of text-level orientations that we propose to use as a basis for the classification of solution types is presented in Section 4.4.

In this chapter we have presented and discussed the previous research within Translation Studies related to CSIs and their rendering in translation. By presenting various definitions of CSIs, taxonomies of solution types used to render such items in translation and models of text-level orientations we paved the ground for our definition of CSIs and consolidated taxonomy of solution types and model of text-level orientations that are presented in Chapter 4.

4. Key concepts

Having presented an overview of previous research dealing with CSIs in translation, in this chapter we will provide our own definitions of the key concepts related to CSIs, as well as our classification of solution types used to render CSIs. The definitions and the classification build on the definitions and classifications presented in Chapter 3, which were used as a starting point, but also draw upon the data obtained in the present research. During the course of the project we moved from the definitions and classifications to the actual data and back, in an attempt to arrive at definitions and classifications that can be profitably used in this and future studies of CSIs in translation.

4.1. Culture-specific items

In this work we define “culture specific items” as those items in the source text that embed the text in the source culture. They encompass references to unique physical world entities or to concepts, cultural artifacts, institutions, customs and forms of social life that at a certain point of time either do not exist in the target culture repertoire, are not lexicalized in the target language, or do not have the same connotative values in the target culture as they do in the source culture.

4.1.1. *Rationale*

Our definition draws upon our examination of definitions of CSIs formulated by other authors (cf. 3.1), particularly Florin, Franco Aixelá, and Olk. Florin’s view of CSIs as carriers of “local/historical color” is included in our definition in the formulation that CSIs “textually realize the text’s embeddedness in the source-culture”. We have adopted Franco Aixelá’s notion that “intercultural gaps” both on denotative and connotative levels contribute to the cultural specificity of an item. We have adopted Olk’s reformulation of Franco Aixelá’s reference to “different intertextual status”, as we believe that this is a more straightforward way of expressing the idea.

Following in the footsteps of Franco Aixelá, we understand “gaps” on the connotative level to include, among other things, references to certain social phenomena whose treatment in translation is driven by differences between the SC and TC on the

ideological level. A case in point is the treatment of a reference to Christmas in our corpus. During the Socialist period in Croatia, Christmas was removed from the public sphere and efforts were made to replace it with New Year's Day as the main popular holiday. Ample evidence of this can be found in ethnographic research into the iconography of Christmas in Socialism by Rihtman-Auguštin (1995). We might assume that is why a reference to Christmas in *Nikotin*, a translation of Agatha Christie's *Three-Act Tragedy* published in 1964, was omitted. In *Tragedija u tri čina*, a translation of the same novel published in 1978, this reference was rendered in the following way:

- (4.1) Really, I've got just a few pounds of my dress allowance to last me till Christmas. (*Three-Act Tragedy*: 211)
A u stvarnosti imam samo nekoliko funti za odjeću do kraja prosinca.
(*Tragedija u tri čina*: 189)
[And in reality I've got just a few pounds for clothes till the end of December.]

However, in the texts produced in post-Communist period, all references to Christmas are rendered as references to *Božić*, the Croatian name for this holiday. Example 4.2 illustrates this point.

- (4.2) "There's always the patent corkscrew Aunt Araminta gave you last Christmas," said Tuppence helpfully. (*Partners in Crime*: 39)
- *Uvijek ti preostaje onaj patentirani vadičep koji ti je teta Araminta poklonila prošlog Božića – uslužno predloži Tuppence.* (*Zajedno protiv zločina*: 28)
[You always have the patent corkscrew Aunt Araminta gave you last Christmas," suggested Tuppence helpfully.]

As can be seen from the definition proposed above, we have avoided the "translation problem" element as a defining feature of a CSI because we are studying the products of translation activity and so have no access to what might have been "problematic" for a particular translator. The definition that we need in our research should contain clear demarcation criteria that will allow us to systematically and consistently extract items from

the TTs in the corpus. The “translation problem” criterion is fuzzy and not easily accessible within the product-oriented research.

In addition, a problem-based definition might lead us to ignore all those instances where “ready-made” translation solutions exist, which is quite often the case with certain groups of CSIs. In our view, existence of “ready-made” translation solutions does not make these items any less culture-specific; it just points out that the TC translation community has already tried to come to terms with their rendering in translation. In a diachronic research it would be damaging to exclude evidence of changes observable in these patterns.

The definition as it stands is broad enough: a CSI is defined in such a way as to encompass textual references that do not have straightforward correspondents in the TC verbal repertoire, both on the denotative and connotative levels, at a certain point in time, i.e. the diachronic dimension is taken into account. Cultures as such are not static and closed systems and their interrelationships play a vital role in the circulation of concepts, habits and artifacts. In intercultural contact certain forms of social life and phenomena pertaining to the forms of entertainment and leisure become appropriated in other cultures. An examination of the TC translation repertoires can bring a significant insight into these contacts and intercultural negotiations going on in the TC. “Repertoire” is here understood as “any sign, irrespective of rank and scope, which forms part of such an institutionalized repertoire” (Toury 1995: 268).

Let us use an example from our corpus to illustrate this point. The plot of *Hallowe'en Party*, as the title says, takes place on Halloween, when a little girl is brutally murdered at a traditional party organized for children. In 1977, when the translation of this text was produced, Halloween and its rituals were unknown to the general public in the TC. The title was translated as *Dogodilo se na Dan Svih Svetih (It Happened on All Saints Day)*. Therefore, *Halloween* was replaced with a TC item. Today, the obvious correspondence between the two holidays is their calendar proximity - *Halloween* takes place on October 31 and *Dan Svih Svetih* on November 1- and association with death. However, Halloween has become mainly a children's festival with focus on costumes, horror stories and fantasy creatures. All Saints Day, rooted in the Catholic tradition, is a day when all saints are commemorated, mainly by visiting church and cemeteries.

Today, over thirty years after the release of John Carpenter's *Halloween* and a host of its sequels and imitations, together with the accompanying commercialization of the Halloween festival, the concept is well known. The process of its appropriation has been accompanied with its lexicalization, and today there are two expressions used in the TC to refer to Halloween: *Halloween* and *Noć vještica*, Witches' Night, after the translation of the title of Carpenter's film. In support of this claim we might cite just a few references found by a routine internet search. For example, on the internet site <http://www.zena.hr> we will find the following:

- (4.3) Tradicionalni, ujedno i jedan od prvih Halloween Partya na ovim prostorima, u organizaciji Twiligha i ove će se godine održati u zagrebačkom klubu Boogaloo. (emphasis ours)
[In Boogaloo, a Zagreb club, Twilight is once again organizing its traditional Halloween Party, one of the oldest such parties in this region.]

On the same internet site we have come across an article with tips on how to decorate the house for Halloween. The article begins:

- (4.4) Sve nam je bliža Noć vještica, noć s 31. listopada na 1. studenog, poznata i kao Halloween (All Hallows Eve).
[Witches' Night, the night from October 31 to November 1, known also as Halloween (All Hallows Eve) is drawing nearer.]

To conclude, today the TC has two expressions that refer to the same holiday. In this respect, the translator of this text today would not have to resort to other solution types but would probably have to choose between the two. Nevertheless, this does not mean that Halloween has the same cultural salience in the TC as it does in the SC or as some other holidays that have been traditionally observed. In other words, we still believe we are dealing with a CSI, even though its status is not exactly the same as 30 odd years ago. The historical change has an impact on the choice of available translation solutions rather than on its status as a CSI. The fact that the Croatian language has two alternative expressions used to refer to Halloween is an indicator that in the meantime translators have come to have at their disposal "ready-made" solutions for its rendering into Croatian. In this respect,

its rendering does not present a challenge (a “problem”) in the sense in which it was a challenge in 1977, when *Dogodilo se na Dan Svih Svetih* was produced. Therefore, to use Pedersen’s term, the item became “transcultural” (cf. 3.2)

In some respects, the example of Halloween is analogous to many other examples of CSIs that have their “conventional translations” or equivalents in the TL, such as units of measurement, currencies, references to art styles and periods and various institutional terms. Nevertheless, they bear traces of being elements of another culture or society, and for this reason constitute CSIs in translation. For example, references to the modes of architecture and design of furniture and silver named *Georgian* in the English-speaking countries are specific to these countries and are not part of Croatian tradition. In Croatian translations they are conventionally rendered as *georgijanski*, as in the following example from *Dogodilo se na Dan Svih Svetih*.

(4.5) Mrs Butler lowered the Georgian silver teapot to the fender... (*Hallowe'en Party*: 155)

Gospođa Butler spusti srebrni georgijanski čajnik na ploču štednjaka...

(*Dogodilo se na Dan Svih Svetih*: 145)

[Mrs Butler lowered the Georgian silver teapot to the fender.]

It is also possible to trace down the evolution of such “ready-made” solutions, and this can provide valuable evidence of the ways of negotiating differences between the two cultures. For example, the English unit of measurement *inch* was in older translations rendered as *palac* (the Croatian word for *thumb*), as we can read in the following example taken from the translation of *Oliver Twist* published in 1947:

(4.6) He was, altogether, as roystering and swaggering a young gentleman as ever stood four feet six, or something less, in the bluchers. (*Oliver Twist*: 60)

[...] *kakav je već mogao da bude mladić visok četiri stope i šest palaca ili nešto više.* (*Oliver Twist*: 57)

[what a young man four feet and six inches or a little more tall could be like.]

Another ready-made solution is the phonologically adapted form “inč”. Therefore, two expressions exist in the TC repertoire, but both of them are recognizable as references to foreign concepts (see 4.3.8). Both of them are also registered in English–Croatian dictionaries. Thus, the English-Croatian dictionary from 1954 (Drvodelić 1954) cites only *palac* as an equivalent of *inch*. These days the use of *palac* has become completely obsolete in translations, while a practice of using *inč* seems to be confined to a limited number of fields, for example technical texts. Thus, *inč* is used when the size of monitors and TV screens is cited.

4.2. Solution types for rendering CSIs

As we have explained in 3.3.1, inconsistent and often overlapping use of various terms to refer to the ways of dealing with particular CSIs and to the text-level effects of their employment has created conceptual and terminological confusion. This is the reason why we have decided to refer to the lexical-level solutions on the one hand and textual-level effects of their employment on the other hand, using terms that are relatively unburdened with the history of usage.

Zabalbeascoa (2000: 121) defines a “solution type” as “the name given to the relationship between [...] two segments of ST and TT”. It is “the shared characteristic of a number of different solutions” (ibid.). We have decided to use the term “solution type” to refer to the ways in which particular CSIs are rendered, such as replacement with cultural equivalent, descriptive translation or calque. As we have pointed out, we have tried to avoid defining a CSI primarily as a source of translation problems on the psychological and cognitive level. Since we look at CSIs as items that reflect culture-level gaps that have to be negotiated in the TT, we do not think that the use of the term *solution* is unsuitable.

The term “text-level orientation” will be used to refer to the effects these solutions have on the macro level, i.e. on the text level.

4.3. Consolidated taxonomy of solution types for rendering CSIs

The list of solution types we have compiled is a result of our critical appraisal of the previously created taxonomies of solution types for rendering CSIs (see 3.3.2), but also of

our own data analysis. We should stress that the present taxonomy has been modified several times in the course of our work on this project to reflect the data contained in our corpus. We have adopted the standpoint that we would not try to squeeze our data into the previously established categorical model, but rather modify the model to enable it to correspond to the collected data.

Four basic relationships can be established between an ST item and the corresponding segment of the TT. A CSI can be:

- Retained;
- Replaced;
- Omitted; or
- Supplemented.

The first three relationships, i.e. retention, replacement and omission, serve as a criterion for the establishment of the three major groups of simple solution types. We call these solution types “simple” in the sense that they are used on their own. On the other hand, the translator’s addition of text occurs most often in combination with either the retention or the replacement of an item. The omission of an item precludes the need for any additions. Therefore, the consolidated taxonomy of simple solution types, i.e. solution types employed on their own, includes the following:

1. Retention
2. Adapted retention
3. Replacement with calque
4. Replacement with a neologism
5. Replacement with a recognized exoticism
6. Replacement with another SC item
7. Replacement with paraphrase
8. Replacement with linguistic translation
9. Replacement with a TC equivalent
10. Replacement with a situational equivalent
11. Replacement with a less specific item
12. Omission

The “replacement” group is the most diversified group of solution types, including nine different solution types, classified according to the nature of the replacing segment. The “retention” group includes two solution types: retention and adapted retention.

The “omission” group covers just one solution type, i.e. the simple omission of an item.

We will now present a list of combined solution types and then discuss the properties of each of the presented solution types and illustrate their use with examples from our corpus.

The consolidated taxonomy of compound solution types includes the following:

1. Retention + addition
2. Retention + linguistic translation
3. Replacement with recognized exoticism + addition
4. Replacement with a TC equivalent+ addition
5. Replacement with a less specific item + addition.

All of these solution types are found in our corpus, and some of them are also found in other taxonomies. Nevertheless, if in further research it proves to be necessary to include additional compound solution types, they might be added.

The present taxonomy and its division into simple and compound solution types is designed to enable us to meet the following two requirements in this research:

1. To be able to account for the data in our corpus;
2. To be able to reflect significant differences in the ways of mediating culture-specific content.

We will now present and discuss the twelve simple solution types, illustrating their employment mainly with examples from the Agatha Christie corpus used in this research.

4.3.1. Retention

“Retention” is obviously an “exoticizing” solution type: an item present in the ST is simply retained in the TT. We have taken the term “retention” from Pedersen’s taxonomy (2007: 2), as it seems to denote most transparently the exact relationship between a ST and a TT segment. Some other terms have been used to refer to this solution type, for example “transference” (Newmark, Olk), “borrowing” (Ivir, Kwieciński) and “repetition” (Franco

Aixelà). In our taxonomy, “retention” is distinguished from “adapted retention”, i.e. the use of an orthographically adapted form of the ST expression, because this has an impact on the degree of conservation of the local, SL-specific color of the retained expression. It is also distinguished from the use of retention in combination with some form of addition and from partial retention of an item.

This solution type is very often, though not always, used with various kinds of names, as can be seen in Example 4.7 taken from *Tko je ubio Rogera Ackroyda?* (Who Killed Roger Ackroyd?), a translation of Agatha Christie’s novel *The Murder of Roger Ackroyd* included in our corpus. The translator retained a reference to the newspaper *The Daily Mail* and introduced minimal morphological changes (a case ending) so as not to breach the grammar rules of the TL:

- (4.7) I knew there was a new sweet pea as the Daily Mail had told me so that morning. (*The Murder of Roger Ackroyd*: 44)
Znao sam da postoji neka nova sorta grahorice jer sam jutros pročitao o tome nešto u Daily Mailu. (*Tko je ubio Rogera Ackroyda?*: 41)
[I knew that there was a new sort of bean as I had read something about it in the Daily Mail this morning.]

4.3.2. *Adapted retention*

“Adapted retention” refers to the orthographic or phonological adaptation of the retained item. For example, the word “bungalow” is often rendered as *bungalov*, as in the following example:

- (4.8) She left the bungalow she’d built to the landscape man... (*Hallowe’en Party*: 97)
Bungalov što ga je sagradila, ostavila je onom vrtlaru... (*Dogodilo se na Dan Svih Svetih*: 93)
[The bungalow she had built, she left to the gardener...]

4.3.3. *Replacement with calque*

Known also as “literal translation”, this solution type refers to literal, word-for-word translations of linguistic items, which are often immediately recognizable as being unnatural in the TL. In its definition we relied on the common manner of defining this solution type, as done by Ivir, Newmark and Pedersen. This solution type has been usually classified as having an “exoticizing” effect, though the motivation for its use may not lie in translators’ wish to keep the markers of the SC, but in their lack of expertise or time.

In communicative terms, such solutions are perhaps not the most adequate, as Examples 4.9 and 4.10 show.

- (4.9) You can look up the newspaper accounts of the trial. Humphrey Rudolph appeared for the Crown. (*Five Little Pigs*: 14)

Možete pročitati novinske članke o suđenju. Humphrey Rudolph predstavljao je Krunu. (*Pet malih praščića*: 27)

[You can read the newspaper articles about the trial. Humphrey Rudolph represented the Crown]

In Croatian, the crown is exclusively a symbol of royal power, and is not related to the legal context, so if Croatian readers are not familiar with the British legal system this translation might be puzzling.

- (4.10) She turned off from the drive and went through the garden and into the house through the open drawing-room window. (*N or M*: 133)

Skrenula je s prilaza, kroz vrt, i ušla u kuću kroz ostakljena vrata crtáće sobe. (*N ili M*: 93)

[She turned off from the drive, went through the garden and entered the house through the glass door of the room for drawing.]

Crtáća soba means a room where people spend their time making drawings, which is a mistranslation of the concept of “drawing room”.

4.3.3.2. *Replacement with a neologism*

A good example of the use of this solution type might be taken from the subtitles of the sitcom *Seinfeld* (Season 3, Episode 12 *Suicide*), where a cake called *Davenport coffee cake* is rendered in Croatian as *davenportski kavenjak*. In Croatian neither the word *kavenjak* nor such a cake exists. The translator resorted to the creation of the new word using the analogy with the name of the quite popular indigenous cake called *medenjak* (a cookie made of honey). Therefore, the chosen suffix is the one used in the TL for a well-known cake and the first part of the word is the Croatian word for coffee – *kava*.

This solution type is very rarely used in the texts in our corpus. However, we have included it since our aim is to create a taxonomy that can be used for other research.

4.3.4. *Replacement with a recognized exoticism*

Although frequently used by translators, this solution type has been left out of some previous taxonomies. In other taxonomies it has been included under various labels: “accepted standard translation” or “recognized translation” (Newmark), “linguistic (non-cultural) translation” (Franco Aixelá), “official equivalent” (Pedersen) and “recognized exoticism” (Kwieciński). We have adopted Kwieciński’s term, as it seems the most transparent. Franco Aixelá’s “linguistic (non-cultural) translation” overlaps with the term in our taxonomy that refers to another solution type. “Official equivalent”, used by Pedersen, does not seem an appropriate designation, as it implies that some decision has been made at the official level while in most cases these terms have become entrenched or established by usage. The methodological problem with this solution type is that it differs from the others to the extent that it is a “derived” solution type, i.e. a result of the use of one of the other solution types, most often calque, retention, adapted retention and lexical creation. Because of this and because of the difficulty in assigning it to a text-level orientation, Pedersen places “official equivalent” outside the baseline of six categories, explaining that it is “not so much a strategy, as an equivalent with a very special status” (2007: 130). We have nevertheless placed it on the same level as other solution types, as does Franco Aixelá. The criterion for distinguishing it from the “parent” solution type is its embeddedness, confirmed by its inclusion in dictionaries and reference sources.

This solution type involves the use of a ready-made solution, i.e. of a term that has become an established translation equivalent for certain items belonging to other cultures. The word belongs to the linguistic system of the TL, but because it is used to refer to phenomena existing only in foreign societies and cultures, it unmistakably bears traces of such cultures. An example of the use of this solution type is the rendering of imperial units of measurement in Croatian: *pound* as *funta* or *inch* as *inč*. An example of its use is provided in the following:

- (4.11) You really can't shock a sweet mid-Victorian. (*Three-Act Tragedy*: 232)
Potpuno je nemoguće šokirati viktorijansku damu. (Tragedija u tri čina: 203)
[It is absolutely impossible to shock a Victorian lady.]

The presence of this solution type in a TT has the effect of retaining the coherence of the portrayed world as a being embedded in the SC environment, and in this sense it can be regarded as being “exoticizing”.

4.3.5. *Replacement with another SC item*

This solution type refers to what Franco Aixelá calls “limited universalization”, i.e. replacement of a particular CSI with another item that still belongs to the SC but is more familiar to the TT audience.

In our corpus it is used in several cases. For example:

- (4.12) They were... what was called the off-beat generation. (*The White Horse*: 13)
[...] *ono što su nazivali gnjevnom generacijom.* (Kod Bijelog konja: 12)
[...] what they called the angry generation.]

In 1977, when this translation of *The White Horse* was produced, the concept of *the angry generation* was better known in the TC than the *beat generation*. *The Bibliography of World Literature in Croatian Translations* shows that the works of the main representatives of the Angry Young Men movement were translated in the late 1950s (for example, *Room at the Top* by John Braine in 1960 and *Lucky Jim* by Kingsley Amis in 1962). On the other hand, representatives of the Beat Generation such as Jack Kerouac were not extensively

translated in the Socialist period. Only *On the Road* by Kerouac was translated in 1971, which probably was not enough to make this term known to the general public.

4.3.6. Replacement with paraphrase

This solution type is included in most, though not all, of the previously developed taxonomies under the labels of “componential analysis” and “descriptive/functional equivalent” (Newmark), “definition” (Ivir) and “paraphrase” (Pedersen).

The peculiarity of this solution type is that it can have a three-fold effect on the TT, depending on whether the paraphrase is created on the basis of SC elements, culturally neutral elements or TC elements. Olk (see 3.3.2.7) includes source-culture explanation and neutral explanation as distinct solution types. We have, however, decided not to split it into two or three categories, but to account for these differences when assigning text-level orientation to the concrete solution used.

An example of the use of paraphrase containing culturally neutral terms is taken from the translation of *N or M*.

- (4.13) It was a flimsy and weather-worn affair, with a few moribund penny-in-the-slot-machines placed at far distant intervals. (*N or M*: 59)

Bijaše to derutno, napušteno mjesto s par automata za čokoladu raštrkanih uokolo. (N ili M: 45)

[It was a crumbling, abandoned place, with a few chocolate machines scattered around.]

Example 4.14 illustrates a use of paraphrase that retains traces of SC:

- (4.14) The café door opened and three young lads in Edwardian dress came in and sat down noisily. (*The Pale Horse*: 31)

Otvorila su se vrata kavanice i tri mladića u odijelima “à la Eduard” uđoše i bučno sjedoše. (Bijeli konj: 20)

[The small café door opened and three young lads in suits “à la Eduard” came in and sat down noisily.]

In 4.14, *boys in Edwardian dress* are rendered as *momci u odijelima "à la Eduard"*, the last element containing traces of the SC. The fashion of wearing Edwardian suits, i.e. a type of a suit worn by men in the early 20th century, was probably not present in the TC, and the paraphrase hints to its SC origin. It should be said, however, that socially relevant connotations that this reference carries are not conveyed to the TC readership. In England this type of suit came into fashion in the late 1950s and were worn by Teddy boys, members of the youth movement who adopting it to voice their opposition to the conformism of the 1950s.

4.3.7. *Replacement with linguistic translation*

Replacement with linguistic translation refers to a plain linguistic translation of an item. This solution type is very often used in dealing with various sets of CSIs, most often names. In our corpus it is often used to render the names of institutions, newspapers and magazines, catering facilities and various cultural artifacts. Example 4.15 illustrates the use of this solution type to render the name of a newspaper:

- (4.15) A young newspaper man soon got onto it, and there's going to be a good sobstuff article in tonight's Evening Shriek. (*Lord Edgware Dies*: 142)
Mladi novinar je uskoro na to naišao i u današnjem Večernjem vrisku izaći će o tome veliki plačljivi članak. (*Smrt lorda Edgwarea*: 158)
[A young journalist soon got onto it, and in today's Evening Shriek there is going to be a large sobstuff article about it.]

We have included this as a distinct solution type because we think that it is necessary to distinguish simple translation into the TL from "replacement with literal translation" or "calque". "Literal translation" or "calque" is one of the stock solution types included in various taxonomies under the label of "literal translation" (for example, Ivir, Newmark, Mailhac,) or "calque" (Pedersen, Kwieciński). It is common to understand "literal translation" as a solution type in which a SL expression is translated into the TL in such a way that it still bears traces of the SL expression after which it was generated. For example, Hervey and Higgins define calque as "an expression that consists of TL words and respects

TL syntax, but is unidiomatic in the TL because it is modeled on the structure of a SL expression” (1992: 33). Pedersen, to cite another example, also emphasizes the aspect of surface “foreignness” when he defines calque as “the result of stringent literal translation that may appear exotic to the TT audience” (2007: 136). On the other hand, translators can translate linguistically certain items and these solutions do not bear any markers of their foreign origin, as is the case in the above example of *square*→*trg*. This is the reason why we have introduced linguistic translation as a distinct solution type for dealing with CSIs, which may be used on its own or in combination with retention.

In order to maintain the distinction between linguistic translation and calque, Pedersen divides the category of direct translation into two subcategories: calque and shifted direct translation (cf. 3.3.2.9).

With certain groups of CSIs, a distinction between replacement with a TC equivalent and replacement with linguistic translation may be quite relevant in terms of assimilating and exoticizing effects. Let us contrast three options often used to render titles of newspapers and magazines, as well as references to other cultural artifacts. We might use the example of a reference to “Homes and Gardens” from *Hallowe'en Party*. Let us for the moment leave aside some solution types that can be used to render this reference, such as omission, replacement with a less specific item, replacement with paraphrase and replacement with a situation equivalent, as they do not seem to be relevant for the issue we are addressing. We will contrast the effects of the following three ways of rendering the item:

1. Its retention;
2. Its replacement with linguistic translation and;
3. Its replacement with a TC equivalent.

Therefore, the name can be rendered as *Homes and Gardens*, as *Domovi i vrtovi*, or as *Dome, slatki dome* (Home, Sweet Home). In the first case, the item is retained, in the second it is linguistically translated, and in the third it is replaced with a TC equivalent. The effect of each of these three solution types is different: in the first case it is exoticizing, and in the latter two assimilating, though not to the same degree.

The distinction discussed above may be illustrated with another example, found very often in our corpus: the way in which references to *tea* are rendered. In Croatia, the social

saliency of the habit of drinking tea is not comparable to its social saliency in England. Until recently a drink reserved for sick people, tea has lately started to change its modest status but still has not come near coffee as the most preferred hot drink. Therefore, when rendering references to *tea*, translators have a choice between using replacement with a TC equivalent, i.e. *coffee*, and using replacement with linguistic translation, i.e. *tea*. This choice can have significant impact on the cultural embeddedness of a TT: if *tea* were replaced with *coffee*, the effect would be assimilative. When it is linguistically translated as *čaj*, cultural markedness is retained. If we bear in mind that the stereotype of England as the tea-drinking nation is quite strong in Croatia, we might ask ourselves to what extent the habitual use of linguistic translation to render “tea” in translated texts has contributed to the building of this stereotype.

4.3.8. *Replacement with a target-culture equivalent*

Replacement with a TC equivalent is obviously a target-oriented solution type: an item highly embedded in the SC is replaced with an item highly embedded in the TC. We might point out that these are mostly near equivalents, as they partially cover the denotative and connotative dimensions of the meaning of an ST item. Indeed, when we have a full equivalent in the TC, does it not entail that we are not dealing with a CSI?

In the employment of this solution type, one segment of the scope of reference of a ST item is foregrounded and an equivalent for it found in the TL. For example, in *The Murder of Roger Ackroyd* the murder victim, Roger Ackroyd, is described as “not really a country squire”, but rather a businessman who tries to play the role of a country squire. In the translation, the description of Ackroyd's social status is rendered by the introduction of TC near equivalents. Let us look at the relevant paragraph:

- (4.16) Of course, Ackroyd is not really a country squire. He is an immensely successful manufacturer of (I think) wagon wheels. He is a man of nearly fifty years of age, rubicund of face and genial of manner. He is hand and glove with the vicar, subscribes liberally to parish funds (though rumor has it that he is extremely mean in personal expenditure), encourages cricket

matches, Lads' Clubs, and Disabled Soldiers' Institutes. (*The Murder of Roger Ackroyd*: 10)

Dakako da Ackroyd nije uistinu seoski vlastelin. On je neobično uspješan proizvođač (mislim) vagonskih kotača. Nešto mu je manje od pedeset godina, rumen je u licu i srdačan u ophođenju. Dobar je sa župnikom, daje velike milodare crkvi (iako se priča da je neobično škrt što se tiče osobnih potreba), potpomaže utakmice u kriketu, omladinske klubove i društva ratnih vojnih invalida. (Tko je ubio Rogera Ackroyda?: 12)

[Of course, Ackroyd is not really a landowner. He is an unusually successful manufacturer (I think of wagon wheels). He is a little younger than fifty, red in the face and genial in communication. He is on good terms with the parish priest, gives substantial contributions to the church (although rumor has it that he is extremely mean in personal expenditure), supports cricket matches, youth clubs and associations of war veterans.]

A “country squire” is replaced with *seoski vlastelin*, the “vicar” with *župnik*, and “Lads’ Clubs” with *omladinski klubovi*. We have quoted the whole paragraph because it contains a series of CSIs, all of which are rendered with this solution type. Thus, the passage provides an excellent opportunity to illustrate and discuss it.

A dictionary definition of “squire” says that it is “the main landowner in an English village or country place” and in this respect, i.e. on the denotative level, the Croatian term *vlastelin*, which is defined in a dictionary as “veliki posjednik, plemić” (a large landowner, a nobleman) corresponds to “squire”. However, on the connotative level these two terms could not be conceived of as equivalents. Certain aspects of the social role of the squire, which are implied in the ST, are not conveyed by the Croatian expression. Thus, an article in Wikipedia says that “the squire would also have performed a number of important local duties, in particular that of justice of the peace or Member of Parliament” and emphasizes that the role of the squire was closely associated with the occupation of the manor house. None of these connotations are carried by *vlastelin*.

A web page of the Salford Lads’ Club provides a clear picture of what the concept of Lads’ Clubs’ in England entails. These are youth clubs that were originally established

exclusively for young working men, giving them opportunity to go in for various sports and recreational activities. According to a BBC report, today's membership of such clubs, which are open to both boys and girls, has dwindled, which suggests that the social role and significance of the institution has considerably changed. When Lads' Clubs are rendered as *omladinski klubovi*, only a minor part of the denotative meaning is conveyed: the fact that such clubs are open to adolescents. In the TC, *omladinski klub* had particular connotations as these establishments were led by politically active adolescents in a one-party system.

The rendering of "vicar" as *župnik* (a parish priest, parish being the smallest administrative unit of the Catholic Church) is another example of the employment of a TC equivalent. Having in mind the celibacy of Catholic priests but not of Anglican vicars, it is clear that the social roles of vicars and *župnici* may be quite different. It should also be said that the word *vikar* can be used in the Croatian language as a loan word to refer to vicars and to refer to certain ranks within the Catholic hierarchy.

4.3.9. *Replacement with a situational equivalent*

This solution type produces an effect similar to "replacement with a less specific item", the difference between them being that instead of replacing a CSI with a generic item, an equivalent is found in the situation described in the text, i.e. in the "world of the text". It is often used with references to particular places and people. For example,

(4.17) Poirot and I turned into Regent's Park. (*Lord Edgware Dies*: 64)

Poirot und ich bogen in den Regent's Park ein... (*Dreizehn zum Tisch*: 80)

Poirot i ja pošli smo u obližnji park. (*Trinaest za stolom*: 60)

[Poirot and I went into a nearby park.]

4.3.10. *Replacement with a less specific item*

This solution type bears different labels in the previously developed taxonomies (for example, "absolute universalization" in Franco Aixelá, "classifier" in Newmark). It involves replacement of a CSI with a generic word, or with an item that is less specific, as illustrated in Example 4.18:

(4.18) If she'd bolted with young Hale, he'd never have seen a penny of it.

(*Partners in Crime*: 104)

Da je pobjegla s mladim Haleom, nikad ne bi vidio ni novčića. (Zajedno protiv zločina: 72)

[If she had run away with young Hale, he would never have seen a single coin.]

4.3.11. Omission

Although prescriptively-oriented studies do not pay particular attention to this solution type, it is, as our research data shows, used quite often by translators. Toury (1995: 82) also points out that this solution type cannot be ignored. Example 4.19 illustrates the use of omission:

(4.19) Army, Navy, Air Force, Foreign Office, one and all say the same thing – I am too old. (*N or M*: 6)

Vojska, mornarica, zrakoplovstvo...svi oni govore isto – prestar sam. (N ili M: 8)

[The army, the navy, the air force...all of them say the same thing – I am too old.]

The taxonomy of compound solution types includes the following combinations:

4.3.12. Retention + in-text addition

This solution type includes in-text additions introduced by translators in order to indicate to the target readership what a retained item refers to or to give some additional information. These additions very often comprise the addition of a classifier. Example 4.20 illustrates this case:

(4.20) Got himself quite a reputation over it, illustrated in Homes and Gardens and all the rest of it. (*Hallowe'en Party*: 169)

Stekao je pristojno ime, spomenut je i u časopisu "Homes and Gardens". (Dogodilo se na Dan Svih Svetih: 158)

[He earned quite a reputation, and was mentioned in the magazine “Homes and Gardens”.]

Example 4.21, taken from *Smrt lorda Edgwarea (Lord Edgware Dies)*, illustrates the use of a more elaborate form of addition. Hercule Poirot and Hastings have a meal in a little Soho restaurant and it is mentioned that Poirot has *a Baba au Rhum*.

- (4.21) [...] there we had a delicious omelette, a sole, a chicken and a Baba au Rhum, of which Poirot was inordinately fond. (*Lord Edgware Dies*: 115)
[...] *te smo tu pojeli izvrstan omlet, lista, piletinu, te jelo zvano Baba au Rhum, koje je Poirot izuzetno volio.* (*Smrt lorda Edgwarea*: 131)
[...] and there we had a delicious omelette, a sole, a chicken and a dish called Baba au Rhum, which Poirot liked extremely.]

The translator’s in-text additions might be quite extensive and even include a definition of the term retained, as we can see in Example 4.22. The translator of *Hallowe’en Party* retained *au pair* and accompanied it with an extensive explanation:

- (4.22) An au pair girl. (*Hallowe’en Party*: 93)
Au pair djevojka. Djevojka koja za stan, hranu i mali džeparac pomaže nešto u kući. (*Dogodilo se na Dan Svih Svetih*: 89)
[An au pair girl. A girl who helps in the household and in return gets food and lodging and some pocket money.]

The translator can also use a footnote to add the information. In this case, the translator’s presence is openly revealed, contributing to their visibility. As we have not considered the parameter of the translator’s visibility directly relevant for our research, we have not maintained this distinction. In 4.23 a reference to Bradmoor is retained and a footnote reading “Mjesto u kojem se nalazi bolnica za umobolne” (A place where a mental hospital is located) is added:

- (4.23) I read the other day they were quite happy in Bradmoor – it’s like a high-class club. (*The Murder of Roger Ackroyd*: 294)

*Baš sam neki dan čitala kako sasvim lijepo žive u Bradmooru...kao u
kavom otmjenom klubu. (Tko je ubio Rogera Ackroyda?: 256)*
[The other day I read that they lived quite nicely in Bradmoor...as in a high-
class club.]

4.3.13. Retention + linguistic translation

This solution type involves a combination of the retention of a part of an item and translation of the other part. In Croatian translations, this solution type is quite frequently used to render names of places (for example streets, squares) and institutions, as Example 4.24 shows:

- (4.24) It was a block of mansions near Sloane Square. (*Lord Edgware Dies*: 69)
Bio je to stan u zgradi za iznajmljivanje u blizini trga Sloane. (Smrt lorda
Edgwarea: 82)
[It was a flat in a building with flats to let near Square Sloane.]

As can be seen from the above example, part of the location designation *Sloane Square* is retained (Sloane) and the other part is translated as *trg*, which is the Croatian word for square.

4.3.14. Replacement with a recognized exoticism + addition

This solution type involves the replacement of a CSI with its recognized exoticism compounded with the translator's addition. For example, the rendering of *guinea* as *gvineja* in *Bijeli konj* is supplemented with the following addition in the footnote: "1 guinea=1 funta i 1 šiling" (1 guinea= 1 pound and 1 shilling). It is illustrated in 4.25:

- (4.25) Price three guineas. (*The Pale Horse*: 74)
[...]*po cijeni od tri gvineje*. (*Bijeli konj*: 47)
[...at the price of three guineas.]

4.3.15. Replacement with a TC equivalent + addition

This solution type is marginally present in our corpus. It consists in the combination of replacement with a TC equivalent and addition, either integrated in the text or placed in the footnote. An example illustrating its employment is taken from the translation of *Hallowe'en Party*.

- (4.26) It was to be a Hallowe'en Party for invited guests of an age group between ten and seventeen years old. (*Hallowe'en Party*: 7)
- Radilo se, naime, o pripremama za dječju zabavu prigodom Dana Svih svetih, za uzvanike od deset do sedamnaest godina.* (Dogodilo se na dan Svih svetih: 7)
- [It was about the preparations for a children's party for All Saints Day, for guests who are from ten to seventeen years old.]

A reference to *Hallowe'en Party* is replaced with a reference to *Dan Svih svetih*, which we discussed in 4.1. The translator added a lengthy footnote with an explanation. As the footnote is very long, we will quote just a part of it to give an idea to the reader:

Halloween – October 31; in the old Celtic calendar it was the last day in a year. In that night – it was believed – all wizards and witches go out and cast their spells. Christianity adopted it as an important day and called it All Saints Day. In English-speaking countries, in particular in Scotland and northern England, certain traditions stemming from this and similar ancient superstitions have continued up to these days.

4.3.16. Replacement with a less specific item + addition

The combination of replacement with a less specific item and addition is not often found, but our corpus contains an example:

- (4.27) We should at least know the fine prose and blank verse sometimes of the Authorized Version. (*Hallowe'en Party*: 157)

Kaže nam da moramo ako ništa drugo, poznavati lijepu prozu i slobodan stih autorizirane verzije Biblije. (Dogodilo se na Dan Svih Svetih: 147)

[We are told that we should at least know the fine prose and non-rhymed verse of the Authorized Version of the Bible.]

A reference to *blank verse* is rendered as *slobodan stih*, which means a non-rhymed verse. In the footnote the following explanation is added: “Misli se blank verse: peterostopni jampski stih bez sroka.” (It is blank verse: the unrhymed iambic pentameter.).

4.4. A proposed model of text-level orientations

We assume that the way the translator chooses to deal with a particular CSI contributes to, and is the result of, the overall text-level orientation. Therefore, the solution types may be classified according to the effect they have on a TT with respect to the cultural embeddedness of the translation and with respect to the presence of information on the SC.

As we have pointed out in 3.5, in most recent studies dealing with CSIs in translation, solution types are classified according to their closeness to either of the two poles (“foreignizing” or “exoticizing” or “source-oriented” vs. “domesticating” or “cultural transplantation” or “target-oriented”). The common feature of these binary approaches is that various solution types are placed along a continuum spanning from the most target-oriented to the most source-oriented solutions. The middle position on this line is occupied by omission and the use of the other generalizing solution types.

Many authors are not completely satisfied with this approach, as can be seen from the following comment by Pedersen on his schematic presentation of ECR transfer strategies: “Each strategy on the baseline is described as either source- or target-oriented, but some *are only vaguely so* (dashed lines), and *one is arguably neither* (Omission)” (2007: 130, our emphasis).

We would like to suggest that it would make more sense to view each solution type in terms of contributing to one of the two axes indicating possible text-level orientations. In other words, the rendering of CSIs could be viewed along two axes:

- The first axis is related to the presence of culture-specific content in a TT. With regard to this criterion all the solution types can be classified as contributing to one of the three text-level orientations: exoticizing, assimilating and neutralizing.
- The second axis is related to the level of relevant information on the SC elements present in the TT. Therefore, the criterion for the classification of solution types by this criterion is the level of the “informativity” of a particular solution in terms of informing the TT reader about the SC.

As we have noted in 3.5, it seems quite strained to try to squeeze all available solution types into a two-pole linear framework, i.e. to assign them either “assimilating” or “exoticizing” qualities. In our opinion, this perspective leads to methodological inconsistency and has at least two conceptual weaknesses:

1. It does not make a clear distinction between the simple exoticizing preservation of CSIs and the provision of information on these elements. A consequence of not making this distinction is that solution types that retain a CSI and provide TT readers with certain information on the item are considered to be more assimilating than those that simply retain an item.
2. It does not account for solution types whose effect is the erasure of culturally-specific content, but rather treats them as being assimilating. We agree that one of the effects of neutralizing solution types, such as omission and replacement with a less specific item, is the easier accessibility of a TT segment for TT readers. However, we think that better accessibility in these cases is achieved due to the neutralization of SC-specific item and not due to its substitution with TC-specific content. Within the two-pole approaches “replacement with a less specific item” and “omission” have usually been viewed as assimilating or target-oriented. However, they do not contribute to the introduction of TC traits or values in a TT, but rather to the neutralization of all cultural markers. If the name of a newspaper, which as such clearly contributes to the anchoring of a ST in a particular cultural community where that particular newspaper is read as part of daily routine, is dropped or replaced with *novine* [newspaper] the effect is clearly the deletion of *any* cultural embeddedness of the TT. This was also perceived by Olk, who called “neutral explanation” “a cultural watershed” (cf. 3.3.2.7).

Due to our position of viewing CSIs as cultural markers, it seems that equating accessibility with assimilation is not justified, as a certain mixing up of two criteria is at work.

The second criterion, namely the level of culturally relevant information, takes into account how “informative” the solution type is, i.e. how it contributes to the preservation of the information about the SC element or even adds this information with a view to “educating” or informing the target reader about certain features of the SC. We believe that this criterion cannot be merged with the preservation of SC features or with approaching the target pole more closely, as has been done in the previous models. Various solution types in the “retention group” differ significantly in this respect and still all of them are “exoticizing” solution types, as they clearly contribute to the preservation of SC features. Let us make this point clearer by resorting to several concrete examples.

Example 4.28 contrasts the use of exoticizing solution types that are non-informative with those that are highly informative:

- (4.28) a) They have a box at Covent Garden. (*Lord Edgware Dies*: 105)
Imaju svoju ložu u Covent Gardenu. (Smrt lorda Edgwarea: 121)
[They have a box at Covent Garden.]
- b) How convenient if you could ring up Harrods...(*The Pale Horse*: 63)
Zar ne bi bilo fino kad bismo mogli telefonski pozvati Harrodsa...
(Bijeli konj: 40)
[Wouldn't it be nice if we could ring up Harrods...]
footnote: *Harrods – jedna od uglednih robnih kuća u Londonu*
[Harrods – one of the most distinguished department stores in
London.]

In 4.28 a) a reference to Covent Garden is retained and no additional information provided. Example 4.28 b) illustrates the use of retention that contains additional information on Harrods. We will not go into possible parameters influencing the choice of one or the other solution type, but would just like to illustrate the difference in the effects created. The point we wish to make is that both of these solution types are exoticizing.

However, the latter is also informative. In both of these examples, SC-specific content is preserved, and in 4.28 b) it is also complemented with information on the retained item. It seems that 4.28b) is no more assimilating than 4.28a). With regard to the presence of culture-specific content, we do not see any difference between the two. The difference lies in the level of informativity.

Therefore, we suggest the following model of classifying solution types with respect to text-level orientations (Fig. 4.1).

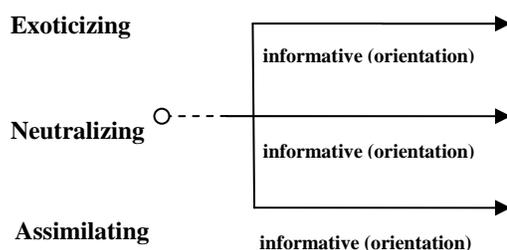


Figure 4.1. Proposed model of text-level orientations

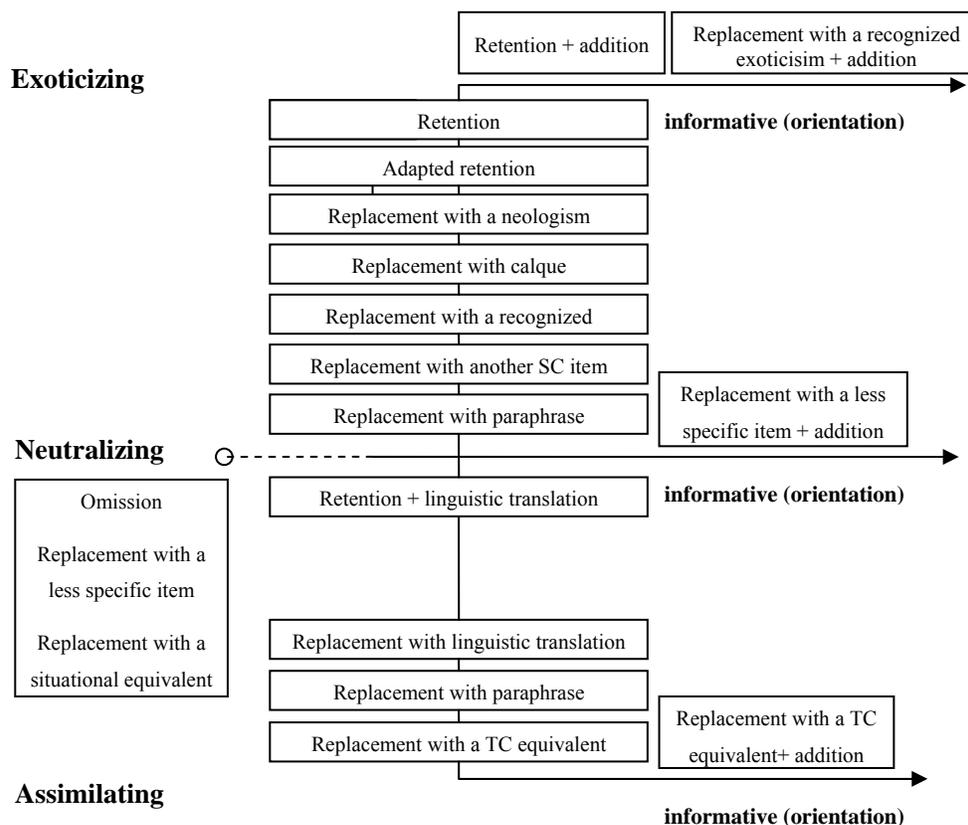


Figure 4.2. Solution types by text-level orientations

As can be seen from Figure 4.2, the vertical axis is related to the presence of culturally specific markers and the solution types are ranged along it according to their closeness to the exoticizing or assimilating poles. Neutralizing solution types are placed off this line in order to present visually the fact that they actually erase culture-specific markers.

The horizontal axis represents the informativity of certain solution types. For example, retention + addition is a compound solution type which is exoticizing–informative. Highly informative solution types are usually, though not always, found in combination with exoticizing solutions.

As far as neutralizing solution types are concerned, it is logical that the erasure of culture-specific content is accompanied with no information added. Therefore, neutralizing solution types are usually at the zero value on both axes. However, in Example 4.27 we have seen that translators can combine a neutralizing solution type that is supplemented with additional information on SC-specific content.

5. Hypotheses and methodology

5.1. Aim of the study, research questions and hypotheses

The general aim of this study is to investigate the correlations between the changes in translation products and the wide socio-cultural context in which they came into being. Our study combines the investigation of texts, as textual evidence of translators' behavior, and the contexts of their production. In accordance with this broad formulation, the aim of the study is closely connected with the research agenda of the Descriptive Translation Studies paradigm, whose "whole thrust [...] since the 1970s, has been to bring wider contextual considerations into the study of translation" (Pym 2006: 1).

Both Toury (2004) and Pym (2006) point to the difficulties related to the selection of contextual variables to be investigated in a socio-cultural approach to translation. Toury (2004: 15) notes that "there seems to be no single factor which cannot be enhanced, mitigated, maybe even offset by the presence of another". Pym (2006: 1) points out that socio-cultural approaches in Translation Studies

[...] are generally of the "toolbox" kind, where any number of models and factors may be drawn upon. This situation leaves many doubts with respect to what might constitute a socio-cultural explanation, how pertinent factors can be located methodologically, what kind of causation is involved [...].

In our attempt to investigate correlations between translation products and their social context, we have focused on a single textual variable – the handling of CSIs. In the choice of the contextual variable we have been led by the assumption that the ways of rendering CSIs, defined as textual carriers of the cultural otherness of the SC, should correlate in some way with the levels of intercultural contact between the SC and TC. Owing to the historical circumstances outlined in Chapter 2, in the second half of the 20th century the levels of intercultural contact between Croatia and the English-speaking cultures underwent radical changes: from an abrupt closure to Western cultural products after World War Two to an increasing, albeit controlled, openness towards them, which started in the late 1950s and early 1960s. The levels of cultural exchange between the SC

and TC can become visible through the intensity of translation flows. Further, the changes in the political and economic sphere during the communist and transition periods had a role to play in the particular patterns of the organization of publishing activities as the immediate social context of translations of popular fiction.

The research questions we asked at the beginning of our research were the following: (1) Have the ways of rendering CSIs in translations from English to Croatian changed over the last forty or so years?; (2) If so, can we observe a tendency towards the more frequent employment of assimilating solution types?; (3) Can the changes observed be related to certain changes in the relations between the SC and TC? and (4) How is the expected tendency to use assimilating solution types more frequently related to the changes in the organizational patterns dominating the publishing sector as the immediate social context?

With these research questions in mind, it seemed appropriate to concentrate on a genre that has been translated from English into Croatian over a long period of time. Detective fiction seemed to be such a genre.

In the pilot study conducted prior to this research we tested the hypothesis that translations of detective fiction from English into Croatian would show a growing tendency to employ exoticizing solution types in the rendering of CSIs. The hypothesis was tested on a small-scale corpus of Croatian translations of detective novels by Agatha Christie published in three different periods – the early 1960s, the late 1970s and the 2010s. The findings of the pilot study suggested that the reverse trend was to be found and this led us to modify the original hypothesis into what is now Hypothesis 1 below.

On the basis of our research questions and the findings of the small-scale pilot study, we have therefore formulated the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1: Translations of detective fiction from English into Croatian show a growing tendency to employ assimilative solution types in the rendering of CSIs.

Hypothesis 2: The greater the presence of source-culture texts of a similar type in the target culture, the stronger the tendencies to employ assimilating solutions to render CSIs.

Therefore, in the first hypothesis we predict that a growing preference for assimilating solution types will be observed in the translations of detective fiction from English to Croatian over a period of time.

In the second hypothesis, we predict the links between the expected tendency to use assimilating solution types and a particular contextual variable – the intensity of translation flows. Thus, translation flows from the SL to the TL constitute the central contextual variable. This hypothesis is of an explanatory-predictive nature; we assume that a certain change in the contextual variable correlates with a certain change in the textual variable.

In addition to translation flows, we have investigated the main features of the publishing industry in the three selected periods assuming that the industry is the immediate social context of the translation activity.

An underlying assumption regarding the explanatory variables is thus that the developments in the publishing sector, and the form of particular publishing projects within which the TTs were published, considerably influenced the translations produced and consequently the patterns of dealing with CSIs.

5.2. Research design

In this section we will outline the structure of the research. As we have stated above, the aim of the study is to approach changes in translators' behavior through the exploration of two types of variables (textual and contextual) and establish certain probabilistic correlations between them. The textual variable is the choice of solution types for rendering CSIs. The contextual variables are the intensity of translation flows from English to Croatian in general, the intensity of translation flows from English to Croatian with regard to popular fiction, to which detective fiction as a subgenre belongs, and the developments in the publishing sector as the immediate social context of the translations studied. This entails quite a complex research structure, which will be outlined in more detail below.

The first part of the research focused on the analysis of the texts. We constructed a corpus of TTs produced in three periods: the early 1960s (further: Period 1), the late 1970s (further: Period 2) and the 2000s (further: Period 3). The quantitative findings on the frequency of a particular solution type in each TT were analyzed as indicators of the preference for particular text-level orientations. The purpose of this analysis was to test the prediction made in our first hypothesis. The data on the handling of CSIs in the TTs were also used to observe quantitative regularities and irregularities in dealing with certain

subcategories of CSIs. The objective of this part of analysis was to trace regularities in the treatment of these items and their possible changes as an additional indicator of tendencies in text-level orientations.

In addition to the quantitative text-based analysis, the treatment of the selected textual variable was examined by means of qualitative data collected through interviews with the agents in the production of the TTs: translators, editors and publishers. In this way it draws on other recent studies of agency in translation, to mention just a few of them (Buzelin 2005, Poupaud 2008, Kung 2009, Haddadaian 2012).

In the second part of the research we focused on the exploration of the selected contextual variables. We observed translation flows from English into Croatian in Periods 1, 2 and 3 as one element in the building of a picture of the contextual systems in which the TTs were produced.

A variety of available secondary sources were used in order to construct a more accurate picture of the main developments in the publishing sector during Periods 1, 2 and 3. The next step was the collection of the extra-textual and paratextual data on the concrete TTs representing each period in the corpus. The data on the profiles of the publishers, concrete publishing projects and translators involved in them were collected. This part of the research was carried out in order to enable us to bring into correlation the observed and described contextual features and the observed qualities of the TTs.

The three different sets of data (the data on the rendering of CSIs in the TTs, the data on the context/contextual systems of the studied TTs, and the data from the interviews regarding the choice of solution types for rendering CSIs) were analyzed and related in the final stage of the project.

5.3. Methodology of the textual analysis

In line with the research design outlined above, we will now describe the methods of data collection and their analysis.

5.3.1. *The corpus*

In order to analyze the patterns of dealing with CSIs in Croatian translations of detective fiction we had to construct a corpus of translated texts produced in Periods 1, 2 and 3. The corpus consists of eight novels by Agatha Christie and their translations published between 1961 and 2009.

In the construction of the corpus, we were faced with certain problems of a practical nature. For the data to allow us to reach some limited and tentative generalizations about translators' behavior, the corpus had to contain a solid number of source texts and their translations. In the preparatory stages of this research we had to give up the idea of compiling a corpus consisting of translations and retranslations covering a long span of time. The creation of a relatively large sample of the same English STs which were translated and retranslated into Croatian is almost an impossible task - the usual practice of publishing houses in Croatia is to reprint the same translations as many times as possible. Very rarely are retranslations of the already translated books commissioned. As an illustration of this we might point to the letter by the president of the Croatian Association of Literary Translators (CALT), quoted in section 2.2.2.1. In the letter, the president of the Association points out that future generations of Croatian readers will be condemned to reading poor translations published by the *Jutarnji list* daily because no publisher will dare to publish new translations of the titles already translated as long as the existing translations are available on the market. Thus, for example, some authors who were very popular in the TC were translated for the first time in the 1950s and these translations have been continuously reprinted. For example, Conan Doyle is one of widely translated authors in Croatia. The first translations of his works appeared in the early 1900s (1907), but we will leave aside the first half of the 20th century and examine the period after the Second World War. In 1963 a series of Conan Doyle titles was translated by Ružica and Aleksandar Vlaškalin, and published by the Rijeka-based Otokar Keršovani publishing house. The most popular of them, *The Hound of the Baskervilles* (*Baskervillski pas*) was reprinted in 1978 and 2004 and has remained the only translation of this title so far. In the meantime, several more translations of other Conan Doyle titles by the same tandem appeared and have also

been continuously reprinted. To conclude, this makes it difficult to compile a sizeable collection of titles that have been translated and retranslated in the three periods studied.

We could have taken a different approach and compiled our corpus by focusing on the work of particular translators from English, i.e. studying translations of one or two translators produced over a long period. However, we think that such an approach could provide us with a reliable insight into the preferences of certain translators and help construct their professional profiles, but would not be very useful in terms of giving us information on the extent of change in general tendencies. Apart from this, such an approach would entail a comparison of translations of STs of different genres. This would complicate the research further, since we expect that the genre of the ST affects the translator's choices regarding the rendering of CSIs.

We therefore decided to compile our corpus by looking at the translations of the same type of popular fiction texts continuously produced over a long period of time. In order to minimize the number of possible variables at the ST end, we decided to stick to one author.

Agatha Christie's works have been continuously translated into Croatian for over forty years, which comes as no surprise since she is, as UNESCO *Index Translationum* suggests, the most translated author in the world, with 7037 translations in their database in October 2011. In order to provide the readers with a rough picture of the global popularity of her works in translation, we quote the data for the authors closely following her in the list of "Top 50 authors": Jules Verne (4604), William Shakespeare (4056), Enid Blyton (3745) and Vladimir Il'ič Lenin (3644). The popularity of her works in Croatian is comparable to her global popularity. According to Croatia's *National and University Library Catalogue*, in the period from 1961 to 2007, 118 translations of Agatha Christie novels were published in Croatia. Moreover, the only existing analysis of the bibliographic data on Croatian literary translations in the period from 1945-1985 (Dragojević and Cacan 1992: 108), points out that Agatha Christie is, together with Honoré de Balzac, the most translated Western author in Croatia. With 42 entries, Christie and Balzac are just a little behind the most translated author in that period – Maksim Gor'kii.

5.3.2. *Corpus selection criteria*

In the selection of ST-TT pairs to be included in the corpus we used the method of convenience sampling. In period 1 only three translations of Agatha Christie's novels were published and so all of them comprise our corpus for this period.

In 1975 a large and long-lasting publishing project called "Works of Agatha Christie" was launched by the Zagreb-based *Globus* publishing house. Within this project, which lasted well into the 1980s, 75 books by this author were published.

In Period 3 the enthusiasm of publishers for the translations of Agatha Christie novels did not abate. As a result, there was no shortage of ST-TT pairs in Periods 2 and 3. In the selection of texts to be included in the corpus we were led by two criteria:

Priority was given, wherever it was possible, to more recent translations of the STs that had already been included in the corpus;

Reprints were excluded, as our aim is to study translations produced in the relevant period.

5.3.3. *Presentation of the corpus and its implications for the study*

The corpus of texts studied comprises the following STs:

- *Thirteen for Dinner* (or *Lord Edgware Dies*) (ST1)
- *Three-Act Tragedy* (ST2)
- *The Pale Horse* (ST3)
- *The Murder of Roger Ackroyd?* (ST4)
- *Halowe'en Party* (ST5)
- *N or M* (ST6)
- *Five Little Pigs* (ST7)
- *Partners in Crime* (ST8)

They are accompanied by the following TTs, listed by the year of their publication:

- *13 za stolom*, 1961 (TT1A)
- *Nikotin*, 1964 (TT2A)
- *Bijeli konj*, 1964 (TT3A)
- *Tko je ubio Rogera Ackroyda?*, 1976 (TT4)
- *Kod Bijelog konja*, 1977 (TT3B)

- *Dogodilo se na Dan Svih Svetih*, 1977 (TT5)
- *Tragedija u tri čina*, 1978 (TT2B)
- *Smrt lorda Edgwarea*, 2002 (TT1B)
- *N ili M*, 2005 (TT6)
- *Pet malih praščića*, 2006 (TT7)
- *Zajedno protiv zločina*, 2009 (TT8)

The question of the representativeness of the corpus should be raised. The aim of the study is to see how the preferences for certain text-level orientations in the translation of a particular genre have changed over time and how they can be related to changes in the wide socio-cultural context. As we have explained above, we decided it would be most profitable to concentrate on one author in order to be able to have a sizeable corpus of comparable ST-TT pairs produced over a long span of time. The choice of Agatha Christie's novels seemed natural, due to the fact that she is a frequently and continuously translated author.

At the same time, we should be aware of the implications that a corpus designed in this way may have for our ability to generalize. One of its obvious limitations is the fact that the STs making up the corpus were all produced in the period from 1926 to 1969. The fact that even the two most recent novels in the corpus, *The Pale Horse* and *Halowe'en Party*, were produced in the 1960s certainly has an impact on the nature of CSIs contained in the STs: from today's point of view, they do not refer to newly emerging phenomena, as do CSIs in some newly established genres, such as "chick-lit", or in the more recent examples of detective fiction. We have to bear this in mind when we draw our conclusions regarding the tendencies in text-level orientations. In addition to the fact that the novels were written prior to the 1970s, the fictional world portrayed by Agatha Christie, which contributes largely to the charm of her novels, is limited in its social universe of reference. The mysteries in most of her novels take place in upper or upper middle-class social circles either in London or in the country. This is a world inhabited by professional men, retired army officers, country gentlemen and ladies or members of the aristocracy and their household staff.

Another limitation of the corpus is that we are not comparing the pairs of exactly the same STs and TTs produced in different periods. As we are not comparing translations of the same STs, the quantitative findings regarding preferences for particular solution types

might be influenced by the distribution of various CSIs within the STs, as some types of CSIs might show a tendency to be regularly translated in particular ways. This is not a problem as long as translators have several options at their disposal; it becomes a problem when only one option is available, as in the rendering of (most) personal names and geographical references. In translation from English into Croatian, London is always *London*, Scotland is always *Škotska*. The norm has been entrenched for decades and no longer allows for variation.

For this reason we excluded these groups of items from our final lists of CSIs in this research. This will be discussed in more detail below.

This aspect is also a rationale for the analysis and comparison of those groups of CSIs that are present in almost all ST-TT pairs.

5.3.3.1. Identifying ST-TT pairs

The first step after the selection of titles to be included in the corpus was the identification of ST-TT pairs. In most cases this was a straightforward affair: the information in the imprint regarding the ST was accurate. However, in two cases, the information in the imprint was misleading. Only after the investigation described in detail in 7.1.3.1 were we able to identify the actual STs of TT1A and TT2A, as both TTs are in fact indirect translations from German, and therefore their actual STs are the German translations, which we have labeled mediating translations: MT1 and MT2.

5.3.3.2. The structure of the corpus

Our corpus constitutes a rather complex network of texts standing in different relations of “correspondence”. Figure 5.1 might present clearly the actual inter-textual relations.

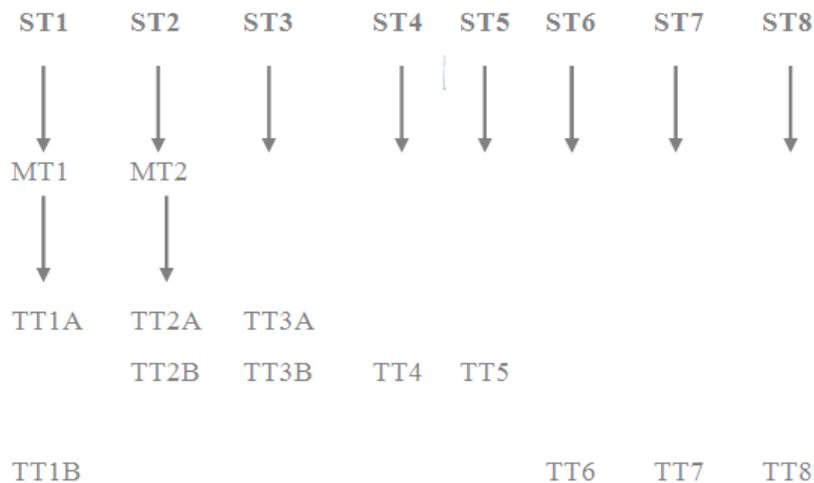


Figure 5.1. The structure of the corpus

Eight STs generated two MTs and eleven TTs, and all of them constitute our textual corpus.

Thus, ST1 generated MT1 (1934), on the basis of which TT1A (1961) was produced as an indirect translation, and TT1B (2002). ST2 generated MT2 (1935), which served as a ST for TT2A (1964), and TT2B (1978). ST3 generated TT3A (1964) and TT3B (1977). This is actually the only retranslation in our corpus. Other STs stand in a one-to-one relation to the corresponding TTs: ST4 generated TT4 (1976); ST5 generated TT5 (1977); ST6 generated TT6 (2005), ST7 generated TT7 (2006) and ST8 generated TT8 (2009).

ST4 (*The Murder of Roger Ackroyd*) generated TT4 (*Tko je ubio Rogera Ackroyda?* [*Who Killed Roger Ackroyd?*]) but also another TT, which is not part of our present corpus, although it was included in the corpus created for the pilot study. That TT, entitled *Ubojstvo Rogera Ackroyda (The Murder of Roger Ackroyd)* was published in 2004 by the Zagreb-based V.D.T. publishing house and translated by a “phantom translator”. During the course of our pilot study we found that this translation was actually a piece of plagiarism, as it is identical to the 1976 translation (apart from a minor difference in the title). This is an interesting example of the institutional context of our TTs and in no way exceptional in transition and post-transition Croatia. However, the text as such is not included in the present corpus as it cannot tell us anything about the preferences for dealing with CSIs and their changes over time.

5.3.4. *Methods of the extraction and filtering of CSIs*

At this stage we followed a procedure described by Toury (1995: 70-101), and mapped replacing segments onto their replaced counterparts. We extracted “coupled pairs” (Toury 1995: 38) from each ST-TT pair in our corpus. The coupled pairs in this study are CSIs and their renderings.

The data, i.e. lists of CSIs in the ST and their renderings in the TT, were scrupulously collected. First, each ST was read twice: in the first reading we got acquainted with the characters and the setting of the novel and in the second reading all the potential CSIs were highlighted. In the second stage, the ST and TT were read side by side and all the renderings of the previously highlighted CSIs were registered in the TT.

It should be noted that a certain number of CSIs were identified only when the two texts were read side by side, that is, their cultural specificity became obvious only in translation. After the process of reading and uncovering the data was finished, all the data were filled into a table. (all the tables are in the Appendix.) In the fourth stage, the solution type employed for rendering each item was noted. In the last stage, each solution type was identified in terms of its contribution to the text-level orientation, i.e. as being assimilating, exoticizing, neutralizing or informative.

5.3.4.1. *Type – token issue*

The extracted CSIs were filled into tables as “types” and not as “tokens”. By types we mean occurrences of different CSIs. Many CSIs (as well as other vocabulary items, for that matter) recur within the text. As the purpose of our study is primarily to consider how a CSI is rendered in a TT, i.e. to look for changes in the preferred solution types, we did not register all the occurrences of CSIs, i.e. tokens. Although such information would have been interesting and useful for getting a picture of how densely CSIs are distributed within the STs, it did not seem of high relevance in our research. However, in a further research that would focus more on the textual parameters influencing the choice of a solution type, this would be valuable information.

5.3.4.2. *One CSI – many solution types employed*

Ivir (1987: 45) points out that:

[...] in planning his translation strategy, the translator does not make a one-time decision on how he will treat unmatched elements of culture; rather, even if he has established an overall order or preferences, *he usually makes a new decision for each such element and for its each use in an act of communication.* (our emphasis)

We expected that some CSIs would not be rendered by the same solution type every time they occur. In a quantitative analysis, the inconsistency emphasized by Ivir and stressed by Ramière (2007) with regard to subtitling and dubbing opens up a methodological question: How to treat an occurrence of the same item rendered with a different solution type?

Let us illustrate this problem with an example taken from TT3B. In ST3 the word *pub* appears several times. We will examine how the translator dealt with this item each time it occurred:

- (5.1) a) Pubs, I mean. (ST3: 65)
U krčmu, ja mislim. (TT3B: 58)
[To the pub, I mean.]
- b) The King's Arms was a genuine pub with a superior look about it and a freshly-painted announcement of Lunches, Dinners and Teas. (ST3: 112)
King's Arms je bio originalni pub otmjena izgleda sa svježe obojenim jelovnicima za doručak, ručak i večeru. (TT3B: 104)
[The King's Arms was an original pub with an elegant look with freshly painted announcement of breakfasts, lunches and dinners.]
- c) [...] and they took me to an old pub. (ST3: 132)
[...] *i odveli su me u staro svratište.* (TT3B: 120)
[and they took me to an old inn.]
- d) [...]who ran a pub. (ST3: 307)
[...] *koja vodi neku krčmu.* (TT3B: 282)
[who runs a pub.]

Example 5.1 illustrates the variability in handling the references to *pub*. In a) and d) the term *pub* is rendered as *krčma*, and in c) as *svratište*. *The Dictionary of the Croatian Language* (Šonje 2000) defines *krčma* as “točionica pića uz podvorbu hladnom hranom” (a bar where cold meals are served). *Svratište* is defined as “gostionica na cesti u koju svraćaju putnici radi okrepe i odmora, prenočište, konačište” (an inn by a road visited by travelers for refreshment and stay). It is open to discussion how adequate these two words are as renderings of *pub*, but we will not go into that now. The solution type used in a), c) and d) is “replacement with a TC equivalent”. In b) another solution type is used: “retention – adaptation”.

Having in mind that our main concern is not how frequently an item appears in the ST, we counted all the occurrences of *pub* as one CSI; however, each employment of a different solution type is counted as a new item in the solution types column. It means that in the case of *pub* two different solution types were registered as renderings of a single CSI.

This is the reason why the quantitative data for each TT show a discrepancy between the number of items and the number of solution types employed. Of course, these discrepancies are not equal in all texts and it would be interesting to see how the number of tokens is related to the variability of the solution types used. As we had to collect and analyze the data manually, this was not possible.

5.3.4.3. CSIs with unique reference

Another problem we had to deal with was what constitutes a “type” if a CSI has unique reference: Is each particular street name a type or do all street names constitute one type? While in some TTs the rendering of street names is consistent, this is not the case in all TTs. For example, in TT8, seven different names of streets occur: in the rendering of six of them one and the same type of solution is consistently employed, as is illustrated in the following example:

(5.2) Haleham Street → *Ulica Haleham* [Street Haleham]

As we can see, part of the name is retained and part is translated. However, one street name is not rendered with this solution type but is completely retained: *Oxford Street* is rendered as *Oxford Street*. A probable explanation for this is that Oxford Street has

become so well known among Croatian readers that any modification of this item would create strange effects.

Regarding the repercussions this might have on the extraction of our data, we changed our “policy” several times and in the end adopted a principle that each occurrence of one CSI with unique reference is one type. This means that in TT8 we registered seven CSIs encompassing references to street names. Whenever the same street name is rendered in the same way, i.e. relying on the same type of solution, it is counted as one item and one solution.

5.3.4.4. Personal names

Personal names were not registered in the tables of CSIs because a careful examination of the constructed corpus of STs and TTs showed that this variable was not subject to any change (in the diachronic sense) or variability (within the same text). This area seems to be governed by firmly established norms that have not changed during the periods covered by this study (of course, we are speaking strictly of this type of source/target text). In all the TTs, the names of characters were retained as they were in the STs, with minor morphological changes introduced where necessary.

5.3.4.5. Geographical references

The texts in the corpus contain a large number of geographical references: references to English towns and villages, regions, parts of London, as well as geographical designations in various parts of the world. The choice and number of these references varies from ST to ST, depending on the plot and the movement of the main characters. According to the orthographic conventions, foreign geographical references in the Croatian language are written “in the same way as they are written in the language of their origin” (Babić, Ham, Moguš 2005: 41; our translation) or in their adapted form if it exists. In the translations of the genre that makes our corpus this convention is almost invariably obeyed (the few exceptions found in the corpus are discussed in 8.4.1). For this reason, we have decided to exclude from our lists of CSIs those geographical references whose rendering is not a matter of translators’ decisions, such as names of towns and cities, villages, continents, countries and regions. Since they are always rendered either in their original or adapted form, i.e. retention or adapted retention is employed, it seemed to us that their inclusion

might influence the quantitative findings on the proportion of the employment of exoticizing solution types depending on the sheer amount of such references in the ST. As our aim is to identify diachronic tendencies in preferences for assimilating, exoticizing, neutralizing or informative solution types the inclusion of these items might compromise the findings. We have pointed out (in 5.3.3 above) that since we are comparing different ST-TT pairs, a higher or lower distribution of one type of CSI might influence the quantitative findings.

5.3.4.6. Final filtering of CSIs

In the final filtering of CSIs to be included in our tables for each ST-TT pair, we were faced with additional methodological problems closely related to the specific aims of the study. As can be inferred from the definition of CSIs we used in the study, lists of CSIs are not static but are closely related to intercultural relations and exchange. While, as Florin (1993: 122) points out, “samovars will always remain samovars”, certain artifacts, objects, patterns of behavior are transposed from culture to culture. It would be absurd to think of cultural communities as isolated and clearly separated entities and not to see them as networks of mutual influences and relations. When a diachronic study is conducted, the methodological issue is how to take account of the changeable status of some CSIs. In our study some items proved to be CSIs in the earliest period, when the process of their mediation in the TC was in its infancy. A case in point is a set of commonplace English titles, such as Mr., Mrs. and Miss. Although their equivalents in the TL existed at the time when the earliest TTs in our corpus were produced, in some of these TTs Mr., Mrs. and Miss were retained. Their retention suggests that they were perceived as cultural markers. This practice is not observed in the TTs produced later, which leads us to conclude that they stopped being perceived as cultural markers. Nevertheless, we included them in the lists of CSIs for all TTs, with a view to having this change reflected in the quantitative findings.

5.3.4.7. Difficulties with the identification of the solution type employed

We did not encounter significant difficulties in the identification of solution types. However, there were borderline cases, which deserve to be discussed. Certain problems arose with very complicated cases in which several solution types were embedded within

each other. Concrete examples should serve to make this point clear. Example 5.3 illustrates the rendering of a reference to “rye” in TT3A and TT3B:

- (5.3) a) Like those American detectives that always have pints of rye conveniently in their collar drawers. (ST3: 21)
Kao oni američki detektivi, koji imaju uvijek pri ruci u svojim ormarima za rublje rakije od raži. (TT3A: 14)
[Like those American detectives, who always have in their underwear drawers some rye]
- b) *Kao oni američki detektivi koji uvijek imaju bočicu rakije od raži zgodno smještenu za pojasom.* (TT3B: 19)
[Like those American detectives that always have a bottle of rye tucked around their belts.]

Rye, the oldest native American whiskey, which has faded in popularity, was rendered as *rakija od raži* – the TC element *rakija* was combined with one aspect of the meaning of rye, the fact that it is distilled from rye. The chosen option, on the one hand, relies on an element indigenous to the TC; *rakija* is the most popular domestic type of alcoholic drink, very often produced at home from different kinds of fruit, depending on the local tradition. On the other hand, it is never produced of rye; therefore an element informing readers about the habits common in the SC is added. In other words, the concrete solution used is “replacement with a TC equivalent,” which was embedded within “replacement with paraphrase”. As the number of such cases is very small, this did not present a major methodological problem.

5.3.4.8. Difficulties with the allocation of solution types to text-level orientation

Certain solution types in our taxonomy are not easily classifiable as being either assimilating or exoticizing. They include “retention + linguistic translation”, “replacement with a recognized exoticism” and “replacement with linguistic translation”. We will first explain the reasons for their ambiguous status and then explain how these difficulties were solved within this research.

“Retention + linguistic translation” consists in the retention of a part of an item and linguistic translation of the remaining part. The examples of this solution type include

various names of places and institutions. For example, *at Bow Street*→*u Ulici Bow* [at Street Bow], *at the Castle Hotel*→*u hotelu Castle* [at the Hotel Castle], *in St. Bridget's Hospital*→*u bolnici St. Bridget* [in Hospital St. Bridget]. As the above examples show, the common noun element is translated and the name is retained. The fact that part of the name is retained speaks in favor of considering this to be an exoticizing solution type. On the other hand, the introduction of the TL element brings its rendering closer to the target reader, and can be viewed as either assimilating or informative. We can compare an effect this solution type has on the TT with the effects produced by the other two solution types used to render such items, which are easily labeled as exoticizing or assimilating. The simple retention of the whole item is obviously exoticizing, as in the following examples, *unweit des Sloane Square*→ *u blizini Sloane Squarea* [near Sloane Square] or *Helpsly Cemetery Road*→ *Helpsly Cemetery Road*. The translation of the whole item is obviously assimilating, maybe not to the same degree as in the following examples *The Larches*→*Vila ariša* [Villa of Larches] or *Apple House* →*Jabukovac* [Apple Orchard], where TC equivalents are used.

The same type of problem is caused when it comes to the allocation of “replacement with a recognized exoticism”. As we have pointed out (4.3.5), some authors have doubts about the text-level orientation of this solution type. The ambiguity regarding its allocation lies in the fact that it bears evidence of the foreign origin of the item and at the same time presents evidence of the TC's ways of mediating this foreign content.

Having in mind the main goals of our research, i.e. to establish diachronic tendencies in opting for assimilating/exoticizing/neutralizing solution types, we have decided to assign these solution types to the text-level orientation which comes out as being more salient when all the alternative solution types used to render such items are compared. The employment of “retention+linguistic translation” to render names of geographical locations, facilities and institutions was classified as an assimilating solution type. This was done because the alternative solution type employed in the corpus, i.e. retention of an item is more exoticizing. The same principle was followed for the employment of replacement with a recognized exoticism.

We are aware that this problem could have been solved by the introduction of a certain gradation of assimilating/exoticizing/neutralizing/informative effects. However, it

seemed to us that the introduction of a gradation scale would expose us to the risk of arbitrariness.

Aware that retention+linguistic translation contains a TC element, we still allocated it to the assimilating text-level orientation in order to be able to account for a shift towards a greater degree of assimilation. We have done so primarily with a view to the aims of our research and the structure of the corpus. In this case, the assimilating text-level orientation is understood relationally; the discussed solution type is more assimilating than the alternative one found in the corpus. As the main goal of the research is to establish tendencies towards more marked assimilation, this seems to be justified.

5.3.5. *Methods of and rationale for tracing regularities in the treatment of CSIs*

The corpus provides a large sample of CSIs and their renderings. In addition to the tracing down of tendencies in text-level orientations, the sample was used to trace regularities in the employment of particular solution types for rendering CSIs that recur in most of the TTs. This analysis was conducted with the aim of uncovering whether the changes in the preferred solution types over the periods studied comply with observed tendencies in text-level orientations. To put it more simply, if growing assimilation is observed in the TTs belonging to one period, is it matched with a growing preference for assimilating solution types on the level of particular items?

In other words, we examined the practices of handling the selected items in the entire corpus with the aim of:

1. Detecting regularities and irregularities within the same period;
2. Detecting diachronic stability/instability in the observed regularities.

Our findings were then analyzed with a view to establishing whether the detected diachronic changes supported the quantitative findings on tendencies in textual-level orientations.

The textual evidence in the corpus might be used in further research as a basis for tracing norm candidates. Toury's concept of textual-linguistic norms (1995: 59) defined as norms that "govern the selection of material to replace the target text in, or replace the original textual and linguistic material with" would be useful here. Nord's view (1991: 100) of regulative translation conventions that "refer to the generally accepted forms of handling

certain translation problems below the text rank (e.g. proper names, culture-bound realities or realia, quotations, etc.)” might also be drawn on.

In the interviews with translators and editors we gained insight into their subjective attitudes towards the rendering of some of these groups of CSIs and their preferences for the assimilating or exoticizing orientation of a TT. In the final conclusion we brought these findings into correlation with the quantitative findings.

5.4. Methods applied in interviews

Face-to-face interviews were conducted with all the available translators, publishers and editors of the TTs. The purpose of the interviews with the translators was to gather qualitative data on the handling of CSIs, in particular to see whether the attitudes they expressed would comply with the textual data. The publishers and editors were interviewed with the aim of getting a better insight into the institutional context of concrete TTs.

On the whole, 13 translators were involved in the translation of 11 TTs, as two texts were translated in tandem. The translators of the TTs produced in Period 1 were not available for interviews: the translator of TT1A died in 1997. We were not able to establish when the translator of TT3A died, but her last translation was published in the late 1970s. The identity of the translator of TT2A has so far remained obscure. This translator remains an enigma as we were not able to trace down any other translations signed by this name, and no one of our respondents could remember the person. We suggest that this is not a real name, but rather a pseudonym.

We chose the format of general interview guide approach (Turner 2010). This format is characterized by a certain degree of flexibility in its composition. Using this format the researcher is enabled to ask a set of pre-constructed questions but is not required to follow strictly the wording of the questions prepared in advance. While this can raise the issue of consistency, we found this format quite useful for our purposes. It allowed us to adapt the wording of our questions according to our perception of how understandable they were to our respondents. Owing to the design of our research we had to talk with respondents belonging to diverse age groups. The possibility of slightly reformulating questions and of using prompts, if necessary, proved to be useful.

In the planning stage we constructed a set of questions to be asked of each participant. These questions are listed below:

1. Do you think that a translation should be brought closer to the target reader or do you think that certain traces of foreign culture should be visible?
2. Did you have an idea of how much you wanted the translated text to feel “British” before you started translating an Agatha Christie novel?
3. Did the editor give you any instructions in this respect? Did he/she intervene later?
4. Should a translated text be as comprehensible to target readers as possible?
5. Can you remember which CSIs presented a problem in translation?
6. Do you recall if language editors intervened in your translations? Do you remember if they changed the solutions you had chosen for certain CSIs?
7. How can the problems of rendering typically British institutions in translation be solved?
8. Is it inappropriate to leave many English words in the names of squares, streets or units of measurement?

In addition to the prepared set of questions, we occasionally intervened with reconstructed questions when we had the feeling that the respondent misunderstood the question. Follow-up prompts were also used in order to elicit the information sought.

As the interview design was not firmly structured, the length of all interviews was not standardized. Some informants wanted to talk extensively of their rich experience and were allowed to do so.

One of the interviewees, Zlatko Crnković, has had a prolific career both as a translator and an editor. As a result, he commented on the issues discussed from the point of view of both a translator and an editor. However, it should be noted that in the text from our corpus, TT4, his role was only that of a translator.

All the interviews were conducted in the period spanning from summer 2010 to winter 2012 in Zagreb. More precisely, the first series of interviews was conducted in June and July 2010, and the second series in January 2012. We arranged meetings with the interviewees in their work environments or homes. As we have noted, the interviews did not have a uniform time length: depending on the readiness of the interviewee they lasted from ten minutes (for example, the interview with the translator of TT6) to an hour (for example, the interview with the translator of TT4).

All the interviews were conducted in Croatian and recorded. The CD with all the recorded interviews is enclosed as Appendix 2.

5.5. Methods applied in the exploration of contextual variables

In this research, we focused on two contextual variables: the general developments in the publishing sector and the translation flows from English into Croatian. In order to collect the data on the developments in the publishing sector and translation flows, we used a combination of primary and secondary sources, as we will describe in more detail below. An overview of the political and socio-economic developments in Croatia over the span of forty years, based on secondary sources has been presented in Chapter 2 and it sets the stage for the research topic.

5.5.1. Primary and secondary sources of data on contextual variables

No research into translation flows into Croatian had been conducted prior to our study. The main source of data for the Periods 1 and 2 was *The Bibliography of World Literature in Croatian Translations (1945-1985)* (further in the text: *BLW*), and for Period 3 UNESCO *Index Translationum*.

As the *BLW* was our main source of data on the number of translations in the early 1960s and late 1970s, it is necessary to provide some information regarding the reliability of the source and its organization of the data. The preface to the *BLW* (Dragojević and Cacan 1988: 5) explains that the main sources for the compilation of the *BLW* were “the Thematic Catalogue and the Alphabetical Catalogue of the National and University Library in Zagreb, the existing bibliographies in books and journals and lexicons of translated literature.”

The *BLW* contains a total of 4019 bibliographic entries. Listed by the year of their publication, published translations in book form are classified into three genres: poetry, drama and prose. Another criterion for the classification of the bibliographical units is the authors’ affiliation to national literatures. This is not established on the basis of the language used, but by the authors’ “belonging to the same cultural circle, based on the linguistic, national, traditional and a personal sense of belonging” (Dragojević 1992: 82).

This means that literature translated from German can be found under the headings for Germany (it should be noted that no distinction is made between the Federal and Democratic Republics of Germany), Austria and Switzerland.

The works of authors writing in the English language are classified into English, Canadian, American and Australian literature. This is in line with the traditional view of Croatian literary studies: the term “English literature” is used to refer to English, Irish, Scottish and Welsh literatures.

The *BLW* thus classifies the 4019 bibliographic entries into 54 national literature subgroups and 6 subgroups of “supranational literatures”: African literatures, Indian literatures, American Indian literatures, Eskimo literatures, New Latin literatures and Church Slavonic literatures.

It should be noted that, according to the *BWL*, the first work by a Canadian author was translated in 1970 (*Airport* by Arthur Hailey) and the first work of Australian fiction was translated in 1963 (*Requiem for a Wren* by Nevil Shute). Our close inspection showed that the data presented in the *BLW* are not completely correct with respect to the affiliation of listed works to respective national literatures. Some works by Australian authors, such as *Headhunters of the Coral Sea* by Ion L. Idriess are listed under English literature. In other respects, the data in the *BLW* are highly reliable, as our cross-checking with the data in the Catalogue of the University and National Library confirmed.

The data provided by the *BWL* have been analyzed with two aims: to establish quantitative trends in translation from English into Croatian in the early 1960s and late 1970s, and to compare the presence of literature translated from English with the presence of literature translated from other major languages’ in these periods.

The only source of secondary data that we could use was *An Analysis of the Bibliography “World Literature in Croatian Translations (1945-1985)”*, an M.A. thesis by one of the *BLW*’s authors, Nataša Dragojević (1992). However, irrespective of the existence of this analysis, we had to analyze the data from the *BLW* on our own, because the data presented in *An Analysis* were statistically processed for the whole of the period 1945-1985.

In this chapter we have presented the aim of the study and the hypotheses. We have also presented the research design and discussed methodological difficulties and the

approach taken to solve them. In the next chapter, the findings on translation flows from English into Croatian are presented.

6. Translation flows

The data on translation flows were analyzed with two aims: to establish quantitative trends in translation from English into Croatian in the early 1960s, late 1970s and 2000s, and to compare the presence of literature translated from English with the presence of literature translated from other major languages in these periods. Summing up her statistical analysis conducted for the period from 1945 to 1985, Dragojević (1992: 130) concludes:

From 1945 to 1985 Croatian translators translated most American, Russian, English, French and Italian literature, while only the major works and a small part of the production in other languages were translated. A large proportion of translated literature consists of classics, as is regularly the case with Russian and French literature, which were translated several times. Nevertheless, a large part of translated literature consists of the works of “Schund” literature: crime novels, love novels and cowboy novels. (Our translation)

The bibliographical data were also used to trace trends in the choice of the kind of literature translated from English, since we wanted to see how the social changes discussed in 2.1 affected both the type and source language of translated literature.

6.1. Translation flows in the early 1960s

In order to present the general trends, we have condensed the data into three five-year periods: 1950-1954, 1955-1959, 1960-1964. In order to cast better light on the shifts in the early 1960s it is necessary to compare the data with the previous periods.

Table 6.1 provides the data on the number of books translated from English, French, German and Russian in the early 1960s and in the previous decade.

Table 6.1 shows a general rise in the number of translated books published over the three 5-year periods taken into account. With regard to this trend the only exception is the number of books translated from the French language, which remained stable. A comparison of the data for the early 1950s and early 1960s shows a considerable rise in the number of books translated from English: from 98 in 1950-1954 to 162 in 1960-1964. A stable though slight increase is observed in the number of translations from German.

Translation flows from Russian show a different pattern: a significant fall in the late 1950s, followed by a considerable rise in the early 1960s. The significant fall in the late 1950s may be accounted for by the political events described in 2.1.1.2, namely the break-up with the Soviet Union and the ensuing general atmosphere of distancing from the Communist bloc.

Table 6.1. Number of books translated by source language (1950-1954, 1955-1959 and 1960-1964)

Period	English	French	German	Russian	Other languages
1950-1954	98	82	43	55	80
1955-1959	149	86	56	38	94
1960-1964	162	84	78	72	91

6.2. Translation flows in the late 1970s

The data on the number of books translated into Croatian in the period from 1975 to 1979 are presented in Table 6.2.

Table 6.2. Number of books translated (1975-1979) by source language

Period	English	French	German	Russian	Other languages
1975- 1979	190	72	59	22	50

The table shows that the number of translations from English as a source language is the only variable to have increased in comparison with the 1960s. The figures for all other languages dropped in the same period.

The trend is even clearer if we consider the proportion of translations from English and other languages.

It is evident from Table 6.3 that the proportion of translations from English rose enormously: in the late 1970s, translations from English accounted for almost half (48.35%) of all translations. It is interesting to note the simultaneous fall in the proportion of translations from Russian. These two trends might be understood as a significant indicator of the dominant attitudes towards Russian vs. Western cultural products in this period. In a study on the multiple roles translations of Russian authors played in former

Yugoslavia, Forrester (2011: 119) comments on a substantial drop in translations from Russian:

In the 1970s and especially the 1980s, however, the Soviet Union had the general reputation in Yugoslavia of a locus of low-status stagnant socialism, opposed and outdone by the political and economic freedoms and more appealing popular culture of Western Europe and especially North America. The end of the Khrushchev-era Thaw and the Warsaw Pact's incursion into Czechoslovakia in 1968 dispelled any lingering sense that the USSR could offer political or cultural inspiration.

Table 6.3. Proportions of major source languages (1950-1979)

Period	English	French	German	Russian	Other languages
1950-1954	27.37%	22.91%	12.01%	15.30%	22.35%
1955-1959	35.22%	20.33%	13.24%	8.98%	22.22%
1960-1964	33.26%	17.25%	16.02%	14.7%	18.69%
1975-1979	48.35%	18.32%	15.01%	5.60%	12.72%

6.3. Translation flows in the 2000s

The source of our data on the number of books translated in this period in Croatia is the UNESCO Index Translationum. The Index Translationum is not appreciated as a reliable source. During our research we talked to the University and National Library employee in charge of supplying the data for Croatia, and according to her records, the released data are accurate and reliable. Since 1993, the Croatian ISBN agency has regularly sent the data to the Index Translationum database. However, the data provided by the country's agency are not immediately released on Index Translationum's site. Therefore, the most recent five-year period for which data are available is from 2003 to 2007.

In addition to the figures that show the amount of translations from English, the data on translation from the other three major source languages are provided (Table 6.4).

The data shown in Table 6.4 are interesting in two respects. First, they show that the number of books translated from English increased enormously in comparison to the number of translations published in the late 1970s (see Table 6.3). In the period from 2003

to 2007, 4925 books were translated from English, compared with 190 translated in 1975-1979. As we have suggested in 2.2.2, this is a reflection of a general increase in publishing activities and an enormous growth of the number of publishers. On the other hand, a comparison of the proportion of translations from English and the other three major source languages shows that English has further reinforced its dominance as a source language. Thus, in the period 2003-2007, English was the source language of 59.58 per cent of all books translated into Croatian.

Table 6.4. Number of books translated by source language (2003-2007)

Period	English	French	German	Russian	Other languages
2003-2007	4925	758	1048	115	1420

6.4. Popular fiction in translation from English into Croatian

We were also interested to see what trends could be observed with respect to the types of books translated from English.

While a classification of literary works into “popular” and “high” literature might have become obsolete in the age of postmodernism, this distinction was quite salient in Socialist countries in the early 1960s. It is important to note that in Socialist countries (Sohár 1999) the official attitude towards popular literature was different from that in Western cultures. This could be inferred from the derogatory overtones carried by the very term commonly used to refer to this type of literature in Croatian literary studies: trivial literature (*trivijalna književnost*). For example, the leading Croatian literary theorist of the older generation (Solar 2006: 302) explains the terminological choice of “trivial literature” as referring to:

[...] literature adapted to the tastes of all social strata of the audience, generally at the expense of artistic values. The labels “šund”, “kič” and “entertainment literature” had been used in the same sense as “trivial literature”. However, over time their meanings have diversified: ”šund” (derived from the German word *Schund*, which means garbage, worthless goods) is a derogatory term which has dropped out of use

due to the rejection of evaluative qualifications in literary studies, “kič” (from the German word *Kitsch*, probably derived from the English word, sketch) is used only in visual arts, and the term “entertaining literature” is generally considered too vague and as a result is used only occasionally in the attempts at the “stratification” of literature along a possible scale from *šund* to trivial literature, to entertaining literature and high literature. (Our translation)

In Solar’s words, “trivial literature”, though resistant to clear definitions in literary studies, is easily recognizable by both writers and readers, which is explained by “its vital intention to entertain” (Solar 2006: 303). This intention requires “easy readability, mostly known themes and an effort to avoid the boredom conditioned by the similarity to the monotonous pace of everyday life” (ibid.).

The online edition of *Encyclopedia Britannica* defines “popular literature” as:

[...] writings intended for the masses and those that find favor with large audiences. It can be distinguished from artistic literature in that it is designed primarily to entertain. Popular literature, unlike high literature, generally does not seek a high degree of formal beauty or subtlety and is not intended to endure.

According to the classification in *Britannica*, the most notable genres of popular fiction include romance, fantasy or science fiction, western, and detective story or murder mystery.

In this section our aim is to shed light on the position of popular fiction, in particular detective fiction, within the publishers’ growing interest in literature translated from English in the early 1960s. We have decided to classify the data on the published works extracted from the *BWL* into three categories: literary fiction, popular fiction, and children’s and juvenile fiction. This seems to be a standard classification in literary studies.

Table 6.5 shows that in 1950-1954 the majority of books translated from English belonged to literary fiction: 75 works as opposed to 13 that can be classified as popular fiction. The steady rise of publishers’ interest in popular fiction is evident in the late 1950s, although literary fiction works were still predominant. However, this ratio was clearly

reversed in the period from 1960 to 1964, when popular fiction titles gained an edge over literary fiction.

Table 6.5. Works translated from English (1950-1954, 1955-1959 and 1960-1964) by category

Period	Literary fiction	Popular fiction	Children's/juvenile fiction
1950-1954	75	13	9
1955-1959	80	36	9
1960-1964	65	68	29

We will now look at what types of literature were preferred within the bulk of literature translated from English in the late 1970s (Table 6.6).

Table 6.6. Works translated from English (1975-1979) by category

Period	Literary fiction	Popular fiction	Children's/juvenile fiction	Unclassified
1975-1979	36	52	3	16

The “unclassified” category refers to a number of books that belong to various non-fiction genres.

Table 6.6 shows that the number of popular fiction titles greatly exceeds the number of literary fiction titles published. Therefore, the trend traced in the early 1960s, when the ratio of literary fiction vs. popular fiction titles was 65:68, continued and became even stronger, reaching 36:52 in the late 1970s.

In addition to the purely quantitative data presented above, we might quote a blurb on a crime novel entitled *Hollywood protiv mene* [Hollywood against me] published in 1964 by the publisher *Stvarnost* in the series *Jeftina knjiga* [Cheap Book]: “These comic

adventures by Timothy Tatcher are actually a parody of crime novels *that have lately flooded our market*” (our emphasis)¹.

To conclude, the findings show a considerable increase in the translations from English in the late 1950s. This period is also by publishers’ interest in popular-fiction genres. A stable increase in the translations from English continued in our Period 2, while in the transition period translations from English saw an enormous boom.

¹ Although it is not within the scope of our study, it is still worth noting that the blurb promotes the latest crime novel by Nenad Brixxy, a Croatian journalist who gained fame with his crime stories placed in the U.S. setting. The books are pseudo-translations published under the pseudonym of Timothy Tatcher.

7. The publishing context

In this chapter we will present the extra-textual data on the TTs in the corpus for each period. In Chapter 2 we outlined the main developments in the publishing sector and their relations to the broad social context in the Croatia of the time. Against this background, we will now present the data we have been able to collect on the production context of these TTs: their publishers' and translator's profiles, and the directness of translation. This will help us in the final drawing of conclusions on the relations between the tendencies in dealing with CSIs and the contextual parameters.

7.1. The corpus for the early 1960s

7.1.1. *The publishers of the TTs in the early 1960s*

The corpus for the early 1960s comprises three translations of Agatha Christie novels: TT1A, TT2A, and TT3A (see 5.3.3). TT1A was published in 1961 by *Lykos* as *13 za stolom*; TT2A was published in 1964 under the title *Nikotin* by *Stvarnost*; TT3A was published in 1964 by *Mladost* under the title *Bijeli konj*.

TT1A was published as part of a series entitled *Vikend*, launched by *Lykos* in 1961. This edition was one of the last projects launched by *Lykos*, as this publishing house ceased to exist in 1964.

According to the data in the National and University Library catalogue, in the early 1960s certain changes were introduced in the publishing policy of *Lykos*. These changes are evident in the rise in the number of translations published and in the stronger interest in popular fiction, which is in line with the changes described in Chapter 2. According to the catalogue, in the period 1959-1964 a modest total of ten titles were published in the *Vikend* series. An examination of the list shows that the series contained a mix of the books written by Western authors working in popular genres, such as spy novels (*The Man Who Saved London* by George Martelli) and crime novels (*A Murder That Everyone Commits* by Heimito von Doderer). The new tendencies are also visible in a number of books written by Croatian authors trying to tackle the stock topics of domestic literature of the period (the struggle of the Yugoslav Partisans in World War 2) from a more contemporary and popular

standpoint, as their titles suggest: *Gestapo bez maske* (Gestapo Unmasked), *Lažni kurir* (False Courier), *Mrtve glave* (Dead Heads). The title *Hladno u paklu* (Cold in Hell) deserves special attention, as it might be a pseudo-translation. The bibliographical data cite Branko Bucalo as its author, together with Brenden N. Bulow, on whom we were not able to find any information.

TT2A was published by *Stvarnost* in its Cheap Books series. *Stvarnost* was active from 1961 to 1991 and was one of the most successful publishers in the Socialist period. Its list of titles in the early 1960s shows the expected changes in publishing policy: higher interest both in translated and in popular fiction. This is evident in its launching of two new series: Interesting Books and Cheap Books. The Interesting Books series, in which seven titles were released, contained a diversity of titles indicating a new orientation of the publisher. Thus, in addition to Agatha Christie, other Western authors published included James Thurber and Mark Twain. The titles by local authors also point to the new orientation: *Što treba znati o televiziji* (What One Should Know about Television) and *Ako vam stane auto* (If Your Car Breaks Down).

However, TT2A was not part of its “mainstream” series; on the contrary, it was published in the *Cheap Books* series, which contained just two titles: *Nikotin*, a translation of Agatha Christie’s novel, and *Hollywood protiv mene* (*Hollywood against Me*) by Nenad Brixy, a Croatian author of pseudo-translations - crime novels set in the US.

TT3A was published by *Mladost*, which at the time was a newly established publishing house. *Mladost* was a successor of *Novo pokoljenje* (Tomašević 2008) and was a prolific publisher in the early 1970s. The majority of the published books were written by local authors. The largest portion of the few translated titles belonged to children’s literature and to books read by school children. In the early 1970s this publisher launched several new series such as *Jelen* (The Deer), *Vjeverica* (The Squirrel), *Sirius*, and *Veliki romani* (Great Novels). Among them was also *Zanimljiva Rubin biblioteka* (Interesting Ruby Series), in which TT3A was published. For some reason that is difficult to ascertain from such a time distance, the series was soon discontinued. Only three titles were published: in addition to TT3A, they are *The Squeaker* by Edgar Wallace and *Mafia* by Leonardo Sciascia.

To conclude, all three TTs from the early 1970s were published as part of the new series launched by established publishers trying to cater for a revival of interest in Western popular fiction. Changes in the broader social climate, in particular a higher demand for Anglo-American literature and a better tolerance of “trivial literature” (cf. 2.2) resulted in the publishers’ attempts to respond to the new demands.

However, it is significant that none of Agatha Christie’s titles was published within the major series that continued to be published for some time. In a sense, they represent the beginning of a trend which was abruptly interrupted, and the reasons for the interruption are difficult to establish from such a time distance.

7.1.2. *The translators of the TTs in the early 1960s*

We conducted a search through bibliographic sources in order to outline the professional profiles of the translators of the TTs in the early 1960s.

The translator of TT1A is Zvonimir Golob, a well-known translator and poet. Though long, a list of his translations does not contain any from English, except TT1A. Golob’s career as a translator started in 1961, when he translated a book by the Danish anthropologist Kaj Birket-Smith. In 1962 Golob translated from German *Ein Mord, den jeder begeht* by Heimito von Doderer for Lykos, and continued his career as a translator well into the 1970s rendering books by Remarque and Karl May from German in tandem with his then wife, Irena Vrkljan. In the 1970s, simultaneously with his work as an editor of poetry anthologies and a poet in his own right, he translated poetry from French and Spanish.

The translator of TT2A is Mira Mandić, whose identity has remained obscure.

The translator of TT3A is Elza Grin. According to the National and University Library catalogue, Grin started to publish translations in 1954 and was active until 1971. A list of the titles she translated includes books by Archibald Cronin, Arthur Miller and Upton Sinclair.

To conclude, the translators of TT1A and TT2A were marginal figures: the translator of TT1A might be considered marginal to the extent that he did not achieve his reputation by translating from English. Within his professional life, the translation of TT1A, done

from German was a one-off experience. The translator of TT2A remains a completely obscure figure. Only the translator of TT3A was a professional translator from English.

7.1.3. Directness of translation

The issue of directness of translation is particularly relevant with regard to our corpus from the early 1960s. This corpus consists of two indirect translations through German – TT1A and TT2A – and only one direct translation from English – TT3A. For this reason we will address the issue only with regard to this part of the corpus. If we keep in mind that we included in the corpus all the existing translations of Agatha Christie in Period 1, this aspect seems to be important.

7.1.3.1. Establishing directness of translation

The issue of how to establish that a translation is indirect is not acute when the indirectness of translation is acknowledged. In such cases the directness of translation can be easily recovered from paratextual data in the imprint. In TT1A and TT2A the imprints do not contain any information regarding the directness of translation. The imprints of both translations contain only information on the STs and the name the translators.

Toury (1995) points out that the directness of translation, when it is not a matter of haphazard decisions but belongs to some regular patterns in the TC, should be discussed in its own right. In Toury's model of Descriptive Translation Studies, the directness of translation is subject to preliminary norms, which regulate tolerance of indirect or mediated translation, the choice of a mediating language and the visibility/obscurety of the fact that such translations exist (1995: 58).

Though not extensively researched within Translation Studies (see Ringmar 2007) indirect or mediated translation seems to be a widespread phenomenon and common practice in many cultural communities. The lack of research into this area could be explained by a prevailing negative attitude which "reflects a fallacious projection of a currently prevalent norm, ascribing uppermost value to the ultimate original, onto the plane of theoretical premises" (Toury 1995: 129). It is beyond the scope of this thesis to go into more detailed research of the role of indirect translations from German in Croatian culture and in the shaping of Croatian translation tradition. Nevertheless, it is important to note, in

order to present a clearer picture of the place of TT1A and TT2A within the context of popular fiction translation in the early 1960s, that they do not seem to be isolated cases. A pattern is visible in two respects:

Indirect translations of English STs from German have a long tradition in Croatia.

In the early 1960s popular fiction texts written in English were translated indirectly.

The presence of indirect translations from German is documented in several accounts of Croatian–English literary links. Thus, in the most comprehensive account of early English–Croatian literary links (Filipović 1972) it is noted that in the period of the Croatian national revival (the so-called Illyrian National Revival, 1835-1848) many cultural products entered Croatian through German, despite the fierce political struggle with the Austrians. A case in point are works of English authors, which were translated through German. The account goes further back in history, mentioning the role of German in the 18th century (1972: 52):

In Zagreb and in the province a large number of English dramas, in particular those written by Shakespeare, were performed by German theatre troupes. These theater performances did not have any broader resonance, as they were not accessible to the masses. Only the popular – which were few - editions of entertaining books, among which there were works by English writers translated into Croatian on the basis of German adaptations, left a deeper trace. The importance of these translations would have been greater if they had represented the original English literature in Croatian translations, and not only the translation of German adaptations.

As far as the second point is concerned, we have come across several acknowledged indirect translations produced in the second half of the 20th century. An important point is that these were not only translations from “minor” languages, but also from English. For example, the translation of a sequel to the famous novel *Little Women* by Louise Alcott was published in 1978 by *Epoha* under the title *Deca gospođe Džo* (Jo’s boys). The information in the imprint says that it was “translated from Italian by Marta Krmpotić”. Interestingly enough, the first direct translation of *Little Women* itself into Croatian was produced as late as 1997.

As we could not rely on paratextual data as a guide in establishing the directness of translation, the main clue was the professional profile of the translator. The fact that Zvonimir Golob never translated from English seemed rather odd. Another clue to the possibility that the translation was done on the basis of the German text was provided by our inspection of the titles of the translations of *Lord Edgware Dies* or *Thirteen to Dinner* and *Three-Act Tragedy* or *Nikotin* into other European languages. The translated titles into several European languages of these two novels are presented in Table 7.1.

Table 7.1. Titles of ST1 and ST2 in French, Italian, Spanish, German and Croatian

ST	English	French	Italian	Spanish	German	Croatian
ST1	Lord Edgware Dies (UK edition) Thirteen at Dinner (US edition)	Le Couteau sur la nuque (Knife in the Neck)	Se morisse mio marito (My husband has died)	La muerte de Lord Edgware (The death of Lord Edgware)	Dreizehn zum Tisch (Thirteen at the Table)	13 za stolom (13 at the Table)
ST2	Three-Act Tragedy	Drame en Trois Actes	Tragedia in tre atti	Tragedia en tres actos	Nikotin	Nikotin

The correspondence between the German and Croatian titles is striking. The German translation was obviously done on the basis of the American edition, but the German title contains a shift in meaning, as the most obvious translation would be *Dreizehn zum Abendessen*. The same shift was retained in the Croatian title, which is *13 za stolom* (Thirteen at the Table) and not *13 na večeri* (Thirteen at Dinner).

The title of ST2 is *Three-Act Tragedy*, and this title was directly translated into Italian, French and Spanish. In German, however, it was changed into *Nikotin*, the name of the poison used in three murders committed in the novel. The Croatian title followed the German title.

7.1.3.2. Textual evidence

Dreizehn bei Tisch was translated into German by Dr Otto Albrecht van Bebber, who rendered a large number of Agatha Christie books into German. According to the catalogue of the German National Library, *Dreizehn bei Tisch* was first published in 1934 by Goldmann, which published several reprints of the book in the 1950s (i.e. in 1951, 1955

and 1959). We can assume that the Croatian translation was produced on the basis of one of these editions. The edition that we obtained does not have the year indicated. The immediately observable similarities between the German and Croatian texts are the following:

1. In the German and Croatian versions the chapters do not have titles, while in the English version they do.
2. The same paragraphs and segments were omitted from both German and Croatian texts.

We conducted a more thorough analysis of the English (ST1), German (MT1) and Croatian (TT1A) texts, comparing several chapters, and found out that both in MT1 and TT1A similar shifts were made. Example 7.1 presents a comparison of one paragraph.

(7.1) The memory of the public is short. Already the intense interest and excitement aroused by the murder of is a thing past and forgotten. Newer sensations have taken its place. (ST1: 1)

Das Gedächtnis des Publikums ist kurz. Schon fielen das Interesse und die Aufregung, die die Ermordung von George Alfred Vincenz Marsh, des vierten Barons Edware, entfachte, der Vergessenheit anheim. Und trotzdem hat kein anderes Ereignis je so viel Staub aufgewirbelt. (MT1: 5)

[The memory of the public is short. The interest and excitement provoked by the murder of George Alfred St. Vincent Marsh, fourth Baron Edware, fell into oblivion. In spite of that no event has caused such a stir.]

Publika ne pamti dugo. Uzbuđenje i zanimanje, koje je izazvalo ubojstvo Georga Alfreda Vincenza Marsha, četvrtog baruna Edwara, tonulo je pomalo u zaborav. A ipak, nikad ni jedan događaj nije uzvitlao toliko prašine. (TT2: 7)

[The public has short memory. The excitement and interest, which was provoked by the murder of George Alfred St. Vincent Marsh, fourth Baron Edware, gradually fell into oblivion. In spite of that, no event has caused such a stir.]

The underlined sentence in German “Und trotzdem hat kein anderes Ereignis je so viel Staub aufgewirbelt” has the same meaning as the sentence in Croatian, which reads: “A

ipak nikad nijedan događaj nije uzvitlao toliko prašine.” Therefore, the same metaphor is used both in MT1 and TT1A, and the meaning conveyed in the both TTs is exactly the opposite of the meaning conveyed by the relevant sentence in ST1.

Further examples reinforce our claim that TT1A was produced on the basis of MT1.

- (7.2) One of her last impersonations was Jane Wilkinson – a talented young American actress well known in London. (ST1: 3)

Zuletzt verköperte sie Jane Wilkinson, eine in London wohlbekanntes junge Schauspielerin amerikanischer Herkunft. (MT1: 7)

[Finally, she imitated Jane Wilkinson, a young actress of American origin, well-known in London.]

Nakraju je imitirala Jane Wilkinson, u Londonu dobro poznatu mladu glumicu, koja je također bila američkog podrijetla. (TT1A: 8)

[Finally, she imitated Jane Wilkinson, a young actress well-known in London, who was also of American descent.]

It is evident that the second part of the sentence is translated in the same way in both German and Croatian, and differs from the English text: the adjective “talented” was omitted and “American” was translated with the phrase “of American descent”.

The following paragraph from Chapter 1 was modified in the same way in the German and Croatian translations:

- (7.3) As the “imitation” finished, she applauded loudly, laughing and turning to her companion, a tall, extremely good-looking man, of the Greek god type, whose face I recognized as one better known on the screen than on the stage. It was Bryan Martin, the hero of the screen most popular at the moment. He and Jane Wilkinson had been starred together in several screen productions. (ST1: 4)

Als der Vorhang fiel, klatschte sie laut Beifall. Sie lachte und rief ihrem Begleiter, einem sehr gut aussehenden Mann, ein Scherzwort zu. Es war Martin Bryan, der angebetete Filmliebling. Verschiedentlich hatten die

Kinobesucher ihn und Jane Wilkinson zusammen auf der Leinwänden bewundern können. (MT1: 8)

[When the curtain fell, she applauded loudly. She laughed and joked with her companion, an extremely good-looking man. That was Martin Bryan, a beloved movie star. Cinema visitors could often admire him and Jane Wilkinson on the screen.]

Kad se spustio zastor, ona je glasno pljeskala, smijala se i šalila sa svojim pratiocem, nekim veoma lijepim čovjekom. Bio je to Martin Bryan, filmski glumac i ljubimac publike. Ljubitelji filmova divili su se ovom paru, koji je često zajedno igrao. (TT1A: 9)

[When the curtain fell, she applauded loudly, laughed and joked with her companion, an extremely good-looking man. It was Martin Bryan, a popular movie star. Film fans admired this couple, who often starred together.]

It is interesting to note that in both texts the first and the family name of the character were reordered.

While the evidence for the correspondence between the German and Croatian texts is abundant (shifts, omissions, phraseology), there are also certain reasons that lead us to suspect that there are differences between German editions. For example, the following description of Duke Merton is strikingly similar to the text in German, and differs from the English original at the same points. However, a reference that was omitted in German was not completely omitted in Croatian:

- (7.4) I drew in my breath sharply. The Duke of Merton had so far been the despair of matchmaking mammas. A young man of monkish tendencies, a violent Anglo-Catholic, he was reported to be completely under the thumb of his mother, the redoubtable dowager duchess. His life was austere in the extreme. He collected Chinese porcelain and was reputed to be of aesthetic tastes. He was supposed to care nothing for women. (ST1: 12)

Unwillkürlich hielt ich den Atem an. Denn der Herzog von Merton war bislang die Verzweiflung aller ehestiftenden Mamas gewesen. Er stand in dem Ruf, sich vollkommen von seiner Mutter lenken zu lassen, der

gefürchteten Herzogin-Witwe. Er sammelte chinesisches Porzellan, galt als ein weltabgewandter Ästhetiker und als ein Mann, der sich nichts aus Frauen machte. (MT1: 17-18)

[I drew in my breath unintentionally. The Duke of Merton had for long been the despair of matchmaking mammas. He was reported to be completely under the thumb of his mother, the redoubtable dowager duchess. He collected Chinese porcelain and was reputed to be of aesthetic tastes and a man who did not care for women.]

I nehotice sam zadržao dah. Jer vojvoda od Mertona bio je poznat kao nedostižna meta majki, koje imaju kćeri. Ovaj mladić s asketskim sklonostima i gorljivi katolik bio je na glasu da je potpuno u vlasti svoje majke, stroge vojvotkinje, udovice. Skupljao je kineski porculan i smatrali su ga estetom i čovjekom koga ne zanimaju žene. (TT1A: 15)

[I drew in my breath unintentionally. The Duke of Merton was known as an unattainable target of mothers who had daughters. This young man had ascetic aptitudes and was a fervent Catholic, reported to be completely under the thumb of his mother, the strict duchess and widow. He collected Chinese porcelain and was reputed to be an aesthete and a man who did not care for women.]

In German *sharply* was replaced with *unwillkürlich*, which like *nehotice* means “unintentionally”. The last two ST sentences were merged into one in both German and Croatian translations. However, the underlined part about his being an Anglo-Catholic was omitted in the German text, but not in the Croatian.

Having established that the Croatian translation of *Lord Edgware Dies* is actually a translation from German, we also checked how this influenced the ways of rendering CSIs. This analysis is presented in 8.5.

Nikotin was translated into German by the same translator as *Dreizehn bei Tisch*. It was first published in 1935 in *Goldmanns Roman-Bibliothek*. The reprints were published in 1951, 1955, 1957 and 1972. The edition that we used is from 1957.

The comparison of ST2, MT2 and TT2A established similar correspondences between the German and Croatian texts. The following examples illustrate them:

- (7.5) That's the lot - of the house-party, I mean. (ST2: 22)

So, nun habe ich Ihnen alle Hausgäste genannt. (MT2: 11)

[Well, I have listed all the guests.]

Eto, sada sam vam nabrojio sve goste. (TT2A: 10)

[Well, I have listed all the guests.]

- (7.6) “She’s quite old and ugly as sin, really, but what does it matter. She makes everyone else look like a dowdy curate's wife. Is it her? Or is it the other one with the grey hair? She’s amusing – you can see that. She’s got masses of S.A. And he called her Angie. It can’t be the one like a wilted cabbage. Is it the smart one or is it Angie?” (ST2: 61)

„Sie ist so alt und hässlich wie die Sünde, aber wem fällt das auf? Gegen sie wirken wir alle wie die Aschenputtel. Ist sie es, Mr. Satterthwaite? Oder die andere mit dem grauen Haar? Sie sieht klug und gestreich aus, soll eine grosse Künstlerin sein, und er nannte sie Angie. Die dritte, die wie einem verwelkten Weisskohl glich, kann es nicht sein. Also bitte, wer? Die Modepuppe oder Angie?“ (MT2: 34)

[She is so old and ugly as sin, but who notices this? Next to her all of us look like a Cinderella. Is it her, Mr. Satterthwaite? Or is it the other one with the grey hair? She looks smart and full of wit, she is reportedly a great artist, and he called her Angie. The third one, the one who looks like a wilted white cabbage, it can’t be her. Who then, please? The fashion doll or Angie?]

“Ružna je i stara, ali tko to primjećuje kad je obučena tako da sve ostale pored nje djeluju kao pepuljuge. Je li ona, Mr. Satterthwaite? Ili ona druga, ona sijeda? Izgleda pametna i kao da ima duha, navodno je dobra glumica, a on ju je zvao Angie. Ona treća što liči na uveli karfijol, ona sigurno nije. Dakle, molim, tko je? Pomodna lutka ili Angie?“ (TT2A: 28)

[She is ugly and old, but who notices that when she is dressed in such a manner that all others look like a Cinderella next to her. Is that her, Mr.

Satterthwaite? Or the other one, the grey haired one? She looks smart and full of wit, reportedly she is a good actress, and he called her Angie. The third one, who looks like a wilted cauliflower, she certainly is not the one. So, please, who is? The fashionable doll or Angie?]

However, unlike in TT1A, where we found certain parts not contained in MT1, this was not the case with TT2A. There are many examples of references not directly related to the plot omitted from MT2 and consequently from TT2A. For example:

- (7.7) It seemed as though allowing for difference of language Egg and the lily maid of Astolat had much in common, but Mr. Satterthwaite felt that Egg's methods would be more practical than those of Elaine, and that dying of a broken heart would form no part of them. (ST2: 64)

The whole sentence in Example 7.7 was omitted from both MT2 and TT2A.

In addition to this, the extent and frequency of omissions is considerably higher than in TT1A, as is illustrated in the following examples of the omission of large chunks of the text. Thus, for example, the main characters, Sir Charles Cartwright and Miss Egg, visit a village in order to talk to an important witness. Many details of the trip, which are also interesting in terms of the rendering of CSIs, were omitted from TT2A, as illustrated in Example 7.8:

- (7.8) Their next move was a scratch lunch in the baker's shop. Sir Charles had hankerings for fleshpots elsewhere, but Egg pointed out that they might get hold of some local gossip.
“And boiled eggs and scones will do you no harm for once,” she said severely. “Men are so fussy about their food.” (ST2: 271)
Dann folgte ein bunt zusammengewürfelter Lunch im Bäckerladen, obwohl Sir Charles nach Fleischtöpfen in einer größeren Ortschaft Verlangen zeigte. Jedoch Egg wies auf die Möglichkeit hin, hier etwas Dorfklatsch zu hören.

“*Sie werden sich an gekochten Eiern und Weizenkuchen nicht den Magen verderben*”, sagte sie streng. “*Pfui, wie anspruchsvoll sind doch die Männer!*” (MT2: 161)

[Then followed an improvised lunch in a bakery, although Sir Charles had showed that showed that he had a craving for meat dishes in a larger place. However, Egg pointed out that they might get hold of some village gossip. “You will not upset your stomach with boiled eggs and wheat cakes”, said she severely. “Men are so demanding.]

All of this is translated in TT2A as:

(7.9) *Nakon toga su otišli u seosku gostionicu, jer je Egg željela doznati nešto od seoskih ogovaranja.* (TT2A: 134)

[After that they entered the village inn, as Egg wanted to get hold of some village gossip.]

To conclude, though both TT1A and TT2A are indirect translations from the German MT, there is a difference between them. In our quantitative findings, this is visible as an unusually high proportion of neutralizing solution types.

7.2. The corpus for the late 1970s

7.2.1. The publishers of the TTs in the late 1970s

All the books that make up our corpus for this period were produced by the same publisher: *Globus*. As we have pointed out, in 1975 *Globus* launched a series entitled *Works by Agatha Christie*. The last titles in this series were published in 1988, when according to the data obtained in the interview with the publisher, *Globus* was well on the way to scaling down its production. Several editors and a large number of translators took part in this project.

Globus built its reputation, and considerable business success, on publishing “dissident literature”, to use the words of Tomislav Pušek, who was the “director” (a Socialist-period word for high-ranking executives in companies) of *Globus*. An

examination of the list of titles published by *Globus* confirms this statement. The publishing house was established in 1971 and in the early 1970s its list contained mainly titles that can be classified as “socially valuable books” (*društveno korisne knjige*) that were heavily subsidized. For example, the list of titles published in 1974 includes *Samoupravne interesne zajednice i njihova društvena funkcija* (Self-managing Interest Communities and Their Social Function), *Što je delegatski samoupravni system?* (What is the Delegate Self-Managing System?) and *Samoupravljanje* (Self-Management). In 1975, along with the first title in the Agatha Christie series, *7000 dana u Sibiru* (*7000 Days in Siberia*) by Karlo Stajner was published. Both of these titles obviously marked a step away from subsidized publishing and an orientation towards books demanded by the market.

According to the data obtained in an interview with Tomislav Pušek, the Agatha Christie project achieved exceptional commercial success. The print runs were extremely large, as the books sold well in Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro and Macedonia. As Pušek described the circumstances, this was not part of any strategic decision but rather a result of spontaneous developments. In his words, he saw that the books sold well and decided to purchase the copyright for another round. A similar picture of “chaotic developments” was provided by Božena Zadro, one of the editors of this series. She also expressed the opinion that this series was not appreciated within the company, as the established main focus was on publishing more “serious” titles.

7.2.2. *The translators of the TTs in the late 1970s*

Translators of the TTs that make up our corpus for the late 1970s include Zlatko Crnković (TT4), Renata Čičin Šain (TT5), Dunja Vražić Stejskal (TT3B) and Višnja Ogrizović (TT2B).

All of them, except Renata Čičin Šain, continued their careers as translators and all of them worked as editors as well. Renata Čičin Šain, according to the data obtained in an interview with her, stopped translating soon after producing TT5 as she found out that “there were more lucrative jobs”.

Zlatko Crnković stands out from this group of translators as having an exceptionally long and prolific career and long-term experience as an editor.

We should note that the translators who translated the TTs in the late 1970s hold degrees in Modern Languages and, for all of them, translating was the main professional activity, albeit in combination with other jobs in the publishing industry.

7.3. The corpus for the 2000s

7.3.1. *The publishers of the TTs in the 2000s*

The corpus for the 2000s contains TTs published by three different publishers: *Marjan tisak* (TT1B), V.D.T. (TT6 and TT7) and *Mozaik knjiga* (TT8). *Marjan tisak* and V.D.T. belong to a group of publishers that did not exist prior to the 1990s. According to the number of titles published, both belong to a group of small-sized publishers by Croatian standards. *Mozaik knjiga*, on the other hand, managed to survive from the pre-transition period, and is today one of the largest Croatian publishers (cf. 2.2.2.1).

In the interviews with the heads of V.D.T. and *Mozaik knjiga* it became clear that the motivation for their projects lay in good sales. The editor of the *Mozaik knjiga* series, Zoran Maljković, admitted that they started to sell some of Agatha Christie's titles published by V.D.T. through their book club and realized that they sold well, and this was the main impetus to start publishing works by this author. The owner of V.D.T., in addition to financial reasons, emphasized his own personal admiration for the author from "his childhood".

Mozaik knjiga started publishing Agatha Christie's novels in 2008. The first published book was *Zlo pod suncem* (Evil under the Sun), which was published as a supplement to *24 sata* newspaper, owned by the Austrian company Styria and sold at newspaper stands. According to Maljković, at the beginning of the project they used the old translations published by Globus because it reduced the expenses. They did not have to pay a full price for the translation. However, later they decided to commission new translations because it, in the end, was not so expensive.

TT6 and TT7 were published by V.D.T in the "Selected Works of the Queen of Crime" series. The series began in 2004 and, as its title suggests, is exclusively dedicated to Agatha Christie's works. So far 14 titles have been published.

TT1B was published by Marjan tisak, a Split-based publisher whose catalogue does not indicate a preference for any particular genre. The National and University Library catalogue lists very diverse books covering a wide range of genres and themes. TT1B is the only Agatha Christie translation published by them.

7.3.2. *The translators of the TTs in the 2000s*

At first glance, the translators of the TTs created in the 2000s can be divided into two groups:

Those who translate or translated continuously (TT6, TT7 and TT8) and

Those for whom this translation was a one-off experience (TT1B).

In the first group are Marija Razum (TT6), Mario Jović (TT7) and Patricija Vodopija (TT8). The tandem of Nikša and Jadranka Peršić belong to the second group: in addition to TT1B, Jadranka Peršić translated only one other book in the same year for the same publisher, and Nikša Peršić did not translate anything else. According to the data in the National and University Library catalogue, the translator of TT6, Marija Razum, translated nine books, all for the same publisher. Although she has a degree in Croatian, the data from an interview with her (see 9.1) suggest that she never considered herself a translator. The name of Marko Njegić, who translated TT6 in tandem with Razum, is registered as a translator only in TT6. According to Internet sources, he works as a film critic for various newspapers.

According to the National and University Library catalogue, Patricija Vodopija has translated 24 books so far, mainly for the same publisher, *Mozaik knjiga*. Moreover, all the books include works of popular fiction, in most cases crime novels.

To conclude, in Period 3 we have come across an interesting picture: two small, newly established publishers with poor infrastructure were trying to survive on the market, and a large publisher had an interest in commercially lucrative authors. Apart from a difference in their size and organizational structure, we can see that the two publishers – V.D.T and *Mozaik knjiga* – had a long-standing interest in publishing detective fiction, while in the case of *Marjan knjiga* this was an exception.

7.4. Conclusion

In this chapter the aim has been to shed light on how the TTs came into being, who the people who translated them were, and within what professional contexts they operated. We can conclude the following:

1. The presence of indirect translations is registered only in Period 1;
2. The presence of other “dubious” translation practices can also be suspected in Period 3 (with respect to this, we have shown that one publisher used a “phantom translator” in a TT which we excluded from the corpus);
3. The practice of “recycling” old translations is present in Period 3 in the case of *Mozaik knjiga*'s preference for the existing, outdated translations and in V.D.T.'s practice of using dated translations.

With regard to the professional contexts in which the translators operated we should note the following:

1. In Period 1 we came across an interesting pattern: of the three translators only one was a professional translator from English;
2. In Period 2 all the translators were professional translators from English, with a similar educational background;
3. In Period 3, of the five translators, only two are professional translators from English, and only one of them with a degree in English.

8. The texts

In this chapter we will present the data obtained by the analysis of the corpus. They include the quantitative data on text-level orientations and our findings on the regularities and changes in the treatment of recurring sets of items. Both sets of data will be discussed with the aim of establishing diachronic tendencies in text-level orientations in the three periods.

8.1. Tendencies in text-level orientations

In this section we will present the findings obtained by a quantitative analysis of the distribution of the solutions types employed in the texts in the corpus. As we described in 5.4.5, we created a table for each ST-TT pair and filled in CSIs and solution types used to render them. The whole corpus contains 1713 CSIs and 1810 solutions used to render them.

In the next stage each solution was classified in terms of its text-level orientation, according to the model developed and presented in 4.3. In the classification of solution types two criteria were employed: contribution to the cultural embeddedness of a TT and contribution to the informativity level of a TT. With respect to the first criterion, all the solution types are classified as assimilating, exoticizing or neutralizing. These findings are presented in Table 8.1. As some of these solution types, in addition to being assimilating, exoticizing or neutralizing, contain an informative component, they are also classified as informative. The findings on the proportion of informative solution types in the total of all solution types employed are presented in the last row of Table 8.1.

Table 8.1. Text-level orientations: AS = assimilating, EX = exoticizing, N = neutralizing

Text-level orientation	PERIOD 1			PERIOD 2				PERIOD 3			
	TT1A	TT2A	TT3A	TT4	TT3B	TT5	TT2B	TT1B	TT6	TT7	TT8
AS	21.79	17.98	28.51	46.10	29.84	42.17	24.22	33.98	26.99	33.33	52.68
EX	55.12	38.84	50.00	33.11	43.02	25.85	47.93	48.54	44.24	40.54	33.17
N	23.09	43.18	21.49	24.69	27.14	31.98	27.85	17.48	28.27	26.13	14.15
TOT	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
INF	0	0.71	9.38	6.49	2.71	10.20	2.06	0.97	5.46	0	6.34

The findings presented in Table 8.1 show that in no period did we get a homogenous picture of the proportions of assimilating, exoticizing, neutralizing and informative solution types used in all the TTs. The tendencies in text-level orientations might become clearer if we present the average percentages of the employment of particular solution types for each period. We will now leave aside the issue of variability among the TTs produced within the same period, which will be addressed in 8.3.

Table 8.2 presents the average percentages of the employment of assimilating, exoticizing, neutralizing and informative solution types in Periods 1, 2 and 3.

Table 8.2. Average percentages of the presence of each text-level orientation

Text-level orientation	PERIOD 1	PERIOD 2	PERIOD 3
Assimilating	24.31	34.13	38.52
Exoticizing	47.56	38.11	40.41
Neutralizing	28.13	27.76	21.07
Informative	5.07	3.85	0.03

8.2. Discussion

8.2.1. *Tendencies in the employment of assimilating solution types*

Table 8.2 shows that assimilating solution types were employed less frequently in Period 1 than in the two later periods. A progressive increase in the employment of assimilating solution types in the later periods is observed, though the increase is more pronounced between Periods 1 and 2 than between the two later periods.

8.2.2. *Tendencies in the employment of exoticizing solution types*

It is evident from Table 8.2 that the frequency of exoticizing solution types is lower in Periods 2 and 3 than in Period 1. A comparison of the data for Periods 1 and 2 shows a substantial decrease in the employment of exoticizing solution types. In Period 3 a slight increase in the employment of exoticizing solution types is noted. Nevertheless, the average percentage is still lower than in Period 1.

8.2.3. *Tendencies in the employment of neutralizing solution types*

As far as the employment of neutralizing solution types is concerned, we can observe a constant decrease in their employment. When Periods 1 and 2 are compared, this decrease is slight, but the data show that it is more substantial in Period 3. As can be seen in Table 8.1, there is a great variability among the TTs within Periods 1 and 3 when it comes to the employment of neutralizing solution types. We should therefore note that the observation about general tendencies in this text-level orientation should be taken with a good deal of reserve. We will cast more light on this tendency in section 8.3, where we analyze the variation among the TTs within each period.

8.2.4. Tendencies in the employment of informative solution types

On the basis of our findings presented in Table 8.2, we can observe a steady decrease in the employment of informative solution types in the two later periods. Thus, in Period 3, the average percentage is 0.03. This seems to be in line with the assumption that the employment of informative solution types will drop as the level of knowledge about the SC rises.

However, we must note a great variation among the TTs within single periods. For example, in Period 1 the three TTs contain drastically different proportions of informative solution types: in TT1A they are not registered at all, in TT2A they are a component of 0.71 percent of all solution types and in TT3A they are a component of 9.38 percent of the overall number of solution types. This shows that the use of these solution types in our corpus is not directly dependent on the period in which the TT was produced, but rather on some other context-related factors. The proportion of informative solution types might be expected to decrease as the knowledge about the TC increases. But in TT1A and TT2A, which were produced when this knowledge was lower than in later periods, such solution types were not used at all.

8.2.5. Conclusion on text-level orientations

To conclude, the findings show a tendency toward the increasing employment of assimilating solution types in Periods 2 and 3 when compared with Period 1. A comparison between Period 2 and Period 3 shows a slight increase in the employment of assimilating solution types.

Our findings weakly support the hypothesis about the growing tendency to use assimilating solution types:

Translations of detective fiction from English into Croatian show a growing tendency to employ assimilating solution types in the rendering of CSIs.

We also observed a reverse tendency for exoticizing solution types to be employed less frequently in the two later periods in comparison with Period 1.

With regard to the employment of neutralizing solution types, the findings show a decrease in their employment.

A decrease in the use of informative solution types is also observed, although we should bear in mind that we also observed considerable differences between the TTs produced in the same period.

Our findings also weakly support the second hypothesis:

The greater the presence of the source-culture texts of a similar type in the target culture, the stronger are tendencies to employ assimilating solutions to render CSIs.

The data on translation flows presented in Chapter 6 show that the presence of texts from the English-speaking countries started to rise in the late 1950s. In this period English STs began to be massively translated and published. In the 1970s, i.e. in Period 2, this rise continued and became even sharper: in the period 1960-1964 literature translated from English constituted 33.26 percent of all literature translated, and in the period 1975-1979 this figure reached 48.35 percent. In the latest period in our study, the increase in the presence of English STs is enormous, as is observed in all the transition countries (Kwieciński 2001, Sohár 1997, Wischenbart 2008, Amramitzky and Sin 2011). Thus, in the period 2003-2007, literature translated from English constitutes 59.58 percent of all translated literature. However, according to our findings, this did not mean a substantial increase in assimilating tendencies. Such an effect is observed in Period 2, i.e. in a period that followed a period of strong economic, political and cultural isolation from the West.

8.3. Emergence of textual patterns

As we noted in 8.1, the quantitative findings show a general tendency to the increased employment of assimilating solution types, but no period gives a fairly consistent and homogenous picture of the distribution of text-level orientations. We will now pay closer attention to this variation, with a view to establishing textual patterns on the basis of the distribution of assimilating, exoticizing, neutralizing and informative solution types within TTs.

In order to facilitate this discussion we present again findings on text-level orientations in all TTs.

Table 8.3. Text-level orientations: AS = assimilating, EX = exoticizing, N = neutralizing, INF = informative (%)

Text-level orientation	PERIOD 1			PERIOD 2				PERIOD 3			
	TT1A	TT2A	TT3A	TT4	TT3B	TT5	TT2B	TT1B	TT6	TT7	TT8
AS	21.79	17.98	28.51	46.10	29.84	42.17	24.22	33.98	26.99	33.33	52.68
EX	55.12	38.84	50.00	33.11	43.02	25.85	47.93	48.54	44.24	40.54	33.17
N	23.09	43.18	21.49	24.69	27.14	31.98	27.85	17.48	28.27	26.13	14.15
TOT	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
INF	0	0.71	9.38	6.49	2.71	10.20	2.06	0.97	5.46	0	6.34

In Period 1, TT1A and TT2A, the two indirect translations from German, correspond closely to each other in the proportion of assimilating solution types used. In this respect, TT3A seems to be closer to TT3B and TT2B, produced in Period 2. However, when it comes to the employment of exoticizing and neutralizing solution types, there is a considerable difference between TT1A and TT2A: the frequency of exoticizing and neutralizing solution types is similar in TT1A and TT3A. TT2A stands out due to the lower proportion of exoticizing and the higher proportion of neutralizing solution types.

In Period 2 there emerges a clearer pattern. Two TTs – TT4 and TT5 – contain considerably higher percentage of assimilating solution types: 46.10 and 42.17 respectively. Two other TTs – TT3B and TT2B – display remarkably lower percentage of assimilating

solution types: 29.84 and 24.22. At the same time, in TT3B and TT2B exoticizing solution types account for 43.02 and 47.93 percent of all solution types employed.

In Period 3, two clear patterns can be observed. A significant difference is observed between the quantitative data for TT1B, TT6 and TT7 on the one hand and TT8 on the other hand. In TT1B, TT6 and TT7 the percentage of the employment of assimilating solution types is between 27 and 34 percent. TT8 stands out from the other texts produced in this period: the percentage of assimilating solution types in this text is 52.68 percent. In this respect, it is close to TT4 and TT5 from Period 2.

To conclude, the quantitative data show the emergence of two patterns in the distribution of assimilating, exoticizing and neutralizing solution types, which are not exclusively tied to the period of the TT's production.

The first pattern is characterized by the dominance of assimilating over both neutralizing and exoticizing solution types. According to the dominance of text-level orientations in this pattern, we can label it A-E-N. The TTs fitting in this pattern are: TT4, TT5 and TT8.

The second pattern is characterized by the dominance of exoticizing over assimilating solution types. Neutralizing solution types, as in Pattern 1, are not given priority. According to the dominance of text-level orientations, we can label it E-A-N. The TTs exhibiting this pattern are: TT1A, TT3A, TT3B, TT1B, TT2B and TT7.

Two TTs in our corpus do not fit into any of these patterns: TT2A and TT6.

The above picture of two textual patterns based on the hierarchy of text-level orientations can be related to the data on the contextual production of the TTs presented in Chapter 7.

TT4, TT5 and TT8 have certain common context-related features. All of them were published by a "serious" publisher. In addition to this, their translators were professional translators with considerable experience at the time when they did these translations. Other factors related to the role of translators' profiles will be discussed in the final conclusion after we present the data obtained from interviews.

As we have noted in 7.1.1, TT2A seems to occupy a marginal position in the publishing activities of its time. It was published at the time when Socialist publishers started to respond to the growing demand of the "market" for popular literature. At the

time, publishers' growing interest in translations of popular fiction from English, prompted by the political changes, could not be completely satisfied with direct translations from English. Thus, we presume that indirect translations of texts published primarily for commercial purposes were even more acceptable. Moreover, TT2A was published within an extremely short-lived series, with only one other title – a pseudo-translation.

Although both TT1A and TT2A are indirect translations via German, there is a difference between them. The reasons for the incompatibility of TT2A with other texts in the corpus may be found in its being in many respects close to “factory translations” (Milton 2005). Along with the observed textual features (see 8.5.1) the obscurity of the translator contributes to this conclusion. Although the translator of TT1A also translated via German, he had considerable experience in literary translation at the time when the translation was produced.

Like TT2A, TT6, in which the translator's ignorance of certain strong linguistic norms is evident, cannot be seen as belonging to one of the patterns of literary translation.

TT1A, TT3A, TT3B, TT1B and TT7 have some context-related features in common:

1. TT1A and TT3A were produced in Period 1, and we believe that this can account for the priority given to exoticizing solution types.
2. TT1B and TT7 were published as a one-off project by newly-established publishers without proper logistics. The translators of this text did not have translating experience.
3. TT3B was published by a “serious” publisher. However, the data obtained in the interview with the translator suggest that the translator's attitude differs from that of the translators of TT4, TT5 and TT8.

To conclude, the variability among the TTs within a single period can be accounted for by differences between the stature of their publishers and the profile of their translators. In addition to this, the translator's attitude plays its role. The influence of the latter will be discussed in the conclusion when we have presented the interview data.

8.4. Findings on tendencies in recurring groups of CSIs

In this section we present our findings on the ways of handling certain, frequently recurring, groups of CSIs:

1. Units of measurement;
2. References to the British currency;
3. References to titles and terms of address;
4. References to meals;
5. References to types of houses and catering facilities;
6. Names of pubs and other catering facilities;
7. Names of houses, castles and estates;
8. Names of streets, squares and other urban toponyms.

In theory, translators have at their disposal all seventeen solution types included in our taxonomy to render any CSI. However, an examination of our corpus shows that not all solution types were used to render all groups of CSIs. For example, the use of “replacement with neologism” was never used for the rendering of references to meals. Therefore, in the following presentation we will first limit the field of choice at the translators’ disposal by including only those solution types actually employed in our corpus. We then present the data on the employment of these limited sets of solution types.

The data presented will be used as a basis for detecting regularities/irregularities within the same period. In addition to this we will examine diachronic stability/instability in the handling of these items. In the concluding part to each subsection, we will provide formulations of regularities for each period. In the conclusion to this section we will relate them to the findings on tendencies in text-level orientations.

8.4.1. Practices of rendering units of measurement

All the STs use imperial units of measurement, which are quite strong markers of a “foreign”, English “flavor”. In our corpus, the following five solution types were used to render units of measurement:

1. Replacement with a recognized exoticism (Rex.)
2. Replacement with a recognized exoticism + addition (Rex.add.)
3. Replacement with a TC equivalent (TCeq.)
4. Replacement with paraphrase (Prphr.)
5. Replacement with a less specific item (Lsst.)
6. Omission (Omiss.)

We will first present examples of each solution type with the aim of illustrating their effects on the “markedness” of the text and providing a rationale for assigning them to the relevant text-level orientations.

Example 8.1 illustrates the use of replacement with a recognized exoticism:

- (8.1) By road Crow’s Nest was a mile from the town. (ST2: 3)
Vranino gnijezdo je od grada udaljeno milju... (TT2B: 11)
[Crow’s Nest was a mile from the town....]

In Example 8.1 English *mile* was replaced with *milja*, a Croatian word conventionally used to denote this English measuring unit. Other English units of measurement also have their conventionalized Croatian translations: *stopa* for *foot*, *inč* for *inch*, *jard* for *yard*, to list those found in our corpus. Example 8.2 illustrates the use of replacement with a recognized exoticism + addition.

- (8.2) Well, five eleven to six feet, at least. (ST3: 50)
Pa, pet stopa i jedanaest inča do šest stopa, najmanje. (TT3A: 32)
[Well, five feet and eleven inches to six feet, at least.]

This rendering is accompanied by a footnote that reads “jedna stopa = 30,48 cm” (one foot = 30.48 centimeters).

Examples 8.3, 8.4, 8.5 and 8.6 illustrate replacement with a TC equivalent (TCeq.), replacement with paraphrase (Prphr.), replacement with a less specific item (Lsst.) and omission (Omiss.) respectively.

- (8.3) It was four miles from a railway station, possessed two public houses...
(ST8: 116)
Bio je dvadeset pet kilometara udaljen od željezničke postaje, imao je dvije pivnice...(TT8: 89)
[It was twenty-five kilometers from the railway station, it possessed two beer halls...]
- (8.4) And then she caught her breath sharply as she caught sight of the words on a newspaper placard a few feet away. (ST2: 226)

Odjednom joj se presječe dah jer je ugledala naslov u jednim večernjim novinama izloženim na kiosku udaljenom nekoliko koraka. (TT2B: 198)

[Suddenly she caught her breath as she saw a headline in a newspaper displayed at the kiosk a few steps away.]

- (8.5) [...]which I recognized as elevators to place in shoes and raise the height an inch or so... (ST1: 75)

[...] *die ich als Schuheinlagen erkannte, bestimmt, den Wuchs ihres Trägers um einen Zoll oder mehr zu erhöhen. (MT1: 92)*

[which I recognized as shoe insoles, which people place in shoes to raise their height an inch or more.]

[...] *u kojima sam prepoznao uloške za cipele. Osoba koja bi ih stavila izgledala je nešto viša nego što jeste. (TT1A: 68)*

[...in which I recognized shoe insoles. People who put them would look a little taller than they really are.]

- (8.6) Always, he said, and then began a rigmarole about having found the window a few inches open at the bottom. Someone might have got in that way. (ST8: 144)

Uvijek, rekao je, a onda počeo laprdati kako je prozor bio 0 otvoren. Netko je tako mogao ući unutra. (TT8: 185)

[Always, he said, and then began babbling that the window had been 0 open. Someone could have got in that way.]

The above examples show that the choice between these options has the effect of retaining the foreign “color” (8.1 and 8.2), of replacing it with domestic “color” (8.3) or of neutralizing a measuring unit as a cultural marker (8.4, 8.5 and 8.6). In terms of the exoticizing, assimilating or neutralizing text-level orientations, the use of replacement with a recognized exoticism has an exoticizing effect, and replacement with a recognized exoticism + addition combines an exoticizing effect with the informative function. On the other hand, the use of a TC equivalent, i.e. of metric units, has an assimilating effect.

Omission and replacement with a less specific item are neutralizing in that they neutralize the potential of units of measurement as indicators of the cultural embeddedness of a text.

We can also observe that the choice of neutralizing solution types, illustrated in 8.4, 8.5 and 8.6, might be influenced by the function of a measuring unit. Thus, in all of these examples a measuring unit is part of a phrase that serves as an approximate indication of a distance. It seems that in such cases translators are more ready to use replacement by paraphrase or with a less specific item, or even to omit the item.

Table 8.4 presents the data on the distribution of solution types used to render English units of measurement in the TTs in our corpus for Period 1.

Table 8.4. Solution types used to render units of measurement in the corpus for Period 1

Item	TT1A	TT2A	TT3A
mile	N/A	Rex. TCeq.	Rex.
foot	Rex. Prph.	Omiss. TCeq.	Rexadd.
inch	Prph.	N/A	Rex.
yard	Prph.	N/A	N/A
stone	N/A	Omiss.	N/A

The findings presented in Table 8.4 suggest that in the early 1960s, two practices of handling English units of measurement in translation were in place. It seems that in each text a different solution type is dominant: paraphrase seems to dominate in TT1A, the use of cultural equivalents (i.e. metric measures) in TT2A, and the use of recognized exoticisms in TT3A. In addition, as it can be seen from Table 8.4, the translators of TT1A and TT2A were not consistent within the same text, which cannot be said of the translator of TT3A.

We should bear in mind that TT1A and TT2A are actually translations from German. Therefore, both inconsistency within the same text and reliance on paraphrase and cultural equivalents may be explained by the translator's following of the German text. Table 8.5 shows what solution types for rendering units of measurement were used in MT1 and MT2.

Table 8.5 shows that in the German translations these items were not handled in a uniform way: for example, in MT2 *mile* was consistently rendered as *Meile*, i.e. it was mostly replaced with a recognized exoticism. However, at one point it was replaced with a

TC equivalent. For the rendering of *foot*, two different solution types were also employed: replacement with a recognized exoticism and omission.

Table 8.5. Solution types used to render units of measurement in MT1 and MT2

Item	MT1	MT2
mile	N/A	Rex. TCeq.
foot	Prph. Rex.	Rex. Omiss.
inch	TCeq. Prph.	N/A
yard	Prph.	N/A
stone	N/A	Omiss.

The translator of TT2A closely followed MT2 with regard to the solutions for rendering measuring units, but at several points where the German translator used *Meile* the Croatian translator converted them into *kilometri* (kilometers). A comparison of Examples 8.7 and 8.8 shows that in these two cases there are no significant differences with regard to the co-text or the function of “mile” in the ST, which leads us to conclude that this is a matter of the translator’s inconsistency. This inconsistent behavior is in itself interesting: we may wonder whether the translator did not consider consistency to be important, and whether this was acceptable to revisers and editors of the text. Examples 8.7 to 8.9 illustrate these inconsistencies. As we can see in Example 8.9, the Croatian translator did not follow the German text but replaced *Fuss* with *centimeters*.

- (8.7) By road Crow’s Nest was a mile from the town. (ST2: 3)
*Der Fahrweg von der Stadt - eine Meile lang- wand sich in steilen
 Schlangenwindungen aufwärts...(MT2: 5)*
 [The road leading from town – a mile long – ascended steeply...]
*Cesta, što je vodila iz grada, duga otprilike jednu milju, penjala se strmo
 uvis...(TT2A: 5)*
 [The road, which led from town, about a mile long, ascended steeply...]
- (8.8) After about an hour of this she calculated that she must have walked several miles. (ST2: 219)

Nach einer Stunde rechnete sie aus, dass sie auf diese Weise mehrere Kilometer gegangen sein müsse. (MT2: 133)

Nakon jednog sata izračunala je da je prohodala nekoliko kilometara. (TT2: 111)

[After an hour she calculated that she had walked several kilometers.]

- (8.9) The pencil struck the ground at least a foot from the mark and rolled inwards towards the gas fire. (ST2: 133)

Jedoch schlug der Bleisstift bei diesem Experiment wenigstens einen Fuss von dem Fleck entfernt auf dem Fussboden auf und rollte in der Richtung des Gasofens fort. (MT2: 89)

[But in this experiment the pencil struck the ground at least a foot from the stain and rolled towards the gas fire.]

Ali olovka je pala najmanje 20 centimetara dalje od mrlje, a onda se otkotrljala prema plinskoj peći. (TT2A: 66)

[The pencil fell down at least 20 centimeters from the stain and then rolled towards the gas stove.]

We may assume that only TT3A, being a direct translation from English, can be taken as representative of the tendencies in Croatian translation tradition at the time. In TT3A, recognized exoticisms were consistently used. For this reason we had to enlarge the corpus for this period to check whether TT3A is in fact representative. We used several randomly chosen translations published in the 1950s and 1960s and checked the rendering of these items in them. In the translation of *Oliver Twist* (1948) by the renowned translator Zlatko Gorjan recognized exoticisms are consistently used. That this principle is firmly followed in Gorjan's translation of *Oliver Twist* might be illustrated by the examples of units of measurement not found in the STs in our corpus, for example, "ounce":

- (8.10) [...] *kad bi osim toga dobivao još i dvije i četvrt unce kruha. (Oliver Twist: 16)*

[...when he would get two ounces and a quarter of bread besides.]

It should also be noted that "inch" is consistently rendered as *palac* (thumb).

- (8.11) [...] *kakav je već mogao da bude mladić visok četiri stope i šest palaca ili nešto više.* (Oliver Twist: 58)
[...what a young man four foot and six inches or something more tall could be.]

The same practice is found in the translation of *Appointment in Samara* by John O' Hara published in 1955. The translation was done Julija Gomboš, who, in addition to this book, translated several books from French:

- (8.12) *Bio je oko pet i pol stopa visok u cipelama s visokim petama i težak oko stotinu i trideset funti u odijelu.* (Sastanak u Samari: 44)
[He was about five and half feet tall in elevated shoes and had about a hundred and thirty pounds with a suit on.]

However, we also came across translations produced in the early 1960s where TC equivalents are used in parallel with imperial units. In the translation of *Reflections in a Golden Eye* by Carson MacCullers, Zlatko Gorjan (the translator of *Oliver Twist*) uses both imperial and metric units, as illustrated by the following example:

- (8.13) a) *Područje tvrđave prostiralo se na dvadeset četvornih milja zaparložena, neobrađena zemljišta.* (Dama i njen vojnik: 8)
[The area belonging to the fort covered twenty miles square of dry, uncultivated land.]
- b) *Trebalo je iskrčiti patuljasto hrastovo šiblje i otpiliti grane većega drveća ukoliko su sezale niže od dva metra od zemlje.* (Dama i njen vojnik : 10)
[The scrub oaks had to be cleared away and the branches of the large trees growing at less than two metres from the ground had to be cut away.]

To conclude, Table 8.5 shows that in the main corpus for the early 1960s *mile* and *foot* are rendered with a whole range of solution types. If we put aside paraphrase and omission, habitually used to render approximate measures, we can point out a tension

between the use of replacement with a recognized exoticism and replacement with a TC equivalent, which tend to be used when imperial units indicate an exact measurement.

We can conclude that in Period 1 two practices of rendering imperial units denoting exact measurements were in place. Based on an insight into the enlarged corpus for this period, we can add that it was also possible to follow both principles within the same TT, even in the TTs translated by renowned translators. Therefore, the inconsistencies observed in TT1A and TT2A are not to be attributed to the fact that they are indirect translations.

Table 8.6 presents the findings on the distribution of solution types for rendering units of measurement in the corpus for the late 1970s.

Table 8.6. Solution types used to render units of measurement in the corpus for Period 2

Item	TT4	TT3B	TT5	TT2B
mile	TCeq.	Rex.	TCeq.	Rex.
foot	TCeq.	TCeq.	N/A	Rex. Omiss.
inch	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
yard	TCeq.	N/A	N/A	N/A
stone	N/A	N/A	N/A	TCeq.

As Table 8.6 shows, in the late 1970s two practices of rendering *mile* and *foot* can be identified: their rendering as *milja* and *stopa*, and their replacement with corresponding metric units. Unlike in the earlier period, they are followed consistently within the same TT. Other units of measurement, such as *inch*, *yard* and *stone*, are not found frequently enough in the corpus to enable us to draw any generalizations but the available data on the rendering of *mile* and *foot* point out to the preference for TC equivalents.

It seems that in Period 2 we came across higher consistency within the same TT. On the other hand, the practice of rendering measuring units is not consistent when the TTs produced in the period are compared. Two practices were followed: imperial units of measurement were replaced with recognized exoticisms and TC equivalents.

Table 8.7 shows the findings on the distribution of solution types used to render units of measurement in Period 3.

Table 8.7. Solution types used to render units of measurement in the corpus for Period 3

Item	TT1B	TT6	TT7	TT8
mile	N/A	Prph. Rex.	TCeq.	TCeq.
foot	TCeq.	N/A	N/A	TCeq.
inch	Prph. TCeq.	N/A	Omiss.	TCeq.
yard	Prph.	Omiss. TCeq.	N/A	TCeq.
stone	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

As is evident from Table 8.7, the use of replacement with a recognized exoticism is only marginally present. The preferred solution type is replacement with a TC equivalent, followed by paraphrase and omission. The practice of rendering exact measurements in this period seems to have consolidated and use of a TC equivalent has become the preferred solution type.

On the basis of the observed regularities in the handling of imperial units of measurement we can conclude that in Periods 1 and 2 both assimilating and exoticizing solution types were used to render these items. Our corpus shows that in Period 3 the practice of using TC equivalents has gained the upper hand and become dominant. As we have pointed out, the corpus is too small to allow for reaching generalizations. Nevertheless, we find the quantitative dominance of TC equivalents indicative. With respect to the use of a recognized exoticism in TT6, we are more prone to interpret this as an indication of the poor professional socialization of its translator. We are led to adopt this view as we noticed that certain strong norms in Croatian, such as the rendering of foreign geographical names are not followed in this text. Thus, for example, a reference to *Salonica* is rendered as *Salonica*, although *Solun* is a long-established Croatian term for this location, which played its part in Croatian history. The same was observed in the rendering of *Mespot* as *Mespot*, instead of *Mezopotamija*.

8.4.2. Practices of rendering references to the British currency

The STs in our corpus, all of which were published for the first time before 1981, i.e. before the introduction of decimalization in Britain, often contain references to the British

currency units used at the time: *pounds*, *pennies*, *shillings*. They also contain occasional references to coin denominations such as *guinea* and *crown*, not any longer in circulation at the time when the texts were created. Of the range of solution types at translators' disposal the following six are used in our corpus to render references to currency:

1. Retention (Rtn.)
2. Adapted retention (Adprtn.)
3. Replacement with a recognized exoticism (Rex.)
4. Replacement with a recognized exoticism + addition (Rexadd.)
5. Replacement with a less specific item (Lsst.)
6. Omission (Omiss.)

In terms of the effect these options have on the overall flavor of the text, retention and replacement with a recognized exoticism are exoticizing solution types, as can be seen in Examples 8.14 and 8.15:

- (8.14) [...] but I see no reason why she should receive a penny from me,... (ST1: 32)
[...]
[...] *liegt keine Veranlassung vor, dass ich sie mit einem Penny unterstützte.*
(MT1: 40)
[... there is no reason why I should give her a single penny.]
[...] *ali ne vidim razloga da joj dam i jedan jedini penny.* (TT1A: 32)
[...but I do not see any reason to give her a single penny.]
- (8.15) I would not live in London for a million pounds. (ST1: 121)
Wenn man mir eine Million Pfund schenkte, so würde ich nicht in London selbst wohnen.(MT1: 146)
[If I were given a million pounds, I would not live in London.]
Da mi netko pokloni milijun funti, ne bih pristao da živim u Londonu.
(TT1A: 104)
[If someone gave me a million pounds I would not agree to live in London.]

The use of a recognized exoticism + addition is illustrated in 8.16:

- (8.16) I like a half-crown on myself occasionally. (ST3: 46)

Ja ponekad dopuštam sebi pola krune. (TT3A: 30)

[Sometimes I allow myself to spend half a crown.]

The addition that a crown is worth “dva i pol šilinga” (two and half shillings) is inserted in the footnote.

The other options employed in the corpus neutralize the text, stripping currency units of their potential as markers of the socio-cultural embeddedness of a text. The employment of replacement with a less specific item, and omission are illustrated below:

(8.17) Oh, yes, not a penny we could call our own, you know. Flora resented it – yes, I must say she resented it- very strongly. Though devoted to her uncle, of course. (ST4: 146)

Ah, da, nismo mogli ni za jedan novčić reći da je naš, znate. Flori je to bilo krivo, jest, moram priznati da joj je bilo krivo, i te kako krivo, iako je, naravno, bila privržena stricu. (TT4: 124)

[Oh, yes, not a single coin we could call our own, you know. Flora resented it – yes, I must say she resented it- very strongly, although she was, of course, devoted to her uncle.]

The use of omission is illustrated in the following example:

(8.18) Tommy paid 2d, and strolled up the pier. (ST6: 59)

Tommy plati kartu i krene na šetnju bez cilja. (TT6: 45)

[Tommy paid for the ticket and went for a stroll.]

As the rendering of this set of CSIs seems to be quite stable over the three periods, in Table 8.8 we present the findings on the distribution of solution types used to render these items in all the TTs at once.

Table 8.8 clearly shows that references to *pound*, *shilling*, *guinea* and *crown* are rendered with a recognized exoticism in all the cases. Only in one TT in Period 1 is a recognized exoticism combined with addition.

Table 8.8. Solution types used to render references to British currency in Periods 1, 2 and 3

Item	PERIOD 1			PERIOD 2				PERIOD 3			
	1A	2A	3A	4	3B	5	2B	1B	6	7	8
pound	Rex.	Rex.	Rex.	Rex.	Rex.	Rex.	Rex.	Rex.	Rex.	N/A	Rex.
penny	Rtn.	Lsst.	N/A	Lsst.	N/A	N/A	Adprtn.	Lsst.	Lsst.	N/A	N/A
shilling	N/A	Rex.	Rex.	Lsst.	Rex.	N/A	Rex.	Rex.	Rex.	N/A	Rex.
guinea	N/A	N/A	Rex.	N/A	Rex.	N/A	N/A	N/A	Rex.	N/A	Rex.
crown	N/A	N/A	Rexa dd.	N/A	Rex.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

The rendering of *penny*, however, is open to various practices: from the use of retention and adapted retention to the use of replacement with paraphrase and a less specific item. As far as adapted retention is concerned, it is registered in our corpus in Period 2. It should be noted, as is evident in Example 8.17, that in TT4 a reference to *penny* is replaced with a less specific item when *penny* is used in its metaphorical meaning as part of a phrase. Nevertheless, in TT1A we come across the retention of *penny* in a similar phrase, as is evident in Example 8.19:

- (8.19) [...] but there is no reason why she should receive a penny from me. (ST1: 32)
 [...] *liegt keine Veranlassung vor, dass ich sie mit einem Penny unterstützte.*
 (MT1: 41)
 [...there is no reason why I should give her a penny.]
 [...] *ali ne vidim razloga da joj dam i jedan jedini penny.* (TT1A: 32)
 [...but I do not see any reason to give her a single penny.]

However, in TT1B, the direct translation of ST1, and in TT8, both TTs produced in Period 3, a reference to *penny* in such phrases is rendered with a less specific item:

- (8.20) [...] but there is no reason why she should receive a penny from me. (ST1: 32)
 [...] *ali nema nikakva razloga da od mene dobije i jedan novčić.* (TT1B: 39)

[... but I do not see any reason why she should receive a single coin from me.]

- (8.21) If she'd bolted with young Hale, he'd never have seen a penny of it. (ST8: 104)
Da je pobjegla s mladim Haleom, nikad ne bi vidio ni novčića. (TT8: 72)
[If she had run away with young Hale, he would never have seen a single coin.]

This leads us to suggest that in TT4 we detected the beginning of a new practice which gained ground in the later period. As the translator of TT4 is a renowned translator and editor, it is reasonable to assume that he was the one who introduced a new textual-linguistic practice.

To conclude, while we observed stability in the regular rendering of *pound*, *shilling*, *crown* and *guinea* with recognized exoticisms, we observed a change in the practices of rendering *penny* used in phrases: while it was retained in Period 1, in the later periods we observed a tendency to use replacement with a less specific item in such cases, which points to an introduction of a new textual-linguistic practice.

The regularity in the rendering of *pound*, *shilling*, *guinea* and *crown* leads us to suggest that the rendering of those currency units might have been regulated by a strong textual-linguistic norm requiring that references to *pound*, *shilling*, *guinea* and *crown* be rendered with recognized exoticisms: *funta*, *šiling*, *gvineja* and *kruna*. Within our corpus, no indications of a challenge to this norm have been found. However, further research is necessary if we wish to trace candidates for textual-linguistic norms.

The only change with respect to the rendering of *penny* to denote a particular sum of money is a change from unadapted retention in Period 1 to adapted retention in Periods 2 and 3.

8.4.3. *Practices of rendering titles*

All the STs contain a large number of titles. The most frequently used ones include *Sir/sir*, *Lady/lady*, *Madame*, *m'lady*, *Mr.*, *Mrs.* and *Miss*.

Sir can be a male title followed by a person's full or first name, as in *Sir Montague*. We have labeled it *SirA* to distinguish it from *sir* used to address a man of higher social

rank without citing his name, which is labeled *SirB. Lady* also has a double function: it is used as a female title followed by a name, as in *Lady Edgware*, and as a form of referring to women of superior rank in third person. Again, this distinction is retained by using the labels *LadyA* and *LadyB* respectively. *My lady* and *m'lady* as its contracted form are used by servants when addressing their superiors. *Madame* is used as a form of address for women whose name is not known or mentioned. In Croatian, only three titles are used to refer to and address people in a formal manner: *gospodin*, *gospođa* and *gospođica*. During the period of Socialism these three forms of address were mostly banished from public use and the ideologically inspired etiquette required the use of *drug* (comrade) and *drugarica* (a female form of comrade) in official communication.

The solution types used to render this group of CSIs in our corpus are:

1. Retention (Rtn.)
2. Adapted retention (Adprtn.)
3. Replacement with a TC equivalent (TCeq.)
4. Replacement with a situational equivalent (Steq.)
5. Omission (Omiss.)

We will now illustrate the use of these solution types and describe the effects they may have on the cultural embeddedness of a TT.

Example 8.22 illustrates the use of retention:

(8.22) Mrs. Lester's coming in about that Rose Descartes model we're making for her. (ST1: 81)

Dorothy, Mrs. Lester beabsichtigt, wegen des Rose-Descartes Modellhutes, den wir für sie arbeiten, vorzusprechen...(MT1: 100)

[Dorothy, Mrs. Lester intends to come about that Rose-Descartes model of a hat we are making for her...]

Dorothei, mrs. Lester će doći radi šešira. Molim vas isprobajte razna pera..(TT1A: 84)

[Dorothy, Mrs. Lester is coming about a hat. Please, try it on with different feathers.]

The employment of replacement with a TC equivalent is illustrated by Example 8.23.

- (8.23) Those were Mrs Llewellyn's solicitors, I think you said. (ST5: 102)
Odvjetnici gospođe Llewellyn-Smith? (TT5: 94)
[Mrs. Llewellyn-Smith's solicitors?]

The use of replacement with a situational equivalent, and omission are illustrated by Examples 8.24 and 8.25:

- (8.24) The young lady in the flower shop? (ST3: 202)
Ona mlada djevojka u cvjećarnici? (TT3: 128)
[That young girl in the flower shop?]
- (8.25) Mrs Ariadne Oliver had gone with the friend with whom she was staying...
(ST5: 8)
O Ariadna Oliver pošla je sa svojom prijateljicom kod koje je bila u gostima..(TT5: 8)
[Ariadne Oliver went with the friend with whom she was staying...]

As the examples presented above show, the retention (8.22) of these items contributes considerably to the preservation of SC "color" in a TT, and therefore has an exoticizing effect. Replacement with a TC equivalent (8.23) has the effect of replacing a SC-specific marker with a TC-specific marker, while replacement with a situational equivalent (8.24) and omission (8.25) simply erase culture-specific markers.

As the practices of rendering these items in Period 1 require particular attention we present those findings separately in Table 8.9. In Table 8.10 we present our findings regarding the translators' choices of solution types for rendering titles in Periods 2 and 3.

As we can see in Table 8.9, in Period 1 two practices were followed in the rendering of titles:

1. English titles, such as *Sir A, Sir B, Lady A, Lady B, Mr., Mrs., Miss, Madame* were retained;
2. English titles, such as *Lady B, Mr., Mrs., Miss* and *Madame* were replaced with their TC equivalents.

Table 8.9. Solution types used to render references to titles in Period 1

Title	MT1	TT1A	MT2	TT2A	TT3A
Sir A	Rtn.	Rtn	Rtn.	Rtn	Rtn
Sir B	Rtn.	Rtn	Rtn.	Rtn	N/A
Mr.	Rtn.	Rtn. TCeq	Rtn.	Rtn.	TCeq
Mrs.	Rtn.	Rtn. TCeq	Rtn.	Rtn.	TCeq
Miss	Rtn.	Rtn. TCeq	Rtn.	Rtn.	TCeq
Madame	Rtn.	TCeq. Omiss.	Rtn.	N/A	N/A
Lady A	Rtn.	Rtn.	Rtn.	Rtn.	Rtn.
Lady B	Siteq.	N/A	TCeq.	Rtn.	TCeq.
m'lady	TCeq.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

With regard to the rendition of *Mr.*, *Mrs.* and *Miss*, the translator of TT1A was not consistent in the following of either practice. The translator of TT2A consistently followed the first principle, while the translator of TT3A consistently followed the second.

As in the case of the rendering of units of measurement, there seems to be a tension between the use of exoticizing and assimilating solution types in Period 1. We checked the rendition of these items in other translations from English produced in this period, to see whether the use of retention in TT1A and TT2A is an exclusive consequence of their being indirect translations from German.

In the translation of *Oliver Twist* (1948) by Gorjan, titles are rendered with TC equivalents, as we can see from the following example:

- (8.26) “For more!” said Mr. Limbkins. “Compose yourself, Bumble, and answer me distinctly. Do I understand that he asked for more, after he had eaten the supper allotted by the dietary?” (*Oliver Twist*: NP)
 “Tražio još!” reče gospodin Limbkins. “Smirite se, Bumble, i odgovorite mi jasno. Jesam li dobro razumio da je on tražio još, pošto je pojeo večeru po propisu.” (*Oliver Twist*: 17)

[“He asked for more!” said Mr. Limbkins. “Compose yourself, Bumble, and answer me clearly. Do I understand well that he asked for more, after he had eaten the proper supper.”]

In this text the same principle is followed in the rendering of *Mrs., Miss, Lady B*.

On the other hand, in *Potkazivač*, the translation of Edgar Wallace’s *The Squeaker* by a renowned translator from English, Leo Držić, published in 1964 all the titles are retained, as is illustrated in Example 8.27:

- (8.27) a) *Doveo sam Larryja, mr. Barrabal. – reče Elford.* (Potkazivač: 8)
 [I brought Larry, mr. Barrabal.]
 b) *Držao sam da si pošla na objed s mrs. Morden, Beryl.* (Potkazivač: 8)
 [I thought you went to lunch with Mrs. Morden, Beryl.]

Therefore, the use of retention in TT1A and TT2A cannot be accounted for by their being indirect translations. It is rather an indicator that two different practices were followed in Period 1.

Table 8.10. Solution types used to render references to titles in Periods 2 and 3

Item	PERIOD 2				PERIOD 3			
	TT4	TT3B	TT5	TT2B	TT1B	TT6	TT7	TT8
Sir A	N/A	Rtn.	Rtn.	Rtn.	Rtn.	N/A	Rtn.	N/A
Sir B	TCeq.	N/A	Rtn.	TCeq.	TCeq.	N/A	TCeq.	TCeq.
Mr.	TCeq.	TCeq.	TCeq.	TCeq.	TCeq.	TCeq.	TCeq.	TCeq.
Mrs.	TCeq.	TCeq.	TCeq.	TCeq.	TCeq.	TCeq.	TCeq.	TCeq.
Miss	TCeq.	TCeq.	TCeq.	TCeq.	TCeq.	TCeq.	TCeq.	TCeq.
Madame	N/A	N/A	TCeq.	N/A	Rtn.	N/A	N/A	Rtn.
Lady A	N/A	TCeq.	N/A	Rtn.	Rtn.	N/A	Rtn.	Rtn.
Lady B	N/A	TCeq.	TCeq.	N/A	Rtn.	N/A	TCeq.	TCeq.
m'lady	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	TCeq.	N/A	N/A	TCeq.

The findings in Table 8.10 show that in both Periods 2 and 3, *Mr.*, *Mrs.*, and *Miss* were regularly rendered with their corresponding TC equivalents. On the other hand, *Sir A* was regularly retained, which points to the continuation of the practice dominating in

Period 1. Handling of *Sir B* shows less homogeneity: in one text, TT5, we can observe a deviation from the dominant use of the TC equivalent. As we have pointed out above, in Period 1 the retention of *sir* as a form of addressing a superior was a regular practice. It seems that in TT5 a remnant of this practice is registered.

Lady A and *Lady B* are rendered with less stability across the corpus. With regard to *Lady A*, the more recent practice, applied in Period 3 without exception, seems to be the retention of this item. The only exception to this practice is found in TT3B, where *Lady Hesketh-Dubois* is rendered as *gospođa Hesketh-Dubois*. With regard to *Lady B*, the dominant practice seems to be its replacement with a TC equivalent. Again, an exception to this practice is found only in TT1B, where *Lady B* is systematically retained.

To conclude, with respect to the rendering of *Mr.*, *Mrs.*, *Miss*, *Lady B* and *Sir B* the practice of using TC equivalents is dominant while the alternative practice is only marginally present. On the other hand, *Sir A* is regularly retained and *Lady A* almost regularly retained.

On the basis of the observed regularities we can conclude that in Periods 2 and 3 *Mr.*, *Mrs.*, *Miss*, *Lady B* and *Sir B* are replaced with TC equivalents and *Sir A* and *Lady A* retained. In the case of *Lady A*, this practice is not uniformly followed.

To conclude, we observed that two practices – the use of TC equivalents and retention – were followed in dealing with most titles in Period 1. In Periods 2 and 3, this was replaced with the consistent employment of TC equivalents for all titles, except *Sir A* and *Lady A*. It seems that the use of TC equivalents becomes dominant, while the principle of retention still lingers only in the case of *Sir A* and *Lady A*, i.e. when they are followed by names.

8.4.4. *Practices of rendering references to meals*

The STs contain a large number of references to various meals: breakfast, lunch, dinner, supper and tea. The problem with rendering these items stems from the fact that the scheme of meals in Croatian culture and in the English culture of the social circles portrayed in Agatha Christie's novels differ in some respects but are similar in others. As Ivir points out (see 3.3.2.1), the ideal situations for the use of cultural equivalents are those in which there are both similarities and differences between the repertoires of the SC and TC.

In Croatian culture, it is usual to have three main meals in a day. They are: *doručak* (breakfast), *ručak* (lunch) and *večera* (supper/dinner). *Ručak*, mainly taken at mid-day or in the early afternoon, is the main meal of the day. With the onset of different working hours and a more hectic pace of everyday life, in today's transition Croatia the basic scheme of meals has undergone changes. Due to longer working hours, many families have the main meal of the day when all members meet at home late in the afternoon or early in the evening. It is interesting to note that people still refer to this meal as *ručak*, which leads us to conclude that the prevailing idea is that the main meal is *ručak*, irrespective of the time of day when it is consumed. In addition to this, the majority of institutions, such as kindergartens, schools and companies, provide a cooked meal at midday called *ručak*. The evening meal is usually not formally served, except on special occasions and it is common to refer to it as *večera*. This would also be the case with evening meals eaten out.

The problem with rendering English terms for these meals in translation is that two criteria have to be taken into account:

1. The time when the meal is taken;
2. Its salience in the life of a particular cultural community.

With respect to the first criterion, there is a clear correspondence between *ručak* and *lunch* on the one hand and *dinner/supper* and *večera* on the other. With respect to the second criterion, this correspondence does not work as the main meal in the day in English-speaking cultures is generally *dinner* and in Croatia it is *ručak*. Thus, in this respect, *ručak* and *dinner* correspond.

The above discussion shows that the differences between cultural practices related to meals in the SC and TC can have several consequences for the handling of these items in translation. *Lunch*, *dinner*, *supper* and *tea* can be replaced with their TC equivalents. However, in the case of *lunch*, *dinner* and *supper*, translators seem to be led by the question of whether this replacement will be in conflict with the usual perception of the schedule of taking these meals in the TC. For example, if it is clear from the context that the meal is taken in the evening it is replaced with *večera*, but if the context does not make it clear, it is rendered as *ručak* or *objed* (a more formal word for lunch). Example 8.27 illustrates the rendering of *dinner* as *ručak*. The example is taken from ST2, where the main character, Sir Charles Cartwright, is given a menu for grand dinner. As it is not clearly stated in the text

when the meal takes place, this rendering is not contrary to the target audience notions of *ručak*. Example 8.28 illustrates the rendering of dinner as *večera* in the same ST-TT pair.

(8.28) This is the menu for dinner. (ST2: 19)

Hier ist das Menü für Dinner. (MT2: 9)

[Here is the menu for dinner.]

Tu je jelovnik za ručak. (TT2A: 8)

[Here is the menu for lunch.]

(8.29) I got there just before dinner. (ST2: 249)

[...] *ich traf doch kurz vor dem Dinner ein...* (MT2: 149)

[I got there just before dinner.]

Došao sam malo prije večere. (TT2A: 124)

[I came a little before dinner.]

Example 8.30 illustrates replacement of dinner with *objed*.

(8.30) [...] but I heard them yell to her that dinner was ready. (ST8: 117)

[...] *ali čula sam kako joj viču da je objed gotov.* (TT8: 79)

[but I heard them yell to her that lunch is ready.]

The rendering of references to *tea* in Croatian TTs is also interesting. First, in Croatian culture tea as a drink does not have a special place it occupies, or at least used to occupy, in English culture. Until recently, the drinking of tea was not popular on social occasions, being mainly reserved for times of illness and as a favorite drink of the elderly. While the popularity of tea has recently started to grow, it has still not dethroned coffee as the most popular drink. As a light meal, tea has no clear correspondent in Croatian culture, either. A meal which is served in the late afternoon is called *užina*, but in Croatia it is not regularly taken as a formal meal, except in some institutions, such as schools and kindergartens. In line with its informality, there is no specific drink or choice of foods that people have for *užina*.

In the corpus five solution types were used for rendering meals:

1. Retention (Rtn.)
2. Replacement with a TC equivalent (TCeq.)

3. Replacement with linguistic translation (Lingtr.)
4. Replacement with a situational equivalent (Steq.)
5. Omission (Omiss.)

Example 8.31 illustrates both the use of retention to render *lunch* and the use of replacement with a situational equivalent to render *tea*.

(8.31) Miss Adams was out to lunch and tea. (ST1: 84)

Miss Adams nahm den Lunch in der Stadt und kam erst um sechs Uhr wieder. (MT1: 90)

[Miss Adams had lunch in town and came back at six o'clock.]

Miss Adams je bila na lunchu u gradu i vratila se tek oko šest sati. (TT1A: 68)

[Miss Adams had lunch in town and came back as late as six o'clock.]

Example 8.32 illustrates the use of replacement with a TC equivalent to render dinner.

(8.32) The guests arrive in goloshes and waterproofs after dinner. (ST4: 223)

Gosti dolaze nakon večere u kaljačama i kišnim kabanicama. (TT4: 195)

[The guests arrive after dinner wearing goloshes and waterproofs.]

Example 8.33 illustrates the omission of a reference to supper in TT1A.

(8.33) [...] an excellent supper somewhere else afterward. (ST1: 106)

[...] *und lehne auch das anschliessende Souper nicht ab, ...* (MT1: 129)

[and I do not refuse an excellent supper.]

In TT1A this part of the sentence was omitted.

We will now present the findings for the whole corpus.

As we can see from Table 8.11, the practice of rendering references to meals with corresponding TC equivalents has been regularly followed since the early 1960s. The only exception to this pattern is found in TT1A, where *lunch* is rendered as *lunch*, as is done in MT1. As we could not find any evidence of this practice in the enlarged corpus, it seems reasonable to conclude that this is to be attributed to the influence of the German MT.

Table 8.11. Solution types used to render references to meals in the corpus

Item	PERIOD 1			PERIOD 2				PERIOD 3			
	1A	2A	3A	4	3B	5	2B	1B	6	7	8
lunch	Rtn	TCeq	TCeq	TCeq	TCeq	TCeq	TCeq	TCeq	TCeq	TCeq	TCeq
dinner	TCeq. Steq.	TCeq	TCeq	TCeq	TCeq	TCeq	TCeq	TCeq	TCeq	TCeq	TCeq
supper	TCeq. Omiss.	N/A	TCeq	TCeq	TCeq	TCeq	TCeq	TCeq	TCeq	TCeq	TCeq
tea	Omiss. Lingtran.	Lingtr.	Lingtr.	Lingtr.	TCeq. Lingtr.	TCeq. Lingtr.	Lingtr.	Lingtr.	Omiss. Lingtr.	Lingtr.	TCeq. Lingtr.

8.4.5. Practices of rendering references to types of houses and catering facilities

All STs contain numerous references to catering facilities, such as *pub* and *inn*, as well as various specifically English types of houses, such as *bungalow* and *cottage*.

The range of solution types used to render them in our corpus includes:

1. Retention (Rtn.)
2. Adapted retention (Adprtn.)
3. Replacement with a TC equivalent (TCeq.)
4. Replacement with a less specific item (Lsst.)
5. Omission (Omiss.)

Retention refers to the retaining of an item, illustrated in Example 8.34.

- (8.34) Crow's Nest was a modern bungalow of the better type. (ST2: 13)
Vranino gnijezdo bio je moderni bungalow boljega tipa (TT2B: 11)
 [Crow's Nest was a modern bungalow of the better type.]

Adapted retention, referring to the orthographic adaptation of the retained item, is illustrated in 8.35.

- (8.35) She left the bungalow she'd built to the landscape man, for him to live in...
 (ST5: 98)
Bungalow što ga je sagradila ostavila je onom vrtlaru na uživanje... (TT5:
 93)

[The bungalow she had built she left to the gardener to live in...]

Example 8.36 illustrates the use of replacement with a TC equivalent.

(8.36) He was stabbed in the back. Not far from the Green Swan Pub. (ST5: 102)

Netko ga je ubio nožem, udarcem u leđa, nedaleko od gostionice "Zeleni labud" (TT5: 98)

[Someone killed him with a knife, he was stabbed in the back, not far from the Green Swan inn.]

Example 8.37 illustrates both replacement with a less specific item and omission, while 8.38 illustrates the use of omission.

(8.37) If he's still in the cottage – or the bungalow – that was built for him. (ST5: 138)

[...] *ako još uvijek živi tamo, u onoj kućici koja je bila za njega sagrađena.* (TT5: 130)

[...if he still lives there, in that little house that was built for him.]

(8.38) Old Mrs. Black in the third cottage up the hill.(ST3: 59)

Ona stara gospođa Black 0 tamo na brežuljku.(TT3A: 37)

[That old Mrs. Black 0 on the hill.]

As the treatment of these items in the corpus seems to be quite stable, we will present the findings for all TTs and then discuss the most interesting points.

Table 8.12 shows that the rendering of *pub* and *inn* with TC equivalents is dominant in almost all TTs. A set of ready-made equivalents, such as *krčma*, *gostionica*, *svratište* and *pivnica* (none of which, incidentally, are felicitous solutions), is used in all TTs except in TT3B. In TT3B, this practice was not followed and the item was rendered as *pab*, which is the phonologically adapted form of *pub*. We should note that today it is quite common to use the unadapted form *pub*, while *pab* seems to be an attempt at introducing an adapted form that has not been accepted. However, this seems to be a significant indicator of a challenge to the strongly established practice.

Table 8.12. Solution types used to render references to types of houses and catering facilities in the corpus

Item	PERIOD 1			PERIOD 2				PERIOD 3			
	1A	2A	3A	4	3B	5	2B	1B	6	7	8
pub	N/A	N/A	TCeq.	TCeq.	TCeq. Adprtn.	TCeq.	N/A	N/A	TCeq	N/A	TCeq
inn	N/A	Omiss.	TCeq.	TCeq.	TCeq.	N/A	TCeq.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
bungalow	N/A	TCeq.	Rtn.	N/A	TCeq.	Adprtn. Omiss.	Rtn.	N/A	Adprtn.		TCeq Lsst.
cottage	N/A	N/A	TCeq. Omis.	N/A	TCeq.	Lsst.	N/A	N/A	TCeq.	N/A	Lsst.

Croatian *krčma* and English *pub* correspond to each other in certain aspects: both are catering facilities where people can have a drink in the company of their friends. As far as the interior design is concerned, they differ significantly. What is more important, they are considerably different in terms of their social roles and the connotations they carry. In Croatian *krčma* is a place mostly frequented by men, particularly those interested in indulging in alcohol. Apart from drinking and talking to friends, no other form of entertainment is offered there. Unlike a pub, it is not regarded with approval as a hub of social life in villages or neighborhoods. Frequenting *krčma* always carries certain negative connotations. While *krčma* became entrenched, or widely accepted, as a solution for pub, *svratište* is an old-fashioned term for a hotel, or any establishment where one can stay the night.

Cottage is regularly rendered with TC equivalents. For example, in TT3A *cottage* is rendered as *ljetnikovac*, a highly inadequate TC equivalent:

- (8.39) The last of the witches have gone to cover in the tumble-down
cottage,... (ST3: 128)
Posljednje su se vještice sakrile u porušanim ljetnikovcima... (TT3A: 80)
 [The last witches have gone to cover in tumble-down summer villas.]

The problem with *ljetnikovac* is that it has quite the opposite connotations than *cottage*. While a dictionary definition of *cottage* is “a small house, especially in the

country”, *ljetnikovac* in Croatian carries connotations of luxury, nobility, etc. Its definition in *Rječnik hrvatskoga jezika* (The Dictionary of the Croatian Language) (2000) reads: “a house, villa or mansion for summer holidays.” Furthermore, if we know that the most famous *ljetnikovci* in Croatia, such as *ljetnikovac Cvijete Zuzorić* or *ljetnikovac Hanibala Lucića*, were built by noble families, the absurdity of this “equivalent” becomes obvious. The following quotation from the Croatian daily *Slobodna Dalmacija* (Free Dalmatia) (October, 22 2010) may serve as a concise illustration of the socially relevant connotations of *ljetnikovac* in Croatian culture:

The part of Croatia that has the largest number of *ljetnikovci* is the area surrounding Dubrovnik. They were mostly built by wealthy families in the period of *Dubrovačka Republika*, most often near the banks of rivers or at the coast, but also in the inland areas. While these houses indicated the family’s wealth and were a synonym for comfortable summer holidays and entertainment, today most of them are in ruin.

Table 8.12 shows that in TT2A *bungalow* was replaced with a TC equivalent (it is rendered as *ljetnikovac*, the term discussed above), while in TT3A it was retained. As we can see from Table 8.12, it has become quite common to render *bungalow* as *bungalov*, the orthographically adapted form of the loan word. The word entered Croatian from English, and underwent not only orthographic but also semantic adaptation during the process of borrowing, with the effect that English *bungalow* and Croatian *bungalov* are false friends. While the English *bungalow* is a one-storey house, usually with a front verandah, the Croatian *bungalov* is a small, usually wooden house, not very comfortable and found mainly in tourist resorts. The process of the orthographic adaptation of the word is traceable within our corpus: *bungalow* (TT3A and TT2B) → *bangalou* (TT3B) → *bungalov* (TT5 and TT1B). It is also interesting to point out that our corpus shows that the process of orthographic adaptation was not a continuous, smooth one: in Period 3 both *bungalow* and *bungalov* are used. This is because in the early 1990s a number of orthographically adapted words started to be used in their nonadapted form. However, in the latest TT in our corpus *bungalow* is rendered as *vila*.

On the basis of the above presented findings we can conclude:

1. Since the early 1960s, references to *pub*, *inn* and *cottage* have been rendered with the use of a certain similar TC item. However, in the late 1970s there were attempts to render *pub* with the adapted loan word.
2. In the early 1960s references to *bungalow* were retained, but in the late 1970s adapted forms were used. In the 2000s, in addition to the use of the adapted loan word, the use of a TC equivalent is seen.

Therefore, over the periods covered in this research the rendering of *pub*, *inn* and *cottage* seems to have been stable: they have been regularly replaced with a TC equivalent. However, we came across an example when this practice was challenged. That the translator was not completely sure about the appropriateness of the introduction of *pab* instead of *krčma* might be inferred from her inconsistency: she used *pab* only in one of the occurrences of this item. This is illustrated in 8.40:

- (8.40) The King's Arms was a genuine pub with a superior look about it and a freshly-painted announcement of Lunches, Dinners and Teas. (ST3: 112)
King's Arms je bio originalni pab otmjena izgleda sa svježe obojenim jelovnicima za doručak, ručak i večeru. (TT3B: 104)
[The King's Arms was an original pub with an elegant look about it and freshly-painted menus for breakfast, lunch and dinner.]

We will address this issue later in the final conclusion, when we take into account the data obtained from the interviews with translators.

With regard to the handling of *bungalow*, we note that the practice found in TT3A – the use of retention - seems to have been replaced with two competing norms in the late 1970s and early 2000s with the use of the adapted form or replacement with a similar TC item.

In Period 3, the rendering of one item – *bungalow* – seems to be unstable. However, the data in the corpus do not allow us to conclude anything about the dominance of the use of adapted retention or TC equivalent.

8.4.6. *Practices of rendering names of pubs and other catering facilities*

The STs contain a large number of references to the names of pubs, guesthouses, hotels and other types of catering facilities. We will first look at the overall range of solution types used to render this group of CSIs, illustrate them with examples and explain our decision on assigning them to a particular text-level orientation.

In our corpus the following solution types were used to render this group of CSIs:

1. Retention (Rtn.)
2. Adapted retention (Adprtn.)
3. Replacement with paraphrase (Prph.)
4. Replacement with linguistic translation (Lingtr.)
5. Replacement with a TC equivalent (TCeq.)
6. Replacement with a less specific item (Lsst.)
7. Omission (Omiss.)

Retention, as with all the other groups of CSIs, involves the retaining of a SC item such as it is. In this respect, this is an obviously exoticizing solution type. Its employment is illustrated by Example 8.41:

- (8.41) [...] and was now the proud proprietor of The Duck and Dog pub in South London.(ST6: 128)
[...] *i sada je ponositi vlasnik gostionice «The Duck and Dog» u Južnom Londonu.* (TT6: 89)
[and is now the proud owner of the pub The Duck and Dog in South London.]

Retention + addition is illustrated by Example 8.42:

- (8.42) The next we hear of Father Gorman is at Tony's Place... (ST3: 36)
Zatim smo saznali da je otac Gorman bio u malom baru "Tony's Place"...
(TT3B: 32)
[Then we heard that Father Gorman was in the little bar "Tony's Place".]

Replacement with paraphrase is illustrated by the following example:

- (8.43) The next we hear of Father Gorman is at Tony's Place... (ST3: 36)
Ono što smo dalje saznali o ocu Gormanu, jest, da se našao kod Tonyja...
(TT3A: 23)
[The next we learnt about Father Gorman is that he was at Tony's...]

Replacement with linguistic translation involves the replacement of a name with its linguistic translation into the TL. No other interventions aimed at bringing the TL expression closer to the target conventions are involved. When such interventions are introduced, the ensuing solution type is labeled replacement with a TC equivalent. Example 8.44 illustrates the use of replacement with linguistic translation:

- (8.44) You can ask at the Dog and Whistle. (ST4: 260)
Možete se raspitati kod Psa i zviždaljke. (TT4: 227)
[You can ask at the Dog and Whistle.]

Example 8.45 presents an illustration of the use of replacement with a TC equivalent:

- (8.45) I've found a nice quiet little hotel called (heaven knows why) the Deer Park.
(ST3: 275)
Našao sam lijepi, posve mali hotel, koji se zove, bog zna zašto, »Lovište».
(TT3A: 172)
[I've found a nice, very small hotel, which is called, God knows why "The Hunt".]

With respect to their contribution to the text-level orientations, retention is classified as exoticizing and retention + addition as exoticizing and informative. Paraphrase, replacement with linguistic translation and replacement with a TC equivalent are classified as assimilating. We have decided to classify replacement with linguistic translation in this way in order to be able to reflect a tendency towards more assimilating solution types and distinguish them from retention and retention + addition which are more exoticizing. Replacement with a less specific item and omission are classified as neutralizing.

We will now try to observe regularities and changes in the rendering of this group of CSIs in our corpus. The names of all catering establishments can be divided into three groups, using linguistic criteria:

- A. Those that contain common nouns only and have certain compositional sense that can be translated;
- B. Those that consist of proper nouns only;
- C. Those that contain a combination of common and proper nouns.

The names belonging to group A found in our corpus are the following: *Seventy-Two Club* (ST2); *White Horse, Wayside, Fairview, King's Arms, White Cockatoo* (ST3); *Dog and Whistle* (ST4); *Cock and Sparrow, King's Head, Crown and Anchor, Castle* (ST8).

Group B includes the following examples: *Savoy* (ST1, ST8), *Crillon, Sobranis* (ST1); *Luigi* (ST3), *Frivolity, Bon Temps* (ST8).

Group C contains the following items: *Piccadilly Palace* and *Lyon Corner House* (ST1); *Tony's Place* (ST3); *Grand Adlington* (ST8).

Table 8.13 presents the findings on the patterns of dealing with these three groups of catering establishments in all TTs.

Table 8.13. Solution types used to render names of catering establishments in the corpus

TT	PERIOD 1			PERIOD 2				PERIOD 3			
	1A	2A	3A	4	3B	5	2B	1B	6	7	8
Group A	N/A	N/A	Lingtr.	Lingtr.	Lingtr. Rtn.	N/A	Rtn.	N/A	N/A	N/A	Lingtr.
Group B	Rtn.	N/A	Rtn.	N/A	Rtn.	N/A	N/A	Rtn.	Rtn.	N/A	Rtn.
Group C	Rtn.	N/A	Prph.	N/A	Rtnadd.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Rtn.

With regard to the names belonging to group A, two practices are observed: the replacement of the name with linguistic translation, and retention of the name. Unfortunately, two of the three texts belonging to Period 1 do not contain any such names. Therefore, our insight into the practices followed in Period 1 is limited to just one TT, in which linguistic translation is used. In Period 2 we traced both practices, linguistic translation being quantitatively dominant within our corpus. The sample for Period 3 is again extremely limited, consisting of only one TT, in which linguistic translation is used.

With names belonging to group B we have observed a strong and stable tendency to retain the name.

With names belonging to group C, whose presence is limited to few TTs, there seems to dominate the practice of retaining these items.

To conclude, our findings suggest that the names consisting of common nouns have been rendered in two ways: retained and translated. However, since the corpus is limited it is difficult to reach any generalizations about diachronic dominance of either of them. The regularity in the retention of names containing proper nouns only points to the well-established practice that has not undergone changes.

8.4.7. *Practices of rendering names of houses, castles and estates*

First of all, we should note that in Croatia the practice of referring to houses and estates by names is not common. Only certain grand houses are named, and the practice of naming houses is different from the one in England: if they have a name at all, houses in Croatia usually bear female names, such as *Vila Angolina*, *Vila Elza*, or the names of regions, such as *Vila Dalmacija* or *Vila Zagorje*. The common practice of referring to castles, which are these days rarely used as residences, is by the name of their one-time owners (for example, *dvorac Oršić*, *dvorac Pejačević*, *dvorac Gjalski*). Another pattern found is that castles bear their historical names, usually related to some legend. Thus, for example a legend has it that the name *Trakošćan* was derived from the Thracian word for fortress, *arx Thacorum*),

The main point is that in Croatia it is not usual for the names of houses and castles to contain any easily recoverable semantic content beyond the name. English tradition is different in this respect.

By linguistic criteria, the names of houses and estates appearing in the STs can be divided into three groups:

- A. Those that contain common nouns only and have compositional sense that can be translated;
- B. Those that contain proper nouns only;
- C. Those that consist of proper and common nouns.

Examples of CSIs belonging to group A are: *Regent Gate*, *Rosedew Mansions* (ST1); *Crow's Nest*, *Pink Cottage*, (ST2), *Prior's Court* (ST3); *Marby Grange*, *Fernly Park* and *Larches* (ST4); *Apple Trees*, *Pine Crest* and *Quarry House* (ST5), *Smuggler's Rest* and *Sea View* (ST6), *Handcross Manor* (ST8) and *the Laurels*, *Grange*, *Dormy House*, *The Larches* and *the Red House* (ST8).

Group B contains fewer examples: *Dunboyn* (ST2), *Bella Vista*, *Karachi*, *Edenholm* and *Trelawny* (ST6), *Alderbury* (ST8).

Group C contains the following items: *Merton Castle*, *Merton House* (ST1), *Melfort Abbey*, *St. John's House* (ST2), *Ferrilby Grange* and *Adlington Hall* (ST8).

In our corpus the following solution types were used to render this category of CSIs:

1. Retention (Rtn.)
2. Retention + linguistic translation (Rtnlingtr.)
3. Replacement with linguistic translation (Lingtr.)
4. Replacement with a TC equivalent
5. Omission (Omiss.)

The following examples illustrate the employment of each of these solution types and help us identify their effects on the preservation, neutralization or assimilation of cultural markers in a TT.

Retention and retention + linguistic translation are illustrated by Examples 8.46 and 8.47:

(8.46) So we go to Regent Gate at eleven(ST1: 21)

Dann werden wir also morgen gegen elf nach Regent Gate gehen. (MT1: 29)

[Then, we will go to Regent Gate tomorrow around eleven.]

Dakle mi ćemo sutra oko jedanaest poći u Regent Gate. (TT1A: 23)

[Well, we will set out to Regent Gate tomorrow around eleven.]

(8.47) “He’s unlike anyone I met and Merton Castle is too wonderful.”(ST1: 12)

“Ne sličī nikome koga sam dosad sreła, a dvorac Merton je jednostavno prekrasan. (TT1B: 17)

[He does not look like anyone I have met, and Castle Merton is simply wonderful.]

The employment of both solution types preserves the “touch” of the SC; yet, retention + linguistic translation brings the item closer to the TT reader and partially erases its exotic features. In this respect, we can consider it to be a solution type that combines exoticizing and assimilating effects, which, when compared to retention, presents a more

assimilating solution type. For this reason, we have classified it as an assimilating solution type.

Replacement with linguistic translation consists in the translation of the name, as is done in Example 8.48:

- (8.48) Mr. Satterthwaite sat on the terrace of 'Crow's Nest' and... (ST2: 13)
Gospodin Satterthwaite je sjedio na terasi "Vranina gnijezda"i ... (TT2A: 11)
[Mr. Satterthwaite sat on the terrace of 'Crow's Nest' and...]

Replacement with a TC equivalent is illustrated by Example 8.49:

- (8.49) -Will you give me the address, please?
- The Laurels, Edgeworth Road.(ST8: 38)
- *Recite mi, molim vas, svoju adresu.*
- Vila lovora. Edgeworth Road. (TT8: 28)
[- Could you, please, tell me your address?
- Villa of Laurels. Edgeworth Road.]

As we can see from Example 8.49, the translator intervened and adapted the translation to the TC tradition and conventions. Linguistic translation of the reference to *The Laurels* would read *Lovori*, the Croatian word for the plant. In that case it would sound rather strange. On the other hand, the solution employed above – *Vila lovora* – is a name that could be given to a house in Croatia.

Omission is illustrated by Example 8.50:

- (8.50) She bought the Quarry House. A big Victorian house which included a disused quarry which attracted her as having possibilities. (ST5: 94)
Kupila je zato onu veliku viktorijansku kuću uz napušteni kamenolom, koji je s kućom i dobila. (TT5: 90)
[Because of that she bought that big Victorian house which included an abandoned quarry, which she got together with the house.]

Table 8.14 presents findings on the solution types used to render these three groups of CSIs in all TTs.

Table 8.14. Solution types used to render the names of houses and estates

TT	PERIOD 1			PERIOD 2				PERIOD 3			
	TT1A	TT2A	TT3A	TT4	TT3B	TT5	TT2B	TT1B	TT6	TT7	TT8
Group A	Rtn.	Lingtr.	Lingtr.	Rtn.	Rtn.	TCeq. Rtn.	Lingtr. Rtn.	Rtn.	Rtn.	Rtn.	TCeq.
Group B	N/A	Rtn.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Rtn.	N/A	Rtn.	N/A	Rtn.
Group C	N/A	Rtn.	Rtn.	N/A	N/A	N/A	Rtn.	Rtnlingtr.	Rtn.	N/A	Rtn.

With items belonging to Group A two practices are followed: in some TTs they are retained and in some linguistically translated. Both of these practices are present in all three periods. However, we might also observe that the practice of retaining these items seems to be more dominant in the most recent period.

Items belonging to group B are retained. With items in group C two practices are observed in Period 3: the entire item is retained, and part of the name is retained and the other part translated.

On the basis of our findings we can conclude that in all three periods both retention and linguistic translation are used. In Period 3 a new, middle-of-the-road practice was introduced.

8.4.8. *Practices of rendering names of streets, squares, parks, and other urban toponyms*

The names of streets, squares, parts of towns, parks and other urban toponyms are strong markers of the text's locational anchorage. In translation they can be rendered in a number of ways, whose effect may be a strengthening of the TT's placement in the SC environment or its placement in some, in locational terms, neutral space, or even in the TC environment. In our corpus the following solution types were used to render this group of CSIs:

1. Retention (Rtn.)
2. Retention + linguistic translation (Rtnlingtr.)
3. Replacement with a less specific item (Lsst.)

4. Replacement with a situational equivalent (Steq.)
5. Replacement with linguistic translation (Lingtr.)
6. Omission (Omiss.)

Let us illustrate how each of these solution types works and what effects they have on the locational identity of a TT using an example of theoretically possible renderings of *Bond Street*. In a TT *Apple Street* can be rendered as:

1. *Apple Street* – retention
2. *Ulica Apple*- retention + linguistic translation
3. *ulica (street)* - replacement with a less specific item
4. *susjedna ulica (neighboring street)* - replacement with a situational equivalent
5. *Ulica Jabuka* – replacement with linguistic translation
6. 0 – omission
7. *Ilica* (a street in Zagreb) – replacement with a TC equivalent

Replacement with linguistic translation has limited applicability inasmuch as it cannot be used for names that contain proper nouns as one of its elements, as, for example, *Oxford Street*. However, neither replacement with linguistic translation nor replacement with a TC equivalent was used in any of the TTs making up our corpus. Therefore, in Table 8.15 only the solution types used are presented.

Table 8.15. Solution types used to render names of city toponyms

Item	PERIOD 1			PERIOD 2				PERIOD 3			
	TT1A	TT2A	TT3A	TT4	TT3B	TT5	TT2B	TT1B	TT6	TT7	TT8
Streets, roads, bridges	Rtn. Omiss.	Rtn. Omiss.	Rtn. Rtnlingt.	Rtnlin gt	Rtn.	Rtn.	Rtn.	Rtnlingt	Rtnlingt Rtn.	Rtn.	Rtnlingt Rtn.
Squares	Rtn.	Rtn.	Rtn.	N/A	Rtn.	N/A	Rtn.	Rtn. Rtnlingt	Lingtr.	N/A	N/A
Parks	Rtnlingtr Omiss.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Rtn. Rtnlingtr.	N/A	N/A	Rtn.
Neigh- borhoods	Rtn. Omiss.	N/A	Rtn.	N/A	Rtn.	N/A	N/A	Rtn.	N/A	N/A	

As we can see from Table 8.15, in Period 1 diverse practices of rendering these items were followed. In TT1A and TT2A, they were retained, omitted and partially retained and

partially translated. In TT3A, retention and retention + linguistic translation were employed. Such variability, in particular within the same TT, points either to a lack of strong textual-linguistic norms regulating the rendering of these items or to their translators' unawareness of these norms. In Period 2, on the other hand, we can observe a consolidation of the practices followed: these items are mostly retained. Only in one TT in this period – TT4 – are they rendered with retention + linguistic translation. However, in Period 3 both practices are followed, with retention + linguistic translation being more dominant.

8.4.9. Conclusion

On the basis of our findings on the practices of dealing with the selected sets of CSIs we can conclude the following:

1. The practices of rendering certain sets of items have been stable over the periods covered. Such sets of items are:
 1. Selected titles: *Sir A* and *Lady A*;
 2. Currency units: *pound*, *shilling*, *crown*, *guinea*;
 3. References to meals;
 4. References to some types of houses and catering facilities: *inn* and *cottage*;
 5. References to pubs and other catering facilities consisting of proper nouns only.
2. The practices of rendering certain sets of items have showed instability over the periods covered. This applies to the following sets of items:
 1. Certain titles: *Mr.* *Mrs.* and *Miss*; *Sir B*, *Lady A* and *Lady B*;
 2. Imperial units of measurement
 3. Names of pubs and catering facilities consisting of common nouns;
 4. Names of houses and estates consisting of common nouns;
 5. Names of streets and other city toponyms;
 6. References to *pub* and *bungalow*;
 7. References to *penny*.

As the items where we detected instability are more interesting to us, we will discuss them in more detail.

With regard to the rendering of titles, we have traced an important diachronic change. While in Period 1 two practices were followed, in Period 2 we traced the consolidation of a single practice: the use of TC equivalents. Thus, the rendering of titles became stabilized and the preferred solution type is assimilating.

As for the rendering of imperial units of measurement, we have observed that the practice of using recognized exoticisms was gradually abandoned. In Period 3, in all cases TC equivalents are used.

With regard to the rendering of the names of catering facilities consisting of common nouns, this seems to vary: such names are both retained, linguistically translated and replaced with TC equivalents. Moreover, we have not observed any remarkable diachronic relations; all three practices are present in all the periods.

With regard to the names of streets and other urban toponyms, a diachronic change is observed. In Period 3 preference is given to the use of retention + linguistic translation, except in the cases of the deeply entrenched use of retention, as in the case of the rendering of *Oxford Street*.

8.5. Comparative analysis of the TTs generated from the same STs

As we have noted, our corpus contains three pairs of texts that are produced on the basis of the same STs. They are:

1. TT1A and TT1B (generated from ST1)
2. TT2A and TT2B (generated from ST2)
3. TT3A and TT3B.

TT1A and TT1B are indirect translations of ST1 and ST2 respectively. Only TT3A and TT3B are translations of the same ST.

The aim of this analysis is to compare the ways of dealing with CSIs in these pairs of texts.

8.5.1. Comparative analysis of indirect and direct translations

An easily noticeable difference between TT1A and TT2A and their counterpart direct translations of the same STs is a difference in the number of CSIs. Table 8.23 presents the data on the number of CSIs in the pairs of TTs generated from the same STs.

Table 8.16. The number of CSIs in indirect and direct translations

TT	TT1A	TT1B	TT2A	TT2B	TT3A	TT3B
No. of CSIs	68	92	130	175	245	246
No. of solution types	78	103	139	194	256	258

We can see that the number of CSIs in indirect translations is considerably lower than in the direct translations produced later. Thus, TT1A contains 68 CSIs and the later produced direct translation 92 CSIs. The same applies to TT2A-TT2B pair: the indirect translation contains 130 CSIs and the direct translation 175.

This is accounted for by the fact that a large number of CSIs was already mediated in MT1 and MT2. Thus, in both MT1 and MT2 references to specific institutions, places, customs, etc. were mediated by the use of neutralizing solution types. We will illustrate this point by several examples. An example of the neutralization of a CSI by its replacement with a less specific item is found in MT2:

(8.51) As she emerged into Bruton Street, Egg glanced at her watch. (ST2: 212)

Als sie auf die Strasse trat, blickte sie auf ihrere Uhr. (MT2: 129)

[As she went out into the street, she looked at her watch.]

Kad je izašla na ulicu, pogledala je na sat. (TT1A.108)

[When she went out into the street, she looked at the watch.]

(8.52) “Rum thing – life. Kicked out one day, lord of the manor the next...”(ST: 102)

“Ein komisches Ding ist das Leben. An die Luft befördert heute, und gleich darauf Herr und Gebieter im Hause...” (MT1: 124)

[Life is a comic thing. Today kicked out, and tomorrow the master of that
house...]

*“Život je čudna stvar. Izbačen iz kuće, a odmah zatim gospodar u toj
kući...” (TT1A: 90)*

[Life is a strange thing. Kicked out of the house, and then the master in that
house...]

In Example 8.52 a reference to *manor* was omitted in MT1 and therefore in TT1A no
CSI was found in this place. Example 8.53 illustrates the use of omission:

- (8.53) “My dear,” said Mrs. Windburn, “you mustn’t take notice of him. Most
brilliant as a boy in the O.U.D.S. You’d hardly think so now, would you? I
hate to see early promise come to nothing...” (ST1: 18)

*“Meine Liebe, Sie haben auch nicht nötig, ihn zu bemerken,“ entgegnete
Mrs. Widburn. „Ein unbedeutender junger Dachs!... (MT1: 25)*

[My dear, it is not important to take notice of him.” replied Mrs. Widburn.

“An insignificant young lad!...]

*“Draga moja, nije bilo ni potrebno da ga primijetite,“ odgovorila je mrs.
Widburn. „Potpuno beznačajan mladić!“ ...“ (TT1A: 21)*

[My dear, it was not necessary to notice him,“ replied Mrs. Widburn. “A
completely insignificant young man!]

*„Draga moja“, rekla je gospođa Widburn. „Ne smiješ na njega obraćati
pažnju. Kao dječak je upravo briljirao u dramskoj družini Oxfordskog
sveučilišta. Danas bi teško u to mogla povjerovati, zar ne? Mrzim kad mladi
što su toliko obećavali na početku na koncu ispadnu ništarije...“ (TT1B: 24)*

[“My dear,” said Mrs. Windburn, “you mustn’t take notice of him. As a boy
he was brilliant in the Drama Society of Oxford University. You’d hardly
think so now, would you? I hate to see that young promising people in the
end turn into a waste...”]

The segment of ST1 presented in Example 8.53 is a remark given by Mrs. Widburn,
one of the guests at a supper party, organized by the main character, the American actress

Jane Wilkinson, married to Lord Edgware, the murder victim. In her remark, addressed to the hostess, Mrs. Widburn refers to Lord Edgware's nephew, Captain Ronald Marsh. She mentions his successes in O.U.D.S. to illustrate how promising a boy Marsh had been but did not live to the expectations of those surrounding him. In MT1 this remark is condensed and the reference to O.U.D.S. omitted. Instead of the culture-specific reference, the German translator conveyed just the gist of the remark, i.e. that Captain Marsh deserves no attention due to his poor accomplishments. Therefore, the translator of TT1A did not find any CSI to deal with at this place in the text. As the example shows, the translator of TT1B translated the entire segment and decided to paraphrase the reference to O.U.D.S. preserving its culture-specific content.

In addition to the fact that a large portion of the mediation of CSIs was carried out in MT1 and MT2, as is evident from a comparison of the total number of CSIs in indirect and direct translations, both TT1A and TT2A exhibit a tendency to use neutralizing solution types. This is particularly relevant for TT2A, which stands out from all the other TTs in our corpus because of an unusually high number of neutralizing solution types. In TT2A, neutralizing solution types account for 43.16 percent of all solution types used. In most cases the solution type applied is omission. Thus, various references not directly relevant to the plot are simply omitted even when they are present in MT2. A good illustration of this point is found in a passage containing a description of Mr. Satterthwaite's house on Chelsea Embankment. Let us compare the rendering of this passage in MT2, TT2A and TT2B:

(8.54) Mr. Satterthwaite's house was on Chelsea Embankment. It was a large house, and contained many beautiful works of art. There were pictures, sculpture, Chinese porcelain, prehistoric pottery, ivories, miniatures and much genuine Chippendale and Hepplewhite furniture. (ST2: 144)

Es war ein grosses Haus, am Chelsea Embankment gelegen, und barg viele schöne Kunstgegenstände. Wertvolle Gemälde gab es dort, Skulpturen, chinesisches Porzellan, Elfenbeinarbeiten, Miniaturen, und eine Menge echter Chippendale-und Hepplewhite Möbel. (MT2: 85)

[It was a large house, situated on Chelsea Embankment, and it contained a lot of beautiful works of art. There were valuable paintings, sculptures,

Chinese porcelain, objects of ivory, miniatures and much genuine
Chippendale and Hepplewhite furniture.]

*Njegova kuća na Chelsea Embankmentu bila je puna starinskog pokućstva i
umjetničkih slika...* (TT2A: 71)

[His house on Chelsea Embankment was full of period furniture and
paintings...]

*Gospodin Satterthwaite je stanovao u Chelsea Embankmentu. Prostrana
kuća bila je puna lijepih umjetničkih djela: slika, kipova, kineskog
porculana, pretpovijesne keramike, predmeta od slonove kosti, minijatura, te
mnogo pravog stilskog namještaja chippendale i hepplewhite.* (TT2B: 126)

[Mr. Satterthwaite lived on Chelsea Embankment. The large house was full
of beautiful works of art: pictures, sculptures, Chinese porcelain, prehistoric
pottery, ivories, miniatures and much genuine period furniture Chippendale
and Hepplewhite.]

Example 8.54 shows that in MT2 the relevant passage is completely translated and references to Chelsea Embankment and two kinds of typically English furniture are retained without any additional information added. On the other hand, in TT2A the whole passage is condensed and only a reference to Chelsea Embankment retained. In TT2B the passage is again completely translated, and the reference to Chippendale and Hepplewhite furniture retained. The translator also added information that this is a kind of period furniture, thus opting for an exoticizing solution containing an informative component.

In this respect, TT2A differs both from another indirect translation in the corpus and all the other TTs in the corpus.

8.5.2. Comparative analysis of TT3A and TT3B

TT3B is the only retranslation in our corpus. ST3 was first translated as TT3A and published in 1964. TT3B was published in 1977 within the large project of Agatha Christie's works launched by *Globus*. We could not find out anything about the reasons for this retranslation, as the editor of TT3B is unavailable and the manager of the publishing house was not interested in the details of the project, apart from its financial effects.

Table 8.17. Text-level orientation by percentage in TT3A and TT3B

Text-level orientation	TT3A	TT3B
AS	28.51	29.84
EX	50.00	43.02
N	21.48	27.13
INF	9.38	2.71

As it can be seen from the findings in Table 8.17, the two TTs do not exhibit major differences. The retranslation is slightly more assimilating. When it comes to exoticizing and neutralizing orientations, we can observe that in TT3A a higher preference for exoticizing solution types is observed, in particular informative ones.

In line with the expectations that in the thirteen years from 1963 to 1977 the Croatian readership acquired a better general knowledge of the English-speaking cultures, in TT3B informative solution types were used significantly less often. Thus, in TT3A these solution types accounted for 9.38 percent of all solution types used and in TT3B for 2.71 of all solution types used. The translator of TT3A added eighteen footnotes, not all of which contain culturally relevant information. However, the largest number of them contains information on the culturally specific elements of the novel's setting. Thus, the first footnote instructs the reader how to pronounce Chelsea:

- (8.55) Or you can start before that, on a certain evening in Chelsea. (ST3: 7)
A mogli bismo početi i ranije, i to jednom večeri u Chelseaju. (TT3A: 5)
čitaj Čelsi – umjetnička četvrt Londona
 [And we could start even earlier, with a certain evening in Chelsea.
 read Čelsi – an art neighborhood in London.]

Other footnotes contain information on units of measurement and currency units. A reference to Big Ben is retained and accompanied with a footnote reading that “Big Ben je zvono na zgradi Parlament u Londonu” (Big Ben is a bell on the Parliament building in London”). In the same way it is explained in the footnote that Harrods is “jedna od uglednih robnih kuća u Londonu” (one of the distinguished department houses in London), as we have already pointed out in 4.4. A reference to sari is also accompanied with an

informative footnote saying that it is “indijska ženska odjeća, komad svile dekorativno omotan oko tijela” (an Indian female garment, a piece of silk wrapped around the body decoratively).

The retranslation contains no footnotes and no additional information about the above mentioned references.

To conclude, TT3A and TT3B do not exhibit any significant differences in the handling of CSIs, except in the informative text-level orientation, which is quite visible in TT3A.

In this chapter we have presented the findings obtained by textual analysis. In the next chapter we will present the findings from interviews with agents and bring the two sets of data into correlation.

9. The agents

We will now present the findings obtained from qualitative interviews that were conducted with all the available agents in the production of the TTs included in our corpus. According to their role in the “translating event”, the interviewees can be divided into two groups: translators on the one hand, and editors and publishers on the other. “Translating event” is a term used by Toury to refer to “the context of situation where the person performing the [translating] act, and hence the act itself, are embedded” as distinct from “act of translation”, which is “indeed cognitive” (1995:249).

The 11 TTs that make up our corpus were translated by 14 translators. TT4, TT6 and TT7 were translated in tandem. Here is a complete list of the TTs and their translators:

1. TT1A – Zvonimir Golob
2. TT2A – Mira Mandić
3. TT3A – Elza Grin
4. TT4 – Zlatko i Neda Crnković
5. TT3B – Dunja Vražić Stejskal
6. TT5 – Renata Čičin Šajn
7. TT2B – Višnja Ogrizović
8. TT1B – Jadranka i Nikša Peršić
9. TT6 – Marko Njegić i Marija Razum
10. TT7 – Mario Jović
11. TT8 – Patricija Vodopija

Here is a list of editors and publishers in the publishing houses involved in the production of the TTs in our corpus:

12. TT1A – *Lykos*, ed. Slobodan Novak
13. TT2A – *Stvarnost*, ed. Fadil Hadžić
14. TT3A – *Mladost*, ed. N/A
15. TT4 – *Globus*, eds. Danica Vujnović and Božena Zadro
16. TT3B – *Globus*, eds. Danica Vujnović and Božena Zadro
17. TT5 – *Globus*, eds. Danica Vujnović and Božena Zadro
18. TT2B – *Globus*, eds. Danica Vujnović and Božena Zadro
19. TT1B – *Marjan knjiga*, ed. Tatjana Šormaz

20. TT6 – *V.D.T.*, ed. Veljko Krulčić
21. TT7 – *V.D.T.*, ed. Veljko Krulčić
22. TT8 – *Mozaik knjiga*, ed. Zoran Maljković

As far as tandem translation is concerned, we should note that according to Zlatko Crnković, the translation of TT4 was not done in tandem: the name of Neda Crnković appeared on the imprint for some administrative reasons. On the other hand, TT6 was translated in tandem, but we were not able to reach the second partner.

In the end we conducted nine interviews. This covers the translators of the following TTs: TT3B, TT4, TT5, and TT6. We were not able to interview the translators of TT1A and TT3A, who died before the launching of this project. The translator of TT2A seems to be a “phantom” translator. Our search through the *BLW* and the National and University Library catalogue did not yield any results: no other translation seems to be a work by this person. In addition, our attempts to get some information concerning the identity of the translator of TT2A in our discussions with the players on the publishing scene of that period did not give any results. We also tried to talk to TT2B’s translator but were unable to do so because of her illness. She died in 2011.

As far as the editors and publishers are concerned, we conducted interviews with five of them. With some of them we could not conduct interviews due to objective circumstances. Thus, for example, we could not trace down Danica Vujnović, the editor at *Globus* at the time when the TTs in the corpus were published. The people involved in the project we talked to had lost contact with her and could not help us trace her. Instead, we interviewed Božena Zadro, who took over as editor from Vujnović in the middle of the Agatha Christie project and supervised it until its end. As Zadro was also an active translator and translated some of the books in the Agatha Christie series, in the interview with her we also gained insights into her attitudes as a translator.

To make it easier for the reader to follow, in our presentation of the interviews we will not refer to the translators’ and editors’ names, but as translator of TT1A, editor of TT1A and so on.

As the interviews were conducted in Croatian, all the translations of the respondents’ words are our own.

The questions (listed in section 5.4) served as a list of topics to be covered or guidelines for semi-structured interviews. Depending on the direction the interview took, they were reinforced by prompts from the interviewer. The questions can be clustered into four groups, with each group related to one topic:

1. The attitude towards markers of a foreign culture in a TT;
2. Awareness of diachronic changes in dealing with CSIs;
3. The role of editors/language editors in the preservation/replacement of “foreign” markers;
4. Knowledge about and attitude towards indirect translations of English authors.

The findings will be presented with regard to those four topics.

9.1. The attitude towards the markers of a foreign culture in a TT

The attitude towards foreign markers in a TT was examined by a set of initial questions related to the handling of CSIs. On the basis of the answers received, we can divide the translators we interviewed into two broad groups:

1. Those that do not have an opinion on this issue and who left these decisions to the editor;
2. Those that have developed strong opinions on this issue.

The first group comprises only the translator of TT6.

The translator of TT6 agreed to give an interview but stated several times that she thought it pointless as she could not remember much about the translations she did. She explained that quite a long period of time had passed in the meantime. But she also said that she “never considered herself to be a translator” because she did not feel competent to translate from English. The reason for this, in her words, is that she does not have a degree in English. As we stated in 7.3.2, all her translation activity is tied to the same publisher, V.D.T., where she was employed at the time. Since she left the job with V.D.T she has not been involved in translating.

The second group is more numerous: it includes the translators of TT4, TT5, TT3B and TT2B. According to their opinions, they can be divided into two groups:

1. Those who believe that the traces of foreign culture should not be visible, as their retention is an indicator of the translator's incompetence;
2. Those who believe that the translator should not shy away from retaining these traces.
9. TT4 and TT5 translators belong in the first group, as they readily agreed that a TT has to be brought as close to TC readers as possible. From the way they formulated their answers and from the manner of answering we can infer that they had a strong opinion about this issue and that they considered it a measure of the translator's merit. Thus, the translator of TT4 interrupted the question "Do you think that a translation should be brought closer to the target reader or do you think that certain traces of foreign culture should be visible?" Readily volunteering "Yes" (to the first part of the question), he answered the whole question with "No, it should be brought as close as possible to the target reader."

The translator of TT5 said that she had always been led by the idea that readers should find no traces of the original in a translated text. After she was prompted by my statement "You adapted your translated text to our environment considerably", she readily confirmed: "You always have to. My principle has always been that the reader should not find any traces of the original. The text should be in good Croatian. If someone translates word for word, they are bad translators. You simply have to know the equivalent, how we express that thing." (Below we deal with the steps taken to overcome the respondent's possible misunderstanding of this question)

On the other hand, the translator of TT3B expressed the opinion that "it should be both" and that this has always been her objective. The *Globus* editor, who also worked as a translator, shares this opinion. In her view, she decided to intervene and bring some items closer to the TC only when she thought that they would otherwise not be understandable to TT readers.

This topic was also approached by using some prompts to make sure that the interviewees understood they were being asked about the handling of CSIs and not some other aspects of translation. This step confirmed the initial division of the translators into two distinct groups along the lines of assimilating vs. exoticizing text-level orientation. This was tested by asking them about the handling of the items such as *pub*, measuring

units and institutional names. The translators of TT4 and TT5 were very much in favor of using TC equivalents, as we have seen that they did so in their translations.

To conclude, a division of the interviewed translators into two groups according to their attitudes towards handling of CSIs in translation seems to be fruitful. Moreover, it tallies with our textual findings, as we will explain in the concluding part to this section.

The fact that the translator of TT6 was extremely restrained and denied translation to be her professional identity is interesting. As we pointed out in 7.3.2, she is cited as the translator of seven books for V.D.T. However, it seems that she accepted to do translations for the company where she was employed, even though, in her words, she never felt competent to translate. It seems that this was not seen as a problem by the editor and publisher at V.D.T. This gives us an interesting insight into the ways translation profession is treated in some sectors of the publishing scene in the transition period. A growing demand for translators from English, visible in the increase in the number of publishers (see 2.2.2) and in the number of published translations in this period (see 6.3), is not matched by the number of competent translators. Moreover, this is not seen as a problem. On the other hand, TT6 translator's attitude raises suspicion as to whether she really translated TT6 or whether the publisher found an old translation that could be recycled. We could not confirm these suspicions. According to all the available bibliographical data, this book had not translated prior to 2005.

In the second group we found supporters of the more exoticizing and more assimilating approach. Within our sample they seem to be equally represented. However, bearing in mind that this is quite a small size sample, the ratio of the supporters of either approach does not seem to be relevant.

9.2. Awareness of diachronic changes

Awareness of diachronic changes in the treatment of CSIs emerged as an important aspect in the interviews with those interviewees who have had enough experience to be able to adopt a diachronic view.

Thus, the translators of TT4 and TT3B, as well as the *Globus* editor and editor of TT2A, implied that they feel that the treatment of CSIs is not diachronically stable, but

rather that there is a difference between the ways of treating certain concrete items “then” and “now”. We will analyze their answers more extensively. In the interview with the translator of TT5 this aspect could not be addressed, as she stopped translating some 30 years ago.

When asked what should be done with the title *Mr.* in translations, TT4 translator said: “For me it has always been *gospodin*. To me it seemed unquestionable that this [Mr.] should be translated.” The way this question was answered suggests awareness of some other practices having been applied before. The same was apparent in his answers to the question of how to handle *pub*: “I never preserved *pub* or *bar*”. However, a little later he corrected himself by saying: “*At that time* I might have retained *pub* at some places.” This seems to suggest that it was possible “at that time” to retain *pub* in the Croatian text, while now it is no longer possible. The translator gave an example of *butler* and said “I was among the first to retain *butler*. This is an example of a word that is difficult to find a replacement for.”

The issue of how to translate *whisky* was also tackled and the translator of TT4 claimed that he always retained *whisky*, never replacing it with *rakija* as a TC equivalent. The rationale for this is that “all readers know what *whisky* is”.

The interviewee recounted an episode from his editing experience: “A translator, I will not say her name, but a good translator, retained *Madam* in her translation.” The translator of TT4, acting as editor, changed *Madam* into *gospođa*. At first she reacted to this, but when the translator of TT4 “explained to her that in English this was the only way of saying *gospođa* if the name was not mentioned”, she agreed with his intervention.

TT3B was the first “serious” translation by its translator, who is still active. She said that she would never “translate the names of catering facilities. I do not translate them *even today*. I can see such examples in films and I am very much against this.” With regard to the example of *pub*, she said “I would leave it as it is.” She also said that it is difficult to have a general attitude on how to render CSIs, as “it varies from case to case”.

The translator of TT3B agreed that “today it is less important to retain the original spirit in translations”, which in her opinion is not good.

The *Globus* editor said that there were diachronic changes, but her opinion on the direction of these changes was opposite to the opinions presented above. She guessed that she would retain more items today than she did in the 1970s.

The editor of TT1A agreed that certain items were retained in the earlier translations, but also expressed his belief that some renowned translators would do so today.

9.3. The role of editors in the preservation/replacement of “foreign” markers

As far as the role of editors is concerned, we can divide the interviewees into two groups:

1. Those who, whether they are translators or editors, recognize the role of editors in the final shaping of a TT;
2. Those who deny that an editor has a part in the final shaping of a TT.
 - a) The first group includes the translators of TT4 and TT6 and the *Globus* editor.
 - b) The second group includes the translators of TT3B and TT5 and the editors of TT6, TT7 and TT8.

The translator of TT4 worked as an editor from the 1970s to the 2000s. During this 30-year period he was an editor of some highly popular and esteemed fiction series. In the course of his editing experience he regularly read all the translations and “intervened in the translations, even maybe too often, because I wanted these translations to be uniform in a way.”

The *Globus* editor’s experience is similar. She remembers that translators used to come to *Globus* and ask about certain “principal issues”, such as the treatment of measuring units. She also confirmed that she discussed these issues with the translators and that instructions, although not written, were given regarding translation.

The translator of TT3B said that translation editors have never indicated any intention to change her translations but language editors have. Today, she always puts in her contracts a clause stipulating that nothing in the text may be changed without her consent.

The translator of TT5 also denied that editors intervened in her texts. She said, “they expected to get a text which was ready to go to press. Whether they checked the text, or had

someone check it, I have never asked about, and I have never been in a situation where someone told me that something was not OK and that I should change it.”

The translator of TT6, on the other hand, said that the editor would always underline the expressions that he did not find suitable and she would accept his amendments. She said “he always had a final say”. This is understandable since she never considered herself to be a translator, as she said at the beginning of the interview.

This is in contradiction with what the editor of TT6 said in his interview. According to him, he left everything to the translators because he “trusted them”. He was concerned mainly with the design of the cover, in which *Agatha Christie Ltd.*, the company owning rights for Agatha Christie’s novels was greatly interested.

This view is also shared by the editor of TT8. He said he had not paid much attention to “the details in the text”, but was concerned with the visual aspect. Since at first *Mozaik knjiga* published old translations, the translators were given the opportunity to revise their translations if they wanted. According to his knowledge, they did not intervene in the texts, but some of them just corrected typing mistakes, etc.

9.4. Knowledge about and attitude towards indirect translations of English authors

That indirect translations in the Croatian translating community used to be far from uncommon can be inferred from the answer of TT4’s translator: “Even Iso Velikanović did it.” Iso Velikanović is one of the most respected and prolific literary translators into Croatian after whom the main literary translation prize is named.

In the interviews with the translators and editors who were active in the 1960s, it became clear that they were aware of indirect translations of English authors. As far as the reasons for this practice are concerned, they implied that it had to do with the lack of translators from English. Thus, TT5’s translator said that at that time “for some translators it was easier to work from German”. TT2A’s editor said that “after World War 2 the situation with the knowledge of foreign languages was disastrous”, supporting this with the fact that in the largest state-owned newspaper publisher in Croatia, *Vjesnik*, only one employee knew English in the early 1960s. “There were very few people who knew English at the time.” On the other hand, the editor at *Globus*, who started working in the

publishing in the late 1970s, cannot remember a single case of a book written in English being translated indirectly.

To sum up, our findings from the interviews clearly show that the use of indirect translations from English was still common into the early 1960s, owing to the lack of translators from English at the time. It seems that in the late 1970s this practice was no longer needed and probably became obsolete. In the transition period, publishers do not resort to indirect translations even when faced with a lack of professional translators from English. The general level of the knowledge of English among the population has risen considerably, and there are many people who have some knowledge of English, so they are used as translators. To conclude, the findings obtained in the interviews support some of our findings obtained in the textual analysis. They are listed here:

1. All agents confirmed their awareness of diachronic changes in the treatment of CSIs, in line with the findings from our corpus;
2. Diachronic changes do not seem to be viewed by all interviewees as taking place in the direction of growing assimilation, in contrast with the findings from our corpus;
3. As far as preferences for either of the exoticizing/assimilating approaches are concerned, we can identify two groups, in line with the findings from our corpus. Moreover, the attitudes expressed by the translators tally with the patterns that we observed in the textual analysis.
4. The participants' knowledge about indirect translations and the reasons for this are in line with what we found out in the analysis of contextual factors;
5. With regard to the role of editors, the picture is heterogeneous. The editors active in the late 1970s testify to having had a say in the final form of a TT. On the other hand, the editors active in the 2000s do not admit to taking part in the shaping of a TT. In one case, this is contradicted by the translator concerned.

The above summary of the findings obtained in the interviews with the agents in the studied translation events will be correlated with the findings of textual analysis and the findings on contextual parameters.

10. Conclusions

In this chapter we will present our findings on the possible correlations between preferences for a particular text-level orientation and the contextual variables. A brief overview of the data on the textual variable and on contextual variables will facilitate the presentation of our findings and final conclusions.

10.1. Overview of the data

10.1.1. Overview of the textual data on diachronic tendencies in text-level orientations

The quantitative data on diachronic tendencies in text-level orientations presented in Chapter 8 point to an increase in the use of assimilating solution types. The average percentages for the use of assimilating solution types are: 24.31 percent in Period 1, 34.13 percent in Period 2, and 38.52 percent in Period 3. Our data also point to the decreased use of exoticizing solution types: 47.56 percent in Period 1, 38.11 percent in Period 2, and 40.41 percent in Period 3. With regard to neutralizing solution types, the data show a slight decrease in their use: 28.11 in Period 1, 27.75 in Period 2, and 21.06 percent in Period 3. The data on informative solutions show that their use decreased in Periods 2 and 3: from 5.07 percent (Period 1) to 3.85 percent (Period 2) and to 0.03 percent (Period 3).

In Section 8.4 we tracked the regularities and changes in the treatment of the selected groups of frequently recurring CSIs. The rendering of some of these items seems to be stable within our corpus. Such items include references to British currency units, references to meals, references to inn and cottage, and references to the names of pubs and other catering facilities that consist of proper nouns only.

The items whose rendering has not been stable are more relevant to our research. They include the imperial units of measurement, some titles (*Mr.*, *Mrs.*, and *Miss*; *Sir B*, *Lady A* and *Lady B*), names of pubs, catering facilities, houses and estates consisting of common nouns, names of streets and other city toponyms and references to *pub* and *bungalow*.

As we have shown in the extensive discussion in Section 8.4, the observed diachronic changes point to the preferences for more assimilating solution types in the later periods. This can be observed with regard to:

- The rendering of imperial units of measurement: while in Period 1 both recognized exoticisms and TC equivalents were used, in Periods 2 and 3 the use of TC equivalents is dominant;
- The rendering of *Mr.*, *Mrs.* and *Miss*: retention was used in Period 1 but its use is not registered in Periods 2 and 3;
- The rendering of the names of streets and other urban toponyms: retention was present in Periods 1 and 2 but was replaced with retention + linguistic translation in Period 3.

The observed changes in the practices of rendering these groups of CSIs comply with the quantitative data on tendencies in text-level orientations. Moreover, the direction of the vast majority of the diachronic changes traced is towards a more assimilating solution type. Only with one particular item have we come across exoticizing solution types being introduced in the later periods: *Lady A*.

10.1.2. Overview of the interview data on diachronic changes in text-level orientations

The qualitative data obtained in the interviews with translators and editors comply with the textual data regarding the preference for assimilating solution types. To be more precise, our respondents, who have a long enough experience in the field, confirmed their awareness of diachronic changes in the ways of handling some CSIs. Moreover, their answers implied that some concrete items, such as *pub* and some titles, could be rendered in a more exoticizing manner “before”.

10.2. Findings on the correlations between the textual variable and contextual variables

On the basis of the data, a cluster of correlations between the textual variable and selected contextual variables might be tentatively established.

The first is a correlation between the presence of source-culture texts of a particular type in the target culture and the tendency to employ assimilating solution types to render CSIs, as predicted in Hypothesis 2.

Our findings on the translation flows from English into Croatian in the three periods (see Chapter 6) show an increase in translations from English. Greater interest in translations from English began in the 1950s, prompted by the political changes, in the first place the break-up with the Soviet Union and *rapprochement* with the West. According to our findings, the translation flow from English into Croatian intensified in Period 1, i.e. in the early 1960s, when English became the source language of 33.26 percent of all literary translations in Croatia. A remarkable increase in the translations from English is registered in our Period 2, when books written in English accounted for 48.35 percent of all titles translated. Therefore, we might say that in this period English consolidated its position as the main source language of literary translations in Croatia. In the transition period, translations from English saw an enormous boom, accounting for 59 percent of all literary translations.

Another element to be taken into account is the increasing interest in popular fiction registered in the early 1960s. In the different political and economic context, encouraged by general liberalization, publishers began to publish commercially viable titles. Thus, while only a few popular fiction books were published in the 1950s, more followed in the early 1960s. According to our data, in this period the number of popular fiction translations slightly exceeded the number of literary and children's fiction titles. The late 1970s saw strong dominance of popular fiction.

Our findings thus show that translation flows from English into Croatian intensified over the three periods studied. The remarkable increase in translation flow registered in Period 2 is compounded by the observed tendency to use more assimilating solution types. However, we should point out that this is not observed with regard to Period 3. In Period 3 we observed an increase in translation flows but it was not accompanied by an increase in the use of assimilating solution types.

Our findings suggest that there might be a correlation between the assimilating solution types and the early stages of the more intense translation flows. in the relatively However, a mere progressive increase in the number of translations done from a source

language does not seem to have the predicted impact on text-level orientations, which leads us to suggest that some other variables should be taken into account. The findings related to another variable worth exploring will be discussed below. We would just like to point to other possible correlations between translation flows and text-level orientations.

We have noted a correlation between lower translation flows and the use of informative solution types. This is to be expected, as low translation flows are an indicator of general distance between the source and target cultures, which was the case in Croatia with the onset of Communism and continued well into the early 1960s.

The second possible correlation is between the solution types and the agents' profiles. In Section 8.3 we pointed out that the quantitative data show the emergence of two patterns in the distribution of assimilating, exoticizing and neutralizing solution types, which are not exclusively tied to the period of the TT's production. They are assimilating-exoticizing-neutralizing, which we labeled A-E-N and exoticizing-assimilating-neutralizing, which we labeled E-A-N. The A-E-N pattern is characterized by the dominance of assimilating solution types, and the E-A-N pattern is characterized by the dominance of exoticizing solution types. On the basis of our insight into the specific contexts of the TTs and the profiles of the agents in their production, we might suggest the following correlations:

1. Pattern A-E-N is traced in TT4, TT5 and TT8. They share the following features:

- a) They were translated by professional translators;
- b) They were published by "serious" publishers.

All three TTs were translated by professional translators from English whose professional experience is not limited to the one text or one publisher. All three TTs were published by large, "serious" publishers. TT4 and TT5 were published by Globus, at the time a newly-established publisher trying to combine the market orientation with quality publishing. TT8 was published by Mozaik knjiga, a large publisher who successfully survived privatization, probably maintaining the former professional networks.

2. Pattern E-A-N is traced in TT1A, TT3A, TT3B, TT1B, TT2B and TT7. They have one feature in common:

- a) They were translated by "semi-professional" translators.

With regard to the “semi-professional” status of their translators, we should be more precise: they include a translator-in-the-making from other languages but not from English (TT1A), a professional translator from English in Period 1, and four translators for whom these were the first translations from English (TT3B, TT1B, TT2B and TT7).

With regard to their publishers’ profiles, we can point out that apart from *Globus*, the other publishers of these TTs were either Socialist publishers launching new, short-lived projects, or small-scale, newly established publishers of the transition period.

To return to the main line of our discussion, it is interesting to note another aspect of the impact that the broader social context had on the publishing industry activities and institutional forms. In both Periods 1 and 3 we came across “deviant” translation practices that influenced the text-level orientations. In Period 1 indirect translations of English books were tolerated. On the other hand, in Period 3 the deregulation of the publishing sector led to the de-professionalization of translation, in particular from English, at least in not well-established segments of the industry.

10.3. Possible avenues for further research

We should emphasize that the small-scale corpus containing works of one particular genre and by one particular author severely limits our ability to generalize. However, on the basis of the above findings we may formulate the following new hypotheses, which may serve as a basis for future research.

Hypothesis A: An intense and prolonged presence of source-culture texts of a particular type partly correlates with stronger tendencies to employ assimilating solution types.

Hypothesis B: In the early stages of more intense translation flows, “deviant” translation practices such as indirect translations and “factory translations” are encountered.

Hypothesis C: In the early stages of more intense translation flows, experienced translators tend to use informative solution types.

Hypothesis D: The professional profiles of the agents in “translation event” may influence preferences for assimilating, exoticizing or neutralizing solution types.

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