Recent Trends in Translation Studies

An Anglo-Italian Perspective

Edited by

Sara Laviosa

Giovanni Iamartino

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Introduction

Sara Laviosa, Giovanni Iamartino and Eileen Mulligan

The aim of this collection of papers is to offer a sketch map of current trends in translation studies from an Anglo-Italian perspective. To this end, it is appropriate to assess the state of the art of a discipline that, since its foundation nearly fifty years ago (Holmes 1972, 1988), has concerned itself with the description, theory and practice of translating and interpreting. Our overview begins in the 1990s, when translation studies established itself as a fully-fledged academic discipline, as evidenced by the rising number of undergraduate and postgraduate programmes in translation and interpreting worldwide (Caminade and Pym 1998). This growth stimulated a considerable demand for academic publications issued from both commercial and university publishing houses: journals, book series, conference proceedings, anthologies, textbooks, encyclopaedias, dictionaries, and abstracting services. Translation studies is characterized by a myriad of competing and complementary theoretical approaches and methodologies that have grown out of the cross-fertilization with new fields of studies as varied as pragmatics, critical linguistics, corpus linguistics, post-colonialism, gender studies and globalization. At the same time, consolidated conceptual paradigms such as polysystem theory, skopos theory, and poststructuralist and feminist approaches to translation theory continue to inspire translation research (Venuti 2000). In the 1990s, there was renewed interest in translation studies on the part of many scholars in Italian universities, who began to analyse new horizons in translation (Duranti 1998). Of particular note is the theoretical and applied research work conducted by Christopher Taylor, who gained international recognition with the publication of the textbook, *Language to Language: A Practical and Theoretical Guide for Italian/English Translators* (1998). Another noteworthy international full-length book is David Katan's *Translating Cultures: An Introduction for Translators, Interpreters and Mediators* (1999). This volume introduces readers to the fundamental role of culture in constructing, perceiving and

translating reality, and provides a model for teaching culture for intercultural mediation.

By the start of the new millennium, translation studies was widely seen as "an international network of scholarly communities who construct research and debate across conceptual disciplinary divisions" (Venuti 2000, 334), and the general intention was to open and focus the scholarly debate on three important areas. The first, comparing and contrasting the variety of research models elaborated by the different approaches and theories of translation. The second, examining their relationship with existing paradigms and the third, assessing the extent to which they can be applied across the wide range of phenomena considered legitimate data for the discipline. These were the main themes of the first international conference devoted to Research Models in Translation Studies, held at the University of Manchester, in April 2000. This event brought to light not only the spread of methods of testing and of developing theories and producing and exploring new data – the very definition of research models put forward by Andrew Chesterman (2000) – but also revealed some important developments that had taken place in descriptive and applied corpus studies of translation.

During the first decade of the 21st century, translation studies developed into a broad interdisciplinary and international field of scholarship, committed to engaging with non-Western perspectives and theoretical frameworks. In line with this orientation, which shares many of the concerns of postcolonial translation studies, leading scholars began to question the suitability of Eurocentric models for the study of translation across the world. They argue that the increasing multiculturalism of contemporary society, driven by migration and globalization, challenges the traditional view of translation as a phenomenon occurring among discrete languages and cultures belonging to separate nations and ethnic groups (Tymoczko 2007, 45-46). Another trend that emerged in those years is transdisciplinarity. Disciplines as varied as literature, social anthropology, history, critical discourse analysis, ethics, multilingualism, sociology and film studies begin to consider translation and interpreting a *τόπος* for addressing concerns relevant to their fields (Baker 2010). This new trend can be seen in the publication of special issues on translation by journals dedicated to forensic linguistics, public culture, language and literature, pragmatics, visual culture, social semiotics, theatre studies as well as travel, migration and multiculturalism in the German-speaking world, to name just a few (Baker and Saldanha 2009, xxi-xxii). In Italy, Augusto Ponzio and Susan Petrilli began to explore translation from a semiotic perspective and assembled a wide variety of papers in an edited volume titled *Translation Translation* (Petrilli 2003). This is a collection of 37 papers authored by renowned

translation scholars and researchers from different disciplines including semiotics, corpus linguistics, literary criticism, queer studies, philosophy, biology, and the medical sciences. All contributors discuss the problem of translation in the light of their own disciplinary fields and special interests. The object of study is composite and consists of translation processes across different natural languages, translation processes between different specialised languages forming one single natural language, translation processes between verbal and nonverbal sign systems as well as translation processes between nonverbal sign systems without the implications of verbal signs. From within the discipline, Italian scholarship contributed to areas of research as varied as intercultural mediation (Katan 2004, 2nd edition of *Translating Cultures*); corpus-based translation studies (Gavioli 2005; Laviosa 2002; Zanettin, Bernardini, and Stewart 2003); interpreting studies (Garzone and Viezzi 2003); audiovisual translation (Chiaro, Heiss, and Bucaria 2008); comics (Zanettin 2008); advertising (Torresi 2010); and history of translation (Rundle 2010; Sturge and Rundle 2010).

Over the last ten years, the physiognomy of translation studies has changed dramatically. As Mona Baker and Gabriela Saldanha observe in the introductory chapter to the third edition of the *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*, the discipline "has expanded to the point of 'splintering' into what some might call subdisciplines" such as corpus-based translation studies, descriptive translation studies, interpreting, audiovisual translation, feminist translation studies, cognitive translation studies or critical translation studies (2020, xxiv). This claim echoes Andrew Chesterman's view of translation studies as an "increasingly fragmented interdiscipline" (2019, 17). Moreover, interdisciplinarity, which is inherent in the very nature of translating and interpreting, is more evident than ever, since scholars are becoming acutely aware of the multitude of practices that are subsumed under the umbrella term 'translation'. Indeed, as Susan Bassnett points out, "there is growing interest in seeing translation as a plurivocal activity, since many other voices than those of the translator and 'original' author combine in the actual translation process" (Bassnett 2017, ix). Similarly, Chesterman maintains that translation is "a quintessential lumper concept, covering an ever-expanding range of activities" (2019, 17). Transdisciplinarity, which Edwin Gentzler (2017) names 'post-translation studies', is a growing trend that is enriching our understanding of the multifaceted phenomenon of translation and is expanding the boundaries of the discipline. The proliferation of reference works, such as those published in novel book series, or the founding of new international journals such as *Translation: A Transdisciplinary Journal* (founded by Stefano Arduini and Siri Nergaard in 2011) or *Translation and Translanguaging in Multilingual*

Contexts (founded by Sara Laviosa in 2015) reflect and promote this new trend. Their goal is to reach out to other disciplines and open a constructive dialogue that invites a greater exchange of ideas and methodologies. The convergent themes addressed by two international conferences held in Europe fully acknowledge this "Outward Turn", as Bassnett names it (2017, ix). One is the 8th Congress of the European Society for Translation Studies (EST), "Translation Studies: Moving Boundaries" (University of Aarhus, 15-17 September 2016), and the other is the 29th Conference of the Associazione Italiana di Anglistica (AIA), "Thinking Out of the Box. Language, Literature, Cultural and Translation Studies: Questioning Assumptions, Debunking Myths, Trespassing Boundaries" (University of Padua, 7-9 September 2019). Italian scholarship in translation studies has achieved international recognition particularly in this decade, as testified by several publications in research areas within the discipline, namely audiovisual translation (Pavesi, Formentelli, and Ghia 2014); translation history (Lange, Monticelli, and Rundle 2021 forthcoming; Rundle 2014); corpus-based translation studies (Laviosa, Pagano, Kemppanen, and Ji 2017; Zanettin 2012); corpus-based interpreting studies (Russo, Bendazzoli, and Defrancq 2018); specialised translation (Scarpa 2020); research methodology (Zanettin and Rundle 2021 forthcoming); and intercultural mediation (Katan and Taibi 2021, 3rd edition of *Translating Cultures*). Research across disciplinary boundaries is also gaining ground in transdisciplinary fields as varied as translation, humour and literature (Chiaro 2012a); translation, humour and the media (Chiaro 2012b); theatre translation (Bigliazzi, Ambrosi and Kofler 2013); English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) (Taviano 2013); translation in language teaching (Laviosa 2014a, 2014b); translation and education (Laviosa and González-Davies 2020); translation and social practices (Ji and Laviosa 2021); and translation and semiotics (Kourdis and Petrilli 2020; Petrilli and Ji 2021a, 2021b).

Set within this background, the present collection of papers offers a snapshot of current perspectives on translation studies within the specific historical and socio-cultural framework of Anglo-Italian relations. The works presented in this book address research questions relevant to English historical, literary, cultural and language studies as well as empirical translation studies. The volume is divided into four chapters, each covering a specific research area in the field, namely historiography, literary translation, specialised translation and multimodality. Each case study selected for this volume has been conducted with critical insight and methodological rigour, thus making a valuable contribution to scientific knowledge in both descriptive and applied translation studies.

The first chapter is devoted to historiography. In his outline of translation studies, James S. Holmes (1972, 1988) envisages a dimension that does not concern the study of translating and translations but of the discipline itself in its three ramifications. He therefore earmarks three distinct areas of inquiry, namely the history of translation theory, the history of translation description and the history of applied translation studies, the latter being largely a history of translation teaching and translator training. In this volume, the chapter devoted to the historical dimension of the descriptive branch of the discipline opens with a paper by **Mirella Agorni**. The author argues that, while research into the history of literary translation is well established, other genres such as scientific and legal translation are lagging behind. Agorni underlines the need for more collaboration between historians and translation scholars to fill this important gap in translation studies. **Giovanni Iamartino**'s paper provides a peculiar case study that unpacks the story of James Howell who, being a prisoner during the troubled times of the English Civil Wars, tried to push a Royalist political agenda by translating books. Iamartino investigates Howell's choice of three Italian works by focusing on their paratexts. The chapter ends with a paper by **Angela Andreani** in which she discusses the English translations of the *Ecclesiastical History* by Eusebius of Caesarea, highlighting their influence on the English language.

The second chapter deals with literary translation and opens with a contribution by **Marco Barletta**, who adopts a translational stylistic approach to the investigation of paratexts in the novels of Edward G. Bulwer Lytton (1803-1873) and in the Italian translations carried out by the Milanese historian Francesco Cusani (1802-1879). Drawing on the principles of Gideon Toury's descriptive approach and the concepts of translation adequacy and acceptability, **Eleonora Gallitelli** examines the challenges she faced when translating the literary biography *In Search of Mary Shelley* by Fiona Sampson, which she translated soon after the publication of the first English edition. **Eleonora Natalia Ravizza** focuses on the interrelationship between translation, migrant identities and self-narration in relation to two literary works that narrate their experience of migrant subjects living and travelling across the Atlantic, between Italy and the United States: Jhumpa Lahiri's *In altre parole* and Francesca Duranti's *Sogni mancini* translated by the author herself as *Left-Handed Dreams*. **Michele Russo** closes this chapter with another contribution that dwells on the complex relationship between bilingualism, translation and self-translation. His study analyses translingualism as a stylistic feature of the autobiography of the Russian-American writer Gary Shteyngart, *Little Failure. A Memoir.*

The third chapter covers different aspects of specialised translation. **Giuliana Elena Garzone**'s paper expounds on the principles underpinning the target-oriented approaches elaborated by Gideon Toury and Hans Vermeer, and discusses their impact on the conceptualisation of translation. The discussion focuses on broadly intended specialised texts, comprising essays, journalism, popular science and documents commonly in use in everyday life, as well as technical and scientific texts with various degrees of specialization. Within a descriptive and pedagogic perspective, **Emanuele Brambilla**'s paper investigates the norms that characterize the Italian-English translations assembled in a corpus of fourteen Home Study Reports (HSRs). These are preparatory documents that are written and translated prior to the drafting and translation of the international adoption dossier for international adoption agencies. The HSR is drafted by the psychologist working for the adoption agency to preliminarily and succinctly inform authorities in the child's home country of various details regarding the prospective adoptive parents. While Brambilla's paper focuses on the terminological challenges faced by specialised translators, **Sara Castagnoli** explores the discursive feature of stance in a composite corpus of Corporate Social Responsibility reports. The goal is to assess whether CSR reports translated into English from Italian share the same discursive features as native reports or they are set apart by differences in the use of stance devices. In the closing paper of this chapter, **Francesca L. Seracini** adopts a corpus-based approach to translator education and illustrates how corpus-aided discovery learning (CADL) can be beneficial for raising students' awareness of the importance of phraseology in conveying subtle differences in meaning across languages with a view to improving the quality of their L1-L2 translations.

The fourth and final chapter is concerned with multimodality, broadly intended as the ensemble of various semiotic codes (or modes) that express meanings in unison. Within this burgeoning area of research, **Mariacristina Petillo** presents a study of linguistic materials taken from *Falstaff* by Giuseppe Verdi, based on Arrigo Boito's libretto. The aim is to reflect on the stylistically-oriented English surtitles of the opera that was performed in 2015, at the Teatro Alighieri in Ravenna, during the XXVI edition of the Ravenna Festival and was conducted by Riccardo Muti and directed by Cristina Muti Mazzavillani. From opera to football, **Francesco Meledandri**'s contribution investigates how the Twitter accounts of some top Italian football teams translate live-tweets during matches almost simultaneously into English, and examines the interrelationship between the particular communication act and the peculiar features of the tool used. **Vittorio Napoli** analyses (im)politeness equivalence in audiovisual translation. The

study focuses on requests in English film dialogue and Italian dubbing and examines how (im)politeness, conveyed through direct/indirect realization strategies and mitigation/intensification pragmatic modifiers, are successfully relayed in the target language. Still within the field of audiovisual translation, **Francesca Raffi** presents a comparative study of the transcribed original Italian dialogue of Federico Fellini's *Le Notti di Cabiria* and the English subtitles of the UK version of the film (dating back to 2009 and distributed by Optimum Releasing Ltd). Raffi shows how the use of dialectal and colloquial expressions in the film as well as the social and cultural asymmetries depicted through the use of standard Italian vs. Roman dialect are (re)constructed in the English subtitles. Moving on from Italian dubbing and English subtitling to the translation of comics, **Laura Chiara Spinelli** analyses the strategies employed by the Italian translators of *Linus* within the historical background of the late 1960s. Finally, **Luca Valleriani**'s concluding paper explores the translation techniques that were adopted to render the upper-class accent in the Italian adaptation of the Netflix TV series *The Crown* (2016-present) in two audiovisual modalities, i.e. dubbing and subtitling. The study reveals how prosodic and lexical compensation can be crucially important when translating regional and social varieties.

The papers selected for this collected volume are authored by both young and seasoned researchers. Together they show the variety and vitality of English translation studies in the thriving Italian academic community today. We thank the publishers and contributors for having worked with us on this novel editorial project with conscientiousness and genuine enthusiasm.

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CHAPTER ONE:

HISTORIOGRAPHY

TRANSLATION HISTORY: JUST ANOTHER STORY?

MIRELLA AGORNI

The importance of translation history within the discipline of translation studies has still to be fully recognized, in spite of the fact that a growing expansion has been registered in recent years. The geographical boundaries of the traditions under consideration have been considerably widened, but several genres of translation activities (particularly the non-literary ones) deserve greater attention. For instance, the history of scientific translation is a subfield that has been recently brought to the attention of the translation studies community thanks to the contribution of scholars working both in the field of translation studies and in the scientific areas. But this example appears to be rather an isolated or exceptional case, rather than the rule, as far as the history of non-literary translation is concerned. Research on the history of legal translation, to mention another non-literary genre, is still underdeveloped.

Translation historians have also to tread the delicate path among translation, history and historiography. Their expertise on notions such as transfer and mediation appears to be an invaluable contribution to the ongoing debate on historiography, which will be shortly illustrated in this contribution. Specific questions concerning periodization, representativeness, narrativization and self-reflexivity, to name just a few, have become central issues in the debates of both translation studies and historiography. As a consequence, translation and history should be conceptualized as complementary fields of research, reinforcing each other's methods and promoting common objectives. Today, collaborative research between these two fields appears to be an unavoidable necessity, rather than a choice.

Introduction

Translation history has a story as long as human civilization. Yet its importance has hardly been acknowledged within the discipline of translation studies – at least until two decades ago, when a growing

expansion has been registered in terms of methodological reflection as well as the geographical areas under consideration (Myriam Salama-Carr 2019).

According to Pym, translation history does not appear "as a unified area for the historical study of translation" (1998, 1) in Holmes' seminal paper (Holmes 1988) which marked the launch of translation studies as an autonomous research area and its gradual acceptance in the academy. Both the descriptive and the theoretical branches envisaged by Holmes could in fact be fertile grounds for translation historians, as diachronic research lends itself to productive investigations in the two areas. An historical approach is indeed subsumed under the "descriptive" label, split between the "product-oriented" descriptive research area – taking into account existing translations (in the present as well as in the past) – and the "function-oriented" descriptive area – analysing translations' function in the receiving pole. Another splitting awaits translation history when the theoretical branch of the discipline is taken into account, that is when Holmes defines his "time-restricted theories" as "having to do with the translation of texts from an older period" (Holmes 1988, 76). As a consequence, historical approaches to research on translation appear to be segmented and dispersed into a series of rather self-contained areas, as Pym has aptly noticed, apparently envisaging no space for future developments of a historiography of translation.[1]

However, in the very last paragraph of this paper, Holmes does mention a historical "dimension" which would apply not so much to research on time-restricted translating methods or individual translations, but to research on translation as a distinct field of studies. In his own words:

> In each of the three branches of translation studies, there are two further dimensions that I have not mentioned, dimensions having to do with the study, not of translating and translations, but of translation studies itself. One of these dimensions is historical: there is a field of the history of translation theory, in which some valuable work has been done, but also one of the history of translation description and of applied translation studies (largely a history of translation teaching and translator training) both of which are fairly well virgin territory. (1988, 79)

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[1] As Pym (1998: 2) has put it: "The Holmes map also omits a few areas of possible interest: it delineates no ground for any specific theory of translation history, nor for historiography as a way of applying and testing theories".

So, historical research on translation and, presumably, its methodology were contemplated by Holmes, albeit as a second thought, and qualified as uncharted territory, at least as far as the history of translation description and translation pedagogy are concerned. But how far has the historical study of translation moved forward since Holmes' programmatic paper?

Nearly five decades separate us from the onset of translation studies, and considerable progress has been made by research in this area in all its facets: theories and methodologies have branched out to match growing interest in new research objects, technologies and applications. Yet, one of the fields to be left behind, regardless of its central role within the discipline, is just translation history. This remark needs to be qualified, though: research on the historical nature of translation phenomena has been produced uninterruptedly, before as well as after the emergence of translation studies in the 1960s. The problem is that it has been produced in an array of different disciplinary areas, very often unaware of each other's endeavours. For example, case studies on the reception of specific translations, particularly when the original is a canonical text, abound in literary and cultural studies. These works, however, tend to be circumscribed to the oeuvre of specific authors and their influence on other authors or literary movements, and usually fail to take into account the specificity of the act of translation itself.

Translation in the scientific field, which will be better illustrated in the next section, is another case in point. In spite of the fact that the transfer or mobility of ideas plays a crucial role in the field of science, the very activity that enables scientific ideas to overcome time, place and language barriers, that is translation, has seldom been studied per se. Thus, it is all the more significant that one of the most productive definitions of translation has been advanced in a volume entitled *Science in Translation* (Montgomery 2000). Here translation has been defined as "the process of transforming the specific piece of one language (commonly a text of some sort) into another language" (Montgomery 2000, 4). Simplistic as its author admits it to be, this definition has a series of advantages, starting from the most important one, so precious for linguists and translators alike: translation is meant primarily as a linguistic process. We should tread carefully on this terrain, though. This definition is not meant to go against decades of scholarship on the importance of culture and the situational or cultural contexts in any translation analysis. As a matter of fact, Montgomery himself appears to be aware of such potential objection, and argues that the advantage of his approach is that of "underlining the creation of a true cultural product, and of posing the important question: What happens to knowledge when it is given a wholly new voice and

context?" (Montgomery 2000, 4). Hence, translations are meant as cultural and linguistic products since the term "translation" is not used in any metaphorical sense, but it rather implies a material product, or a material transfer process.

This point is particularly significant from a historical perspective, which resists the widespread poststructuralist tendency to consider translation as a practice devoid of a specific materialist grounding. Translation activities and their products have been materially involved in the construction of languages, cultures, societies as well as collective and individual identities since the beginning of time. Current poststructuralist drifts in such diverse disciplines as ethnography, philosophy and cultural studies, which use translation in a highly metaphorical fashion, run the risk of undervaluing the historical impact of translation precisely because they overlook the complexity of linguistic transfer processes. Hence, it seems more productive to adopt a rather straightforward definition of translation, adaptive and concrete at the same time, to be aptly used in historical research:

> "translation" defines a process of communication every bit as varied as writing itself and no less central to what we commonly call "civilization", built as it is by movements of knowledge from one people to another. (Montgomery 2000, 4-5)

In conclusion, it has to be admitted that the centrality of translation history has been thwarted at least in two ways. On the one hand, the fragmentation of the studies produced in different disciplinary areas has made it difficult to produce a systematic view of the role played by translation throughout history. On the other, current tendencies to consider translation in a metaphorical sense end up by reducing, rather than foregrounding, the importance of translation activities. As a consequence, the pivotal role of translation in the course of history is hardly discernible.

However, this state of affairs has begun to change in recent decades, and today translation history seems to fare better on the agendas of translation studies scholars. Not only have scholars started to investigate the history of translation more analytically, but also attempts have been made to set up a coherent working methodology (D'hulst 1995; Delisle and Woodsworth 1995; Pym 1998; amongst others). Also, the spatial boundaries of historical research have been expanded thanks to the contribution of new, pluralistic approaches to the study of translation phenomena. As a result, translation history has widened its perspectives, challenging its prevailing Eurocentric bias in favour of undeservedly neglected traditions. Martha Cheung's works are a case in point, both for

bringing to the international public's attention an extremely rich, yet uncharted tradition at the time of publication (2006), and for introducing new creative methodological approaches, such as the pushing-hands method of research on translation history (2012; Robinson 2016), which will be outlined in the final part of this paper.

The Numerous Faces of Translation History

Today the "spatial turn" of translation history is well under way, but further research needs to be done not only by widening the geographical boundaries of the traditions under consideration, but also by taking into account different kinds of translation activities. Until today, studies of canonical literary genres make up the lion's share of research on translation history, but over the centuries translation activities have by no means confined themselves to the field of literature.

Works on the history of interpreting – an activity which predates the invention of writing – are quite recent. This is only in part due to the fact that historical records of interpreting practices are scarce, consisting very often only in autobiographical material such as diaries, letters and memoirs. The other reason at the basis of this neglect is represented by the tendency to consider interpreting as a sort of ancillary activity to another, more important activity, and very often some kind of business or diplomatic negotiation. Interpreters, like translators, have usually been deprived of their voice and social status. Even worse than translators in fact, as the end products of all interpretation processes are normally less tangible than those of translation. In other words, interpretation is even less visible than translation, particularly so from the point of view of history.

However, after Francesca Gaiba's volume (1998) on simultaneous interpretation at the Nuremberg Trial, publications have appeared in the following decades in a more systematic manner (Wilss 1999; Pöchhacker 2016), spanning from the origins of simultaneous interpretation in the West, (Baigorri-Jalón 2014), histories of East Asia and Chinese Interpreting (Takeda and Baigorri-Jalòn 2016), up to a recent volume on wartime interpreting (Laugesen and Gehrmann 2020), to cite just a few remarkable examples.

A similar optimistic scenario appears to be still far ahead when other types of translation activities are taken into consideration, particularly as far as specialized or technical translation is concerned. As in the case of interpreting, specialized translation is often considered only as a secondary or support activity to aid interlingual communication in such specific fields as medicine, the business and economic sciences, or law. As one

would expect, scholars working in these fields usually pay scant attention to translation processes. In translation studies, on the other hand, applied research in specialized translation is growing steadily, but the historical bases of these genres of translation are rarely taken into consideration.

The history of scientific translation is a special case, as it counts some interesting publications, probably due to the indisputable authority of research on the History of Science (Montgomery 2000; Saliba 2007; Wright 2000; etc.). Translation studies journals have recently dedicated special issues to the topic of scientific translation: *Meta* (Vandaele and Boulanger 2016), *The Translator* (Olohan and Salama-Carr 2011) and *Annals of Science* (Dietz 2016), are a few examples. Yet, the vital role of translations of scientific texts in the development of science should be further investigated.

Montgomery (2000) provides a book-length historiographic account of translations of scientific works from and into the classical languages, together with an outline of a number of non-European traditions of scientific translations into Persian, Hindu, Arabic and Japanese, among others. The crucial part played by translators in shaping scientific discourse throughout history is the main theme in this volume: translators are considered powerful cultural agents and very often their works have not merely reflected, but rather moulded scientific discourse into a myriad of specific traditions. In many cases, particularly in early manuscript culture, translations were exposed to additions, deletions and other kinds of manipulation, and eventually took on a new life within their target language and culture. In his overview of translations of European scientific works in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Rupke steps in the same direction when he writes that "a translation is not merely a medium of transfer, but more importantly a mental meeting point where barriers of language and culture are crossed" (2000, 20). On top of that, Montgomery argues that the language of science itself is not as objective as is generally believed: in order to be disseminated, it is always subject to a certain degree of adaptation. Needless to say, this becomes especially apparent when works are moved from and into different languages and cultures. Scientific knowledge has experienced innumerable transfers and relocations over the span of history, allowing scholars to speak of an actual "mobilization of knowledge" (Montgomery 2000, 2).

This argument takes us to the most fascinating notion of the transnational character of science, which has been so well brought forward by Olohan (2014). Transnational models of science are increasingly focused on notions of intercultural transfer and mediation practices. All knowledge travels, and all the more so scientific knowledge, mainly by

means of adaptation and translation. Hence, by studying scientific translations and their trajectories in the course of history, we could have a better apprehension of the development of scientific thought, a path full of crossings and integrations. According to Olohan, translation scholars could provide a substantial contribution to the History of Science, as we, as translation practitioners,

> are keen to understand the significance of the choices we and others make in weaving transnational historical narratives around translation, whether in literary, cultural or scientific domains. (2014, 20)

If some degree of interaction between translation studies and scientific fields is slowly set in motion, the same cannot be said vis-à-vis the legal disciplines. On the contrary, scholars such as van Gerwen (2019) and Lavigne (2006) have lamented the fact that both in the field of translation as well as in the legal disciplines scant attention has been paid to the history of legal translation. A growing interest in specialized translation and interpreting in judicial settings has been registered in recent research, but these types of studies are customarily focused on contemporary practices. A systematic view of the function of legal translation throughout history appears to be necessary to bridge such a conspicuous gap. This would enable us to gauge the influence of legal translation activities on large socio-cultural processes. As van Gerwen (2019, 107) has aptly put it:

> legal translations, being intrinsically authoritative and normative texts, have influenced social, cultural and political aspects of history, for instance in the standardization of legal language and the emancipation of minority language groups. The decision to translate (or not) important legal texts (legislation, codes, constitution, etc.) has had a true impact on people's lives. Legal translation enables official communication between language communities in (trans)national contexts and allows the circulation of crucial information on citizens' rights and obligations. It has also played a role in the development of participatory citizenship in multilingual and democratic contexts, by linking the need for translation to the issues of publicity and transparency.

It has to be said that institutional translation policies in specific historical periods are increasingly drawing the attention of translation scholars (Delisle and Otis 2016; D'hulst 2014; D'hulst and Schreiber 2014; Wolf 2015), but more comprehensive outlines of the field are less than a handful (Dullion 2018; van Gerwen 2019).

The breadth of application and the potential impact of research on the history of specialized translations should have become apparent even in a

general overview as the one provided here. There is still scope to investigate specialized translation in all its genres, as translation should gain more visibility as one of the primary interpretive frames for research on the situatedness of knowledge, particularly across different historical periods.

Furthermore, the general tendency to see translation as incidental to the development of the disciplinary fields it applies its communicative power to is evidently deceptive. In fact, translation can be instrumental in shaping and circulating specialized discourses, as in the case of scientific discourse, or can exert a specific influence on socio-cultural practices, as in the case of legal translation. After all, translation studies as a subject area appears to be especially suited to the exploration of themes such as the mediatory processes of intercultural transfer and, in this respect, it connects seamlessly with recent historiographical interest in modes of mediation, as will be seen in more detail in the following section.

Translation and History

The relationship between translation and history has been a thorny issue since the inception of translation studies (O'Sullivan 2012). Recently a number of publications have appeared addressing this topic and raising methodological questions concerning both the field of history proper and that of translation. Pym's seminal work *Method in Translation History* (1998) was one of the earliest calls for greater attention to be paid to translators, rather than texts, as the principal object of study in historical research on translation. He also insisted on an empirical methodology based on the collection of quantitative data, which could give immediate visibility to translation activities produced in specific historical settings. More recently Pym, together with Rizzi and Lang, has settled on the concept of trust as a primary concept in translation history (Rizzi, Lang and Pym 2019). Cultural transactions and the functions and roles played by all agents involved deserve special attention, together with questions about reliability and trust. Trust is identified as a sort of defence strategy against the degree of uncertainty that characterizes any translation activity. More than any other communicative act, translation implies a series of shifts (among contexts, languages, referents, etc.), which may vary in terms of kind and degree. Trust is therefore the answer to the anxiety of potential misunderstandings that very often find their origin in the act of translating. According to Pym, research informed by the model of trust enables scholars to get an insight into the mind-set as well as the peculiar contexts the various agents involved in translation have been working into.

Transfer and mobility of objects (texts, technology, and materials) and subjects (authors, translators, patrons, printers, and suchlike) in time and space are also issues to be closely monitored by translation historians. As already pointed out, not only translation, but also cultural history is increasingly drawing attention to the ways in which information and knowledge move from place to place, and how the dynamics of circulation themselves materially affect moving texts, as well as any other cultural material. These new developments are modifying the way in which not only translation, but history in general is viewed.

Historical studies of translation are extremely diversified, in terms of objects analysed (different genres of translation, for example), periodization and methodology, and it is very difficult to provide a comprehensive overview. For example, St. André (2009, 134) has proposed two different perspectives to group together enquiries on translation history. On the one hand, scholars could work on the "history of translation theory and criticism", and, on the other, on the "history of translation practice". However, this distinction opens up a dichotomy – corresponding to the traditional separation between theory and practice – which can be particularly difficult to handle in historical research, when theoretical reflections (for example in an explanatory preface) may be strictly intertwined with the practice of translation.

Dichotomies seem to have characterized the development of translation studies from its early stages: original vs. translation, author vs. translator, literal vs. free translation, domesticating vs. foreignizing, are just a few examples. Translation history makes no exception and a recent polarity is that between translation and history, or, more precisely between the methodological and theoretical bases of translation studies and those of history, as argued in Rundle 2012.[2] According to Rundle, a clear-cut line separates research on the history of translation – based on translation studies in terms of methodology – from research on "translation in history" (conceivably meant as the study of the effects of translation in specific historical periods) – which is historically-based. However, this seems to be a largely provocative stance, which has originated a fruitful and stimulating debate. Translation cannot exist outside history and analyses of translation phenomena must necessarily take into consideration the complex contexts shaping them, distinctively qualified - as historical, socio-cultural, linguistic etc. – according to the theoretical approach adopted in any single study. Translation and history should be

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[2] Rundle himself has later appeared to revise his position, or at least the binary and exclusive features of his proposal, in favour of a collaborative and flexible interdisciplinary approach to the study of translation history (Rundle 2014).

better conceptualized as a mutually enhancing combination, rather than in terms of a binary opposition (Delabastita 2012, 248). Along the same lines, Hermans (2012, 244) has observed, "Without knowledge of the history of translation we cannot understand translation in history."

But the question of the relationship between translation and history becomes even more intriguing if we shift the focus and ask how translation fares within History with a capital letter, that is, how much awareness of translation phenomena do historians generally possess? How much attention is paid to translation activities in mainstream historical research? Delabastita does not seem to be pushing the argument to an extreme when he claims that "hardly any historical reality exists without translation." (2012, 248). In Section 1 a strong awareness of the centrality of translation practices has been noticed in a text on scientific translation by a geologist with a background in English and History.[3] Montgomery recognizes translation as one of the principal driving powers of "human civilization", but, unfortunately, he seems to be the exception, rather than the rule, as far as historical research is concerned. Translation is hardly, if ever, recognized in its capacity as a motor force of cultural development, as historical narratives of progress have traditionally privileged the centre, rather than the margins, of national or cultural systems. In fact the centre is always forged in opposition to external forces, perceived as extraneous, and potentially undermining the autonomy of any cultural formation. Transfer, interference and translation phenomena, which embody the life-giving core of all cultural practices, generally tend to be repressed in historical accounts. As a result, transfer processes are to be found at the margins of cultural systems, in those "intercultural spaces" (Pym 1998) or "contact zones" (Pratt 1992) which are breeding ground for movements sustaining the vitality of cultures by keeping them up to date with historical contingencies. It is certainly not by removing translation from History that the primary function of the dynamics of transfer and circulation will be recognized. On the contrary, as Delabastita (2012, 248) has neatly pointed out, History, and "'historians' require more rather than less of the expertise conventionally associated with ''translation scholars'''".

Translation History and the Debate on Historiography

The debate on the relationship between translation and history does not only concern the disciplinary perspective researchers choose to adopt –

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[3] Scott L. Montgomery, University of Washington, Seattle: https://jsis.washington.edu/people/scott-montgomery/ (last accessed August 2020).

whether translation studies – historically – or, more comprehensively, interdisciplinary-oriented. There is another important question to be taken into consideration, that is the position of translation history vis-à-vis the lively discussion on historiography, which has been carried out by historians since the 1960s.

Sales (2019, 33) has recently referred to a dated, but still stimulating work by Delisle (2008, 83), where the Canadian scholar claims that translation historians should engage in a kind of historiography that should not merely be a list of translations, autobiographical material or historical records related to translation activities. Researchers should rather search for "meaningful connections over long periods of time between the translational acts in question, and the social, cultural, political, and/or economic conditions in which they were ensconced" (Sales 2019, 33). Delisle appears to refer to Braudel's distinction of *longue durée*, *moyenne durée*, and *courte durée* (Sales 2019, 24-25), defining the temporal frame of historiographical models, but does not delve into the complex issue of periodization, which his argument seems to be referring to.

The time element in history, or the problem of periodization, is a vexed question, debated by translation historians such as D'hulst (1995), Foz (2006) and Herrero López (2019). Not only does periodization affect the structure of any historical analysis, but also its scope and results. The time-limits researchers base their work on are selected according to the sources and records brought together in the course of each investigation, as well as by the interests at stake in any research project. Foz (2006) was one of the earliest critics to point out the subjective and artificial character of periodization systems, which generally embrace a linear or developmental view of time, positing it as universal. Herrero López (2019, 51) has thoroughly discussed this topic and has claimed that:

> Periods are not only tools; they contain at least implicit arguments. The apparently simple selection of denominations for our periods already comprehends a vision of history and its divisions, for "all period concepts carry connotative, not just denotative, meanings" (Postlewait 1988, 318).

Linear progress appears to be a generalized assumption in historiography, but translation history has been resisting it. Belle's (2014) argument against outlines of linear progress, all too often simplifying and anachronistically based on isolated case studies, is another case in point. New critical interest in the fuzzy character of the linguistic, socio-cultural, and, above all, material aspect of translation phenomena has challenged teleological approaches to historical studies. Belle (2014, 45) invokes Venuti (1991, 2004), who has described the linear progress narrative "as

but one of the many discursive genres which scholars and critics may adopt, either voluntarily or unconsciously, when composing their accounts of translation history". For this reason, historians should pay special attention to the ways in which history can be organized and outlined.

Critical historiography, with the radical turn imposed by works by scholars like, among others, Hayden White (1978), Dominick LaCapra (2013), Munslow (2007), has convincingly argued that any historical account is a specific representation, or narrative, as they put it, of the past. If, as seen above, the language of science cannot be considered as neutral and objective, the language of history, i.e. historiography, is all the more "biased". In fact, historical events are not significant in themselves, but are given meaning and substance through the ways in which they are plotted and sequenced, that is once they are narrativized. Moreover, translation studies has made us aware of the fact that any signification system - and history may well count as one - is subject to the pressure of power and ideology and conditioned by its context.

The many voices in which critical historiography has developed - the Italian current of micro-history should be mentioned[4] - have strongly maintained that there is not just one official History, and have been opposing grand narrative accounts by insisting on a plurality of perspectives through which historical events can be recounted.

Furthermore, and most importantly for the subjects discussed in this paper, White, together with other radical historiographers, tends to equate history-telling with rewriting and translation practices. As White himself has famously put it:

> Historians have always used some versions of a theories of language to assist them in their work of "translating" meaning across the historical continuum in order to "make sense" of their documents. (…) And this is especially crucial for intellectual historians, who are concerned above all with the problem of meaning and that of translating between different meaning systems, whether as between past and present or between the documents and those readers of history books who wish to know what these documents "really mean". (1987, 188-189)

Historians are represented as rewriters or translators in such radical interpretations of historiography, as Vidal Claramonte has repeatedly pointed out (2014; 2019). History becomes a sort of text which translates events in the past and structures them around a plot, so as to narrate them.

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[4] See especially the seminal work of Ginzburg (1980). Sergia (2006) has applied this methodology to research in translation history.

However, the tendency to exploit translation for its metaphorical value is apparent in several poststructuralist approaches, as has already been pointed out, and this risks opening the door to relativistic representations of translation phenomena, eventually undermining its significance as a cultural practice. Hence, recognizing translation's material configuration becomes an act of restitution (Agorni 2014, 96). Translation is in fact a symbolic and a material practice at the same time, and consists in the material rendering (oral or written) of a certain source (which does not always correspond to a material object), whose meaning has been mediated in the course of a transfer process. Transfer and mediation are central features of any translation activity, but it is important to be aware of their material character, which manifests itself in any act of translation.

On this basis it seems possible to read Cheung's (2012) account of the position of translation history within the debate of historiography as crucially stimulating and restitutive of translation's full import. The Chinese scholar pointed out that all historical documents are subject to processes of intralingual, interlingual or intersemiotic translation (Jakobson 1959), which are always materially grounded, even in the case of the interpretation of prehistoric inscriptions, for example. Yet, historical records tend to be used "without reflection on their translatedness" (Cheung 2012, 157). Here is the point in which translation studies' expertise can come to the aid of historiography. Translation studies models must necessarily come to terms with the mediated nature of knowledge, and therefore appear particularly suited to enrich the historiographical debate. Cheung's pushing-hands approach (Cheung 2012, 161-162) is only one of the models translation studies can provide: it focuses attention to the "forces of change around us", promoting "continuous dialogic engagement" with the forces at play. Furthermore, it teaches us not to react to oppression with another form of oppression, but to learn instead to redirect the Other's energy, and use it to one's own advantage. Highlighting, as it does, the interdependence of vital energies by suggesting the interplay of the two principles of yin and yan (respectively the female, gentle principle, and the male and forceful one) it appears as a salutary alternative to the dichotomies still prevailing in most historiographical works to date.

Conclusion

Translation history itself has a story which can be narrated by plotting together diverse voices (in terms of genre, time, geographical origin, methodology etc.) and giving them a sequential coherence. This article is

just one of the innumerable stories that could be told, because translation history is as long as history itself. This paper has tried to illustrate some of the issues currently debated within the fields of translation studies and history, in an attempt to demonstrate the common threads and the ways in which each field can contribute to the development of mutual goals.

Important passages of this narrative have been left out, and are to be considered as further steps deserving thorough discussion in a separate publication: the vexed question of the positionality of the historian (and of the translator), the relationship between the global and the local (and the complex issue of the representativeness of specific case studies, particularly in a metonymical perspective)[5] but also the contribution of feminist, or rather gender studies, to the field of history and translation (his)story. Also, digital approaches to translation history have not been mentioned, in spite of the influential role of quantitative research in any aspect of translation (for application to historical research see for example Zhou and Sun 2017, Wakabayashi 2019).

Other topics have been only too briefly dealt with: first and foremost the importance of non-Western accounts of translation history. Postcolonial studies are certainly helping them take centre stage, but the publishing industry, and most notably the world-system of translation (Heilbron 1999), is still a step behind in this respect. Another fundamental subject that could be expanded concerns the relationship of translation history with media studies. The materiality of translation is just a stone in the wide ocean represented by the materiality of all communication systems (Littau 2016). The history of the book has recently presented major contributions to historiography, and translation history in particular has significantly updated Darnton's communication circuit (2007) by highlighting the role of translation in the dissemination of print culture (Bachleitner 2009, Belle and Hosington 2017).

All of these topics represent other stories, and a fertile ground for historiographers of translation to plough into.

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[5] As mentioned above, dichotomies arising from metaphorical logic are now under scrutiny: either/or perspective makes it difficult for researchers to investigate the fluid patterns that characterize translation. Hence, a metonymical logic working by association and connection between texts and their contexts, translators and their socio-historical settings may prevent the risk of producing images frozen in a series of static frames, whether in terms of periodization, places, languages, cultures or distinct disciplinary boundaries. On this topic see Agorni 2018, 2014.

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TRANSLATING BEHIND BARS: JAMES HOWELL'S ALTERNATIVE SPACE FOR POLITICAL ACTION DURING THE ENGLISH CIVIL WARS

GIOVANNI IAMARTINO

"The Prodigie of His Age"

Nowadays a largely forgotten seventeenth-century British polymath, James Howell (1594?-1666) was defined by his contemporary Peter Fisher – once a Sergeant-Major and Poet Laureate to the Protector and, after the Restoration, the editor of a selection of Howell's poems – as

> the prodigie of his Age, for the variety of his Volumes: for from his Δενδρολογία or *Parly of Trees*, to his Θηρολογία or *Parly of Beasts*, (not inferiour to the other) there hath pass'd the Press above forty of his Works on various subjects; useful not onely to the present times, but to all posterity. (Fisher 1664, A4)

Indeed, Howell's adventurous life in and out of Britain did not only make him a traveler and a diplomat (or perhaps a wheeler-dealer), but also a political writer, a historian, a poet, and a translator.[1] His personal life and professional career were influenced by the turbulent period of the English Civil Wars, when he advocated some sort of moderate, pacifist royalism – an extremely difficult attitude to take and position to follow at a time when political conflict was rife and people took sides one way or another. As a matter of fact, what Howell saw as moderation, compromise and reasonableness on his part might be seen – and was seen – as faint loyalty and lukewarmness, or downright lack of principles.

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[1] Howell's life is sketched in Woolf (2008). Two interesting essays dealing with Howell's life and works are Nutkiewicz (1990) and Woolf (1993). Other useful background information is found in Hay (1951) and Stoye (1989).

Given this context, my paper focusses on the initial stage of Howell's career as a translator – and a peculiar one at that. As a matter of fact, he started translating books when a convict in the Fleet, the notorious London prison. His detention may explain the whys and wherefores of his activity as a translator at that time: translating books did not require much more than a source-text, a pen, ink, and paper, and perhaps a dictionary; translating books may have been a source of income for him; and, perhaps more importantly in Howell's case, translating books may have constituted an alternative space for political action: if one's body, voice and thoughts could not go beyond the prison walls, books, on the other hand, could.

Therefore, my paper aims to throw light on the cultural and political reasons behind Howell's decision to translate and see into print a given text, and on his translations' envisaged impact on the British readership, and on the translator's (and his publisher's) ideological positioning and cultural goals.[2] Although the concept of the translator 'behind bars' is, arguably, interesting in itself, and can be studied with reference to different times and places (all the more so if one interprets it metaphorically, i.e. considering the translator to be 'imprisoned' by the source-text and its author), it is particularly appropriate within the troubled times of the English Civil Wars, and with reference to Royalist authors and translators. In fact, although London had always been Britain's main publishing centre, after King Charles moved his court and military headquarters to Oxford,

> the definition of a 'Royalist' writer during this period is publication at Oxford. Using the presses within the city gave a text polemical resonance no matter how ambivalent the matter discussed. Those seemingly royalist writers who published from London often did so because of constraint (James Howell, for instance), political ambivalence (the Cambridge poet Thomas Phillipot), or financial expediency (Wenceslaus Hollar). Often the Oxford imprint lent texts a renewed or intentionally politicized inflection. (de Groot 2004, 49)

In a way, then, Howell was doubly constrained as a translator: by being imprisoned in the Fleet, he had been deprived of his personal liberty and, as a consequence, he did not have the chance to have his works published in Oxford.[3]

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[2] This repeats what I wrote in the opening section of Iamartino (2020), which however only deals with *St Paul's Late Progres upon Earth*, Howell's first translation from the Italian language.

[3] See also de Groot (2009).

Since my research focuses on the way Howell's ideological stance and background knowledge led him to select, translate and publish a given text, I will try and achieve my aim by analysing the translations' paratextual material (title-pages, frontispieces, dedications, addresses to the readers etc.) rather than the translated texts themselves.[4]

Writing and Translating while in Prison

After a number of travels and missions abroad, which made him a proficient linguist, Howell started living by his pen in the early 1640s: *Instructions for Forreine Travel* (1st publ. 1642) was his first successful and notable work,[5] which revealed him as a shrewd and skilled observer of men and manners. Unfortunately for him,

> On a visit to London early in 1643 he was arrested in his chambers, his books were seized, and he was imprisoned in the Fleet. There he remained for eight years, on his account purely for his allegiance to the king, but more likely because of the insolvency to which he confesses in *Familiar Letters*.[6]

While in prison, he penned and published the first edition of his *Epistolae Ho-Elianae* or *Familiar Letters* (1st publ. 1645), a number of historical and political tracts and treatises and, most importantly in the present context, three translations – *St Paul's Late Progres upon Earth* in 1644, *A Venice Looking-Glasse* in 1648, and *An Exact Historie of the Late Revolutions in Naples* in 1650 – all of them from the Italian language, all of them literally and metaphorically referring to an important Italian city, and all of them pushing a political agenda.

In a way, there is a connection of a sort between these translations and Howell's original work, in particular his *Epistolae Ho-Elianae*. Indeed, as D. R. Woolf (2008) wrote,

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[4] Ever since Gérard Genette's seminal work on paratexts, quite a few books and articles have dealt with the paratextual material of translations: among them Batchelor (2018) favours a methodological approach, while Belle and Hosington (2018) provide a number of case studies of translations published in early modern Britain.

[5] This book started the collaboration between Howell and Humphrey Moseley, one of the most successful publishers of his time and a staunch royalist: see Whitehead (2014) and Boutcher (2018).

[6] Woolf (2008). The unclear reason for Howell's imprisonment is confirmed by J. de Groot, who argues that he was "confined for eight years for a mixture of loyalty and debt" (2009, 197).

The first part of his widely read *Epistolae Ho-elianae: Familiar Letters* (a series of epistolary volumes assembled and mainly written while Howell was imprisoned in the Fleet during the 1640s) offers a retrospective account of his travels together with his opinions on the peoples and places he encountered along the way.

Even though Howell had been to Italy three decades earlier, in the late 1610s, his comments on Venice, Rome and Naples – included in three letters from Section 1 of his 1645 *Epistolae Ho-Elianae* – can at least partially explain the reasons why he decided to work on Italian texts and topics. It is as if Howell the author wanted to pave the way for, or at least 'accompany', Howell the translator, by displaying his first-hand knowledge of the places that make up the background of the translated narratives. A few excerpts from these three letters will prove the point.

Venice had been Howell's first Italian destination on his trip to continental Europe. In a letter to Mr. Richard Altham (Howell 1645, 1, 56-57), Howell defines Venice as

this admired *Maiden* Citie, so call'd, because she was never deflour'd by any enemy since she had a being, not since her *Rialto* was first erected, which is now above twelve Ages ago.

and then expands on this image until its symbolic import comes to highlight the myth of Venice as a model of all European countries, with the maid's beautiful body standing for the Venetian body politic:

I was for som dayes ravish'd with the high beuty of this Maid, with her lovely countenance, I admir'd her magnificent buildings, her marvailous situation, her dainty smooth neat streets, whereon you may walk most dayes in the yeer in a Silk-Stockin, and Sattin-Slippers, without soiling them, nor can the Streets of Paris be so foul, as these are fair. This beauteous Maid hath bin often attempted to be vitiated, some have courted her, som brib'd her, some would have forc'd her, yet she hath still preserv'd her chastity intire; & though she hath liv'd so many Ages, and pass'd so many shrew'd brunts, yet she continueth fresh to this very day without the least wrinkle of old Age, or any symptoms of decay, whereunto politicall bodies, as well as natural, use to be liable. (Howell 1645, 56)[7]

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[7] Howell explicitly claims the role of an eyewitness of Venetian life and events in the paratext of *A Survey of the Signorie of Venice*: see footnote 10 here below.

After leaving Venice and travelling through northern Italy, Howell reached Rome, which is described and commented on in a letter to Sir William Saint John (Howell 1645, 1, 70-75). He only briefly refers to Roman antiquities, because "it would take up a whole volumn to write them" and "I believe the Statues and Pictures in Rome, exceed the number of living people"; being more interested in Rome as the Apostolic See and the centre of a most powerful state, Howell writes that "The *Pope* is grown to be a great Temporall Prince of late yeers" and that

> His authority being mixt twixt Temporall and Spirituall disperseth it self into so many members, that a young man may grow old here, before he can well understand the form of Government. (Howell 1645, 1, 71)

Anyway, whatever can be said about Rome, one thing is for sure: "better it is to be the Popes Nephew, than to be favourit to any Prince in Christendom" (Howell 1645, 1, 72).

The following letter in the 1645 edition of the *Epistolae Ho-Elianae* is from Naples and addressed to one Sir T. H. (Howell 1645, 1, 75-77). The first paragraph is worth quoting in full:

> I am now in the Gentle Citie of *Naples*, a Citie swelling with all delight, Gallantry and Wealth; and truly, in my opinion, the King of *Spains* greatnes appears here more eminently, than in *Spain* it self: This is a delicat luxurious Citie, fuller of true-bred Cavaliers, then any place I saw yet. The Clime is hot, and the constitutions of the Inhabitants more hot. (Howell 1645, 1, 75)

The richness of Naples on the one side, and "the constitutions of the Inhabitants" on the other side, go a long way to explain why the land was ruthlessly exploited by the Spanish oppressors and why revolt lay smouldering in the populace:

> though the Kingdom abound in rich Staple commodities, as Silks, Cottons, and Wine, and that ther is a mighty Revenue comes to the Crown; yet the King of *Spain* when he casts up his account at the yeers end, makes but little benefit therof, for it is eaten up twixt Governours, Garrisons, and Officers. (Howell 1645, 1, 75)

> And he had need to do all this, to keep this voluptuous people in aw; for the Story musters up seven and twenty famous Rebellions of the *Neapolitans* in lesse than 300 yeers: But now they pay soundly for it, for one shall hear them groan up and down under the *Spanish* yoak; And commonly the King of *Spain* sends some of his *Grandes* hither, to repair their decayed fortunes,

whence the saying sprung, *That the Viceroy of* Sicily *gnaws, the Governour of* Milan *Eats, but the Viceroy of* Naples *devoures*. (Howell 1645, 1, 75)

Undoubtedly, then, the political, economic and social conditions that Howell witnessed in the 1610s and described in 1645 were to ignite Masaniello's revolt of 1647.

In sum, the above information and comments make clear that James Howell had become very knowledgeable of the Italian language, society and political situation, and that he took advantage of all this while in prison in order to pen his translations and make them ideologically relevant to what was happening in Britain, as the following sections will show.

An Attack on Popish Rome

St Paul's Late Progres upon Earth (Pallavicino 1644) is Howell's first translation from the Italian language and the rendering of *Il divortio celeste, cagionato dalle dissolutezze della sposa romana, & consacrato alla simplicità de' scropolosi christiani* by Ferrante Pallavicino (1615-1644). It is not difficult to see the motive behind Howell's translation:[8] Pallavicino's satire is an attack on the church of Rome and especially his *bête noire*, the then-Pope Urban VIII Barberini. In a way, *Il divortio celeste* (Pallavicino 1643) and its English translation are not unlike very many tracts and pamphlets published in Reformed European countries; still, what is peculiar here is the social and personal context of Howell's translation. In fact, both the author and his translator had been sent to prison: Pallavicino had been captured by the Pope's officers soon after *Il divortio celeste* had come out in Geneva in 1643, and Howell must have been at work on the translation when poor Pallavicino was beheaded at Avignon on the Pope's order; indeed, Howell's dedicatory epistles are dated March 25th, that is to say only 20 days after Pallavicino's execution. In other words, then, the translator succeeded in killing two birds with one stone: making himself appreciated by the anti-Roman, Protestant faction in Britain, and capitalising on the stir created by Pallavicino's cruel destiny in order to sell his translation.

The translation proper is preceded by "The Argvment of the Whole Work" (Pallavicino 1644, A3-A4b), where Howell summarises Pallavicino's text by hurling the traditional invective against Rome, which has "now become as it were a common Bordell". Christ "resolveth to be divorced from" the "Church of Rome (his Spouse)" as she had decided to "prostitute

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[8] For an analysis of this reasonably adequate translation, see Iamartino (2020, 101-107).

her selfe to the lusts of diverse Popes, and particularly of Vrban the eight". Accordingly, Saint Paul is sent to "this lower World" in order to verify "the full justification of Christs complaint"; as a result, "the Decree for a Divorce issues out" (A3-A4). If all of this is hardly surprising to be read in the paratext of an anti-Catholic satire, the conclusion to this introductory section has a sting in its tail:

> The same Divorce being published through all the Vniverse, Marcus Effesus, Martin Luther, and others, runne immediately, and offer their Church for a Spouse to Christ; But Our Saviour calling to mind the wrong done him by the Church of Rome, chose rather to live single, than ever after to joyne in Matrimony with the most perfidious nature of man. (A4b)

Popish Rome may well be corrupt but Howell, even though he gives an English voice to Pallavicino's harsh satire, does not feel himself committed to the opposing religious beliefs. His rejecting Rome and the Pope does not imply that he aligns himself with the Puritan faction – an independent attitude that was liable to criticism, and is in a way amazing for a convict at a time when religious faith and political positioning most often went hand in hand.[9]

Holding Venice as a Mirror to England

While Rome was often described as a den of vice, Venice represented a political and institutional model the English might, and often did, refer to. This is the reason behind another text penned by James Howell, whose title-page is worth commenting on:

> *A Venice Looking-Glasse: Or, a Letter Written Very Lately from London to Rome, by a Venetian Clarissimo to Cardinal Barberino, Protector of the English Nation, Touching these Present Distempers. Wherein, as in a True Mirror, England May Behold her Own Spots, Wherein She May See, and Fore-see, her Follies Pass'd, her Present Danger, and Future Destruction.* Faithfully Rendred out of the Italian into English. Fas est, & ab hoste doceri. Printed in the yeare, 1648.

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[9] Further paratextual material in *St Paul's Late Progres upon Earth*, not to be dealt with here, includes two dedicatory epistles – the first "To My Worthily Honored Friend, Sir Paul Pindar, Knight" (A5-A5b), and the second "To My Very Noble Friend, Sir Paul Neale, Knight" (A6-A7a) – and a final "Caveat to the Knowing Reader". In these short texts Howell shares his ideas on the art and craft of translation – to be honest, fairly commonplace ones (see Iamartino 2020, 98-101).

The notion (or myth) of Venice as a model for the political education of Europe (see Bouwsma 1973 and Rosand 2001) was certainly well-known to and agreed on by Howell: not only had he been to Venice as a young man to hire artisans for the glass factory in London he then worked for; soon after leaving the Fleet prison, he would also publish in 1651 *A Survay of the Signorie of Venice*, where he expands "upon her Constitutions, and Government, wherin ther may be divers things usefull for this Meridian"[10] because, as Howell writes in the final couplet of a poem prefixed to the *Survay*, "Venus and Venice are Great Queens in their degree, / Venus is Queen of Love, Venice of Policie" (Howell 1651, B2b).

Howell's publication of the 1651 *Survay* may provide indirect evidence that *A Venice Looking-Glasse* of 1648 was no translation at all, but an original pamphlet written by Howell himself. As a matter of fact, a few details seem to substantiate this hypothesis. Firstly, the Venetian Clarissimo mentioned in the title-page is left unnamed in the letter, which is simply (and mysteriously) signed as J.B.C. Secondly, the letter is addressed to Cardinal Barberino on the title page and, more precisely, "To his Eminence, the Lord Francisco Barberini, Cardinal of the most holy Apostolick See, and Protector of the English Nation, at his Palaces in Rome", in the opening page of the letter (Howell 1648, 1); yet, since the then-Protector of the English Nation was not Francesco Barberini but his brother Antonio,[11] and since Francesco and Antonio were the nephews of Pope Urban VIII Barberini, harshly criticised in Pallavicino's *Il divortio celeste* for his shameless nepotism, one might argue that the name of one Barberini was

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[10] This is from the table of contents of the *Survay*, interestingly also entitled "A Venice Looking-Glass", thus suggesting a close link between the 1648 *Letter* and the 1651 *Survay*. The note appended to the table of contents is also worth reproducing here: "The Author desires to prepossesse the Reder with this advertisement, That he would not have adventurd upon this remote Outlandish subject, had he not bin *himself* upon the *place*; had he not had practicall conversation with the peeple of whom he writes: As little had he presumed upon the Life of the last French King (and *Richelieu* his Cardinall) in the Story called *Lustra Ludovici*, unlesse he had bin Spectator of most of his actions. And herin the *Author* desires to be distinguished from *those* who venture to write of Forren affaires, and Countreys by an *implicit* faith only, taking all things upon trust, having Themselfs never trodd any part of the *Continent*".

[11] Although the role of the Cardinal protector of England – that is, a cardinal appointed by the Pope and confirmed by the English monarch as the representative of the nation wihin the College of Cardinals – was terminated as a consequence of the Reformation, the title lingered on.

simply introduced as a foil for the Venetian Clarissimo.[12] Thirdly, this latter conjecture seems to be confirmed by the Latin motto on the title page, a quotation from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (VI, 428) that can be translated as "it is legitimate (or right) to be taught even by an enemy". Fourthly, this letter is affirmed to have been "Faithfully rendred out of the Italian into English" – in a way, a surprising statement, if one considers that no other title page of Howell's translations has the words 'faithful' or 'faithfully' to define them. Fifthly and finally, the letter of the supposed Clarissimo is dated as "London, this 16. of August, *Stylo loci*, 1648" (Howell 1648, 22). This is the day before the Battle of Preston, when Cromwell's troops beat the Royalists and Scots, thus bringing the Second English Civil War to an end – a striking coincidence, if the supposed translation had not been a made-up text.

No matter how credible and acceptable these suppositions are, Howell's involvement in *A Venice Looking-Glasse* as the alleged translator of this work is made clear in the short address "The Translator to his Country" that precedes the letter:

> O England, (specially thou besotted City of London) if thou bee'st not past cure, or grown carelesse and desperat of thy selfe, be warn'd by this Stranger, who, having felt thy pulse, and cast thy water very exactly, discovers in thee symptomes of inevitable ruine. Divers of thy owne Children have oftentimes admonish's thee with teares in their eyes, and terror in their hearts, to recollect thy selfe, but they have been little regarded: Let a Forreiners advice then take place, and make some impressions in thee, to prevent thy utter destruction. (Howell 1648, Ab)

Important points to be noticed here are Howell's declared love of England and especially London, and possibly his inclusion among those who vainly "have admonish'd thee … to recollect thy selfe": whether or not Howell chose to hide himself behind the mask of this Stranger – a Venetian Clarissimo examining England his patient – the motive for the publication of *A Venice Looking-Glasse* is patently obvious.[13]

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[12] Indeed, the Latin motto "quod non fecerunt Barbari, Barbarini fecerunt" has lampooned Urban VIII and his family since then.

[13] A further element of doubt as to whether this is a translated or original text is raised by the fact a few significant changes were made to the paratext when the work was republished after the Restoration in a collection of *Twelve Several Treatises* (Howell 1661): the title-page – *An Italian Prospective, Through which Great Britain (Without any Multiplying Art) May cleerly See Her present Danger, And foresee Her future Destruction, If not timely prevented* – no longer describes this work as a letter; the short address "The Translator to his Country" is reproduced with the new title

Naples as a Warning to Cromwell and the Commonwealth

If Venice was an ideal model to be imitated, another important town of seventeenth-century Italy, Naples, could serve as a horrible warning to England against political upheavals. In fact, while still a prisoner in the Fleet, Howell translated Alessandro Giraffi's *Le rivolutioni di Napoli* (1st publ. Venice, 1647), dealing with the 1647 revolt against the rule of Habsburg Spain in Naples led by the fisherman Tommaso Aniello, better known as Masaniello. The events in Naples soon found a loud echo both in continental Europe and in Britain, then in the middle of the Great Rebellion; and especially after the king's execution on Jan. 30, 1649, the Royalists often referred to Masaniello's rise and fall as a warning to the Parliamentarians.[14] Howell's translation of Giraffi's book was preceded and followed by dramas on Masaniello.[15] In a way, as much as Howell had taken advantage of the stir caused by Ferrante Pallavicino's execution, the news from Naples and Giraffi's book gave him the opportunity to make a marketable, successful translation[16] and, once again, to serve his political agenda.

If we compare the title-pages of the Italian source-text and of the English translation, Howell's ideological bias and aim will immediately stand out. In fact, while the original title is neutral and detached,

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"Paraenesis Angliae", so that the supposed translator is no longer mentioned; and the text proper is no longer simply headed with the address to the Lord Francisco Barberini but it is entitled as "An Account of the Deplorable, and Desperat condition that England stands in, Sent from London, Anno 1647" (Howell 1661: 261-265).

[14] On the 1647 revolt see Conti (1984), Musi (1989) and D'Alessio (2003); its European echoes are dealt with in D'Alessio (2007).

[15] Indeed, *The Rebellion of Naples or the Tragedy of Massenello*, authored by one T.B., came out in London in 1649; this was followed by other texts culminating in *The Famous History of the Rise and Fall of Massaniello* written by Thomas D'Urfey in 1700: see Melchionda (1988 and 1998).

[16] As a matter of fact, at least three different editions of Howell's translation were published in London in 1650: one "Printed by R. A. for R. Lowndes", another "Printed for R. Lowndes", and a third one "Printed by J. G. for John Williams, at the Crown in S. Pauls Church-yard". These editions do not differ in the translated text but in three paratextual details (to be commented on here below): they may or may not include the frontispiece portrait of Masaniello; the portrait may or may not be referred to in the Dedication of the book; and the Latin maxim is either part of the title-page or printed on the blank page between the Dedication and the translation proper. After the 1660 publications, two further editions were issued in 1664 and 1679 together with *The Second Part of Massaniello*, first published in 1652.

Le rivolvtioni di Napoli descritte dal Signor Alessandro Giraffi. Con pienissimo ragguaglio d'ogni successo, e trattati segreti, e palesi.[17]

the English one sounds very differently:

An Exact Historie of the Late Revolutions in Naples; and of Their Monstrous Successes, Not to Be Parallel'd by Any Ancient or Modern History. Published by the Lord Alexander Giraffi in Italian; and (for the rarenesse of the subject) rendred to English, by J.H., Esqʳ. Non est quod mireris praeterita, Praesentia te reddent attonitum. Liv. Leave off admiring what before hath past, This present Age will make thee more agast. London: Printed by R.A. for R. Lowndes. 1650.

First of all, the popular uprising in Naples is set in a very clear historical framework, though a recent one. On the one hand, in fact, what readers will get is "an exact historie", that is an accurate, detailed narrative constituting a chronological record of public events; on the other hand, the title prefixed to the text proper (after the dedication) is "Newes from Naples", which translates "Raggvaglio del tumulto di Napoli" in the Italian editions and denotes a report of recent, extraordinary happenings. Indeed, Giraffi's "rivolvtioni" becomes Howell's "late revolutions", the adjective 'late' stressing their recent occurrence and, indirectly at least, their current relevance. It is as if a kind of journalistic account is introduced as an historical narrative, in order to make the Latin saying *Historia magistra vitae* come true. Secondly, the expression "ogni successo" in Giraffi's title becomes "monstrous successes" on Howell's title-page: 'monstrous' is here used in its earliest, now obsolete meaning described by the *Oxford English Dictionary* as "deviating from the natural or conventional order; unnatural, extraordinary",[18] thus implicitly contrasting what had happened in Naples with the natural or conventional order and hierarchy of society. Thirdly, the Neapolitan revolution is "not to be parallel'd by any ancient or modern history". This statement is true and false at the same time: true, because it

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[17] This is the title of both the first edition published in Venice in 1647 and the pirated one that came out in Geneva the following year; the title of the Paduan edition of 1648 – *Relatione delle rivolvtioni popolari successe nel distretto, e regno di Napoli nel presente anno 1647 alli 7 luglio. Raccolta dal Sig. Nescipio Liponari* – is different but as neutral as the other one. Whatever the title of Giraffi's editions, there are no variations in their contents; hence, it is not possible to establish which one was made use of by Howell for his translation.

[18] See *OED*, s.v. MONSTROUS, A.1.a. The *OED*, s.v. REVOLUTION, 8.a. also reminds us that to the original, astronomical meaning of the word revolution its political meaning had been added from the early sixteenth century.

was the first time that the common people of any European city seized power; false, because Howell translated Giraffi's book precisely in order to draw a parallel between the revolt in Naples and the Great Rebellion in England. Fourthly and finally, the translator's aim is made clear by means of two textual details: Howell states that Giraffi's book is rendered into English "for the rareness of the subject" – but rare does not mean unique; and the Latin maxim contrasts the past with "this present Age", which may be easily referred to the events in both Naples and England; if the Latin maxim, not to be found in Livy's *Ab Urbe Condita*, was actually fabricated by Howell, its ideological implication would be even stronger.[19]

Facing the title-page is a frontispiece portrait of Masaniello (see Fig. 1), with the caption "Effigie & uero Ritratto di Masianiello, comandante, in Napoli" (effigy and true portrait of Masianiello, commander in Naples). The portrait in this unsigned woodcut largely corresponds to the descriptions of Masaniello in Howell's dedication ("a young fellow, a petty poor bare-footed Fisherman") and at the beginning of the book (Sunday the 7. of July, 1647. The first day):

> A Young man about twenty four yeers old happen'd to be in a corner of the great Market place at Naples, a spitefull man, and pleasant, of a middle stature, black-ey'd, rather lean than fat, having a small tuff of haire; he wore linen slops, a blew waistcoat, and went barefoot, with a Mariners cap, but he was of a good countenance, stout and lively as could be, as the effects will shew. (Giraffi 1650, 11)

These descriptions, however, lack some details or even clash with what is seen in the picture – in particular, the big nose and the sun-burnt legs and feet, which suggest a man of the people. More importantly, however, what the picture adds to the verbal presentation of Masaniello is his standing posture and pose; although his physical appearance and poor clothes look incongruous with a leader's commanding presence, Masaniello's left hand on his hip and his outstretched right arm and pointed finger may suggest an order or an accusation, or at least invite readers to consider what had been happening in Naples and why.

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[19] As a matter of fact, this supposed quotation is only included in the title-page of one edition published by Lowndes, whereas in Lowndes's other edition and in William's the quotation is removed from the title-page and printed on a blank page between the dedication and the beginning of the translation proper. This removal leaves room for a bigger type size on the title-page, especially for the key-words. Whatever its position in the different editions, this Latin sentence cannot be found in Livy's work nor in any text included in the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* database.

Fig. 1: Alessandro Giraffi, *An Exact Historie of the Late Revolutions in Naples* (London, 1650), frontispiece. Courtesy of the Bertrand Russell Archives, McMaster University Library, Hamilton ON

The caption being worded in Italian suggests that the iconographic source for the portrait is an Italian print, one more or less directly derived from what may be considered the very first portrait of Masaniello (see Fig. 2). This is an engraving by Pietro Bacchi or Petrus Bacchius (d. 1650), a Dutch painter and engraver active in Naples in those momentous days.[20] Given the caption of Bacchi's engraving – *Tomaso Aniello da Malfi al* [for *alias*] *Mas'Aniello Pesci Vendolo d'età d'Anni 23, acclamato Capo del Popolo di Napoli. Adì 7 di Iulio dell'anno 1647. Pietro Bacchi dona e dedica e sculpsit superiorum permissu* – Capasso (1919: 142) speculated that the work may have been done while Masaniello was still in power. Moreover, in the latest and most detailed study of the visual impact of the Neapolitan revolt, the author affirms that

> In Naples there were probably more than one hundred prints of Masaniello
> in circulation only in the year that followed the revolt in July 1647.
> (Ribeirete de Fraga 2013, 317)[21]

A number of manuscript sketches and print engravings based on Bacchi's model circulated in Italy and also made their way to continental Europe and Britain, not least because the foreign residents and merchants in Naples were committed to inform their home countries of the events there. Definitely, "London was flooded with prints and booklets relating the deeds of Masaniello and the several events of the Neapolitan revolt" (Ribeirete de Fraga 2013, 297). Howell or his publisher must have got hold of one of these prints as a loose sheet or bound in a book, and decided to have it reproduced for the English edition.[22]

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[20] On Pietro Bacchi see the relevant 2011 entry in the online *Benezit Dictionary of Artists*, https://doi.org/10.1093/benz/9780199773787.article.B00009478.

[21] Further comments on the visual representations of Masaniello are found in Ventura (2018) as well as the works referred to in footnote 14.

[22] In a letter "To Mr. Sam. Bon. at his House in the Old Jury" – included in the 1655 fourth volume of his *Epistolae Ho-Elianae*, but certainly going back to his time in the Fleet – Howell writes: "I also highly thank you for the *Italian* Manuscripts you sent me of the late revolutions in *Naples*, which will infinitly advantage me in exposing to the World that stupendous peece of story" (Howell 1655, 110). This may have been one of the ways by which Howell received written or iconographic material on Masaniello.

It is also to be noted that not only the 'English' picture but also other illustrations derived from Bacchi's had replaced Bacchi's detailed panorama of Naples with a much simpler and indefinite background.

Fig. 2: Pietro Bacchi, *Masaniello* (1647). Courtesy of the Certosa e Museo Nazionale di San Martino, Naples

After the title-page and the facing woodcut comes the third key
paratextual element in Howell's translation, that is to say his dedication or
address "To the Right Worshipfull the Governour, the Deputy, and the rest
of the worthy Company trading into the Levant" (Giraffi 1650, A2). There
are at least two reasons why Howell chose the Levant Company as the
dedicatee of his translation: as a young man, in 1623, Howell had
undertaken "a mission to Spain to recover a merchant ship on behalf of the
Levant company" (Whitehead 2014, 50), an autobiographical detail which is
alluded to by Howell in the dedication;[23] and – no doubt more importantly
– "English merchants had recently [i.e. in the 1640s] eclipsed their Italian
counterparts in Levant shipping and now sent as many as 120 ships and
three thousand sailors to Naples each year" (Linebaugh and Rediker 2001,
113), so that Howell may well describe the region of Naples as "the Country
where Princes are Merchants, and with which you hold most correspondence"
(A2).[24] The Levant Company must have been informed about, and was
interested in, the Neapolitan revolt.

The following pages of the dedication (A2b-A4) briefly refer to the
author Alessandro Giraffi, who is simply mentioned as "an Italian
Nobleman", Giraffi's nobility being an undocumented detail that is certainly
meant to allude to a loyalist perspective on the narrated events. Howell
praises the stylistic excellence of the source text, which "contains as
stupendous passages, as ever happen'd on Earth since Discord first entred
into the World", and stresses the novelty of Giraffi's book, which "was very
lately compil'd", soon after the events recorded in it: these are, in Howell's
words, "fresh, and acted, as it were but yesterday". More space, though, is
given to the revolt and its leader: Howell rhetorically wonders how the
revolt could break out "in so well a policed City as Naples", "so full of
Nobility and Gentry", as well as "abounding with so many sober and politic
Heads", with the emphatic tongue-in-cheek repetition of 'so' probably
meant to indirectly refer to London and the Court as well as Naples; then,
he focuses on Masaniello, who is described as "a young fellow, a petty poor
bare-footed Fisherman" who, in a few days, succeeded in "shaking off his
linen slop, blue waistcoat, & red bonnet" so that he could

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[23] "[…] the employment which by Royall Commission I once had to serve some of
them, induc'd me to this addresse." (Giraffi 1650, A2-A2b).
[24] A passage in the above quoted letter to Sir T. H. from Naples runs as follows:
"Our *English* Merchants here, beat a considerable Trade, and their Factors live in
better Equippage, and in a more splendid manner, as all in *Italy* besides, then their
Masters and Principalls in *London*, they ruffle in Silks and Sattins, and wear good
Spanish Leather-Shooes, while their Masters-Shooes upon our *Exchange* in *London*
shine with Blacking" (Howell 1645, 76).

ride triumphantly upon his Coursier in cloth of silver, command all Naples, and consequently neer upon six hundred thousand souls, as absolutely as ever Monark did; and all this by his own single Orders, which were of force enough to plunder or burn any house, to banish the proudest Lord, or chop off any head, without judiciall Proceeding.

Masaniello's hardly commanding presence and poor dress cannot credibly be replaced by his triumphant ride dressed in cloth of silver, his 'reign' can only be short-lived. This sentence, however, may be said to indirectly refer to the English state of affairs: many a house was plundered and burnt during the conflict between the king and Parliament, Catholic Lords could be dispossessed and banished, quite a few heads were chopped off (including Charles I's, only four months before Howell wrote that sentence), and Cromwell acted in practice as an absolute monarch.[25]

Howell brings his dedication to a close by introducing a play on words and baroque imagery of a sort: he reinterprets the name Masaniello as Maso

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[25] This interpretation is not to be considered far-fetched and implausible: apart from the English plays on Masaniello that more or less explicitly referred to the situation in England (see footnote 15, above), after Cromwell's death and the Restoration, a comparison between the Lord Protector (now styled as "the late Usurper") and the rebellious Neapolitan fisherman was often made. A case in point is the historian John Heath, the first biographer of Oliver Cromwell who, in the address "To the Reader" of his 1663 *Flagellum*, wrote: "*In* Europe, *I place and reckon this* Cromwell *as a Medium or Mean, betwixt two almost his* Contemporaries, Wallenstein *Duke of* Freidland *the Emperors* General, *who from an obscure and wasted Barony rose to that Dignity, and thence aspired to the* Imperial Diadem, *but perished in the attempt; and* Thomas Anello *the* famous Fisherman *of* Naples, *who dyed in the* frantick possession *of the power he had so* wonderfully *attained to: for by a* mixt adjument *of Tumults, and Arms, and the* Command *upon the Rabble, and a* mutinous disloyal Militia, *did* Cromwell *usurp the Soveraignty, though he had the* fortune *(or we rather the* Happiness*) to dye in his bed, after the* fruition *of his envied Greatnesse*" (Heath 1663, A3b).
An iconographic testimony may also be mentioned, as there remain at least two silver medals with Cromwell on the obverse and Masaniello on the reverse. One was struck in the Netherlands in 1658, and consists of two embossed plates, chased, and united by a broad rim; it shows Cromwell's bust, in plain collar and armour, between two soldiers supporting a laurel wreath over his head and, on the other side, Masaniello's bust between two sailors supporting a crown over his head. The other, which was engraved in Britain in ca. 1750, has Cromwell's bust and the inscription "Cromwellus Victor Perduellis" on the obverse, and a full body image of the Neapolitan fisherman and the inscription "Massanello vanus es Rebellis" on the reverse. Both medals are on display in the Department of Coins and Medals, The British Museum, London.

Anello – 'anello' being the Italian for a ring – and uses the image of a small ring to describe Giraffi's narration:

> as in a little Ring emboss'd with some precious Stone, one may behold the effigies of a great Castle, or Mountaine (by a rare contraction of the object) so in this small History of Anello, which, with his lively pourtrait,[26] I present unto your eyes, you may discern the greatnesse of my desires, that the world shold witnesse how much I am Your humble and ready Servitor, Iames Howell.

Here again, one can but conclude that, through the small but precious stone of Masaniello's revolt, the English translator of Giraffi's *Le rivolvtioni di Napoli* wanted his readers to behold the momentous events of the Great Rebellion. Despite all the relevant differences between the popular uprising led by the Neapolitan fisherman and the conflict in England between King and Parliament, Masaniello's tragic destiny was meant to teach the Parliamentarians that any revolt was, sooner or later, destined to fail; and to warn Cromwell of the rebel's impending destiny.

Concluding Remarks

It can be argued that both Howell's early years travelling in continental Europe and his period as a convict helped him become a successful author and translator: if his travels abroad made him knowledgeable of languages and cultures other than his own, his imprisonment must have taught him how to fend for himself in difficult personal circumstances. This might include translating well-chosen books and, by setting them in a new textual, iconographic and conceptual framework (i.e., the translation paratext), modify or strengthen their impact on his envisaged readership.

After being released on bail from the Fleet some time in 1650, Howell kept on living by his pen: he published works on historical and political subjects, thus laying himself open to criticism from both contending parties as he tried to steer a middle course between his royalist sentiments and his respect for parliamentary rules; he was also wise enough to exploit his mastery of foreign languages and publish less politically dangerous texts, such as a multilingual collection of proverbs, a grammar book and dictionaries; and of course he kept on translating books.

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[26]As mentioned in footnote 15 above, the clause "with his lively pourtrait" is not always present in this passage of the dedication, even though the book does include the frontispiece portrait.

In 1657 William London, a bookseller and bibliographer from Newcastle upon Tyne, published *A Catalogue of the Most Vendible Books in England Orderly and Alphabetically Digested*. The section on "History" lists as many as twenty-five works compiled or translated by James Howell (London 1657, X1b-X2), including the ones dealt with in this paper;[27] this provides evidence of Howell as a prolific, best-selling author.

Despite Howell's declared commitment to the monarchy, after the Restoration Charles II did not reward him as he had hoped; still, the publication of political and historical tracts and the translation of books of historical import earned him the position of Historiographer Royal, which he held until his death in 1666, to be succeeded by no less a person than John Dryden.

James Howell's activity as a translator – and especially the books he translated while a prisoner in the Fleet – may arguably provide limited but clear evidence that translations in early modern England did not simply help develop its literary tradition, but that they were also aimed at disseminating knowledge and had an ideological and political impact; as such, they could be instrumental in bringing about – or, at least, attempting to bring about – changes in contemporary society.

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[27] As a matter of fact, Howell's translation of Pallavicino's satire is listed here both simply as "St Paul's progresse on earth" and in the section on Divinity books as "*St Pauls*. Progress upon earth, about a divorce betwixt Christ and the Church of *Rome*, by reason of her desoluteness and excess, recommended to all tender consciences, rendered into english from *Itallian*. 8°" (London 1657, Q2), a more detailed description which however mentions neither author nor translator.

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TRANSLATING ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORIOGRAPHY IN TUDOR ENGLAND

ANGELA ANDREANI

This paper discusses the earliest English translations of the key text of Christian ecclesiastical historiography, the *Ecclesiastical History* by Eusebius of Caesarea and it highlights the linguistic and cultural contribution of authors working at the interface between translation and historiography. The discussion is three-fold. It begins by situating the reception of Eusebius' work in Tudor England in the wake of the Reformation, a period of intense intellectual activity, religious and linguistic debate. It then presents the English translations of Eusebius' work and focusses on the evidence of the authors' own perception of their activity: did they consciously place their work in an editorial tradition? Did they establish a dialogue with any predecessors, or show any desire to establish new ground for the future? In the final section, the discussion centres on the translators' editorial policies and linguistic views, and it gives examples of the impact of their work on the English language.[1]

With particular reference to Christopher Rundle's body of work on the relationship between history and translation, the purpose of this paper can be described as a study of what translation can tell us about a specific cultural context (2011, 33). My perspective is that of an early modernist and historian of English, and in this paper I will use translation as documentary evidence of the development of scholarly, religious and historiographical discourses against the backdrop of religious reform. In particular, I will attempt to unfold what the editorial projects under consideration represented for their translators (Rundle 2019, 235). I will discuss the early modern translators' methods, employing their own definitions of their work, and I will look at some applications of their theories in practice. The texts analysed here were products of elite cultures concerned with matters of faith and doctrine. Differences in religious outlook (themselves a critical element

to be connected to editorial policies) will emerge though they will remain somewhat in the background. This paper consciously avoids considering the translations examined here primarily as products of a conservative or reformed apologetic agenda, but rather looks at them as sites of a dialogue with the past and of experimentation for the development of English as a scholarly, erudite language.

The Translation of Patristic Scholarship in England

The history of the Church was contested territory in post-Reformation Europe. The process of recovery and translation of early documents of Christianity had apologetic and polemical underpinnings, which included, for instance, the demonstration that the reformed Church was neither new nor strange, but had its roots in the Church of the Apostles. Through the 16th century, England was part of a European "scene of patristic activity" (Haugaard 1979, 40). English theologians contributed significantly to the "Western store of printed patristic writings" through editions and translations of a wide corpus of manuscript patristic sources, the amount of which reveals the taste for the Church Fathers among literate circles who could not easily read Greek or Latin (Haugaard 1979, 41-43). William P. Haugaard has argued that in England "reforming rhetoric pressed historical precedent with a singular intensity", since here the appeal to the "auncient fathers" was used against religious opponents as much as to justify legislation and liturgical changes (1979, 51).

Even so, an authentic interest in the interpretation and writing of history appeared to be central to the extensive work undertaken on patristic sources by Renaissance scholars (Backus 2003, 4-5). The patristic activity of the century made for significant contributions in the field of textual philology, for instance, including the "increasingly adept critical collation of manuscripts", the practice of "establishing contexts and distinguishing the dubious and spurious writings inaccurately attributed to particular authors", and the analytical assessment of documentary evidence (Haugaard 1979, 38). Furthermore, this was a period of extraordinary expansion of English vocabulary. The pace of lexical borrowing from the classical and vernacular languages was unprecedented, and Tudor intellectuals were divided into those who perceived this as a threat to their native language, and those who viewed neologisms and foreign loans as an opportunity for enrichment (Blank 2008, 222-224).

The tension between 'innovative' and 'purist' tendencies in language debates found interesting parallels in religious controversies. In response to Roman Catholic allegations that the reformed Church was a heretic novelty,

the Protestants stressed that their Church was not "the begynning of any new Churche of our owne" but rather the "renewyng of the old auncient Church of Christ" (Foxe 1570, 2-3, see also Sanna 2001, 794, 800). Anything "new" carried negative connotations, just like the "new-fangled" heresies that eroded the original unity of the true Church. What was "renewyd", on the other hand, implied a rediscovery of the origins and of a more "auncient" state of things, closer to the Apostles, to Christ, and to God. Just as the discovery of the true Church implied the recovery of the Christian past, the work on language valued the notion of the 'true' and 'original' meaning.

The translation of the patristic sources, alongside the translation of the Bible, had therefore a double valence: religious and linguistic, and it was of paramount importance in a context in which issues of authenticity and the dangers of misinterpretation were an urgent preoccupation. As pointed out by Damiano Acciarino, linguistic skills were central, since the "understanding and interpretation of the words of sacred or venerable texts implied control over a traditional knowledge" (2017, 20). The post-Reformation context, in other words, appears to be one of those historical moments in which translation becomes, "a weapon wielded in the service of an ideological project that sees language [...] as a theatre of war in which to fight for influence and dominance" (Rundle and Rafael 2016, 42).

Mark Vessey has emphasised the complexity of the history of the printing works by the Church Fathers in English, which encompassed processes of mechanical, religious and linguistic appropriation (1997, 781-831). Vessey focusses on the reception of Latin patristics arguing that the translation of the Greek and Latin Fathers ought to be kept separate on historical grounds:

> Whereas translation from Latin into English in this period was a routine undertaking for any Englishman with a B.A. or equivalent training, translation from Greek (whether into English or Latin) invariably denoted, and was often used to display, a singular commitment to the *studia humanitatis*. (1997, 779)

The translations from Greek had thus "a scholarly dimension" that was "largely absent" from the Latin translations, which rather displayed a popularising nature (Vessey 1997, 779).

Amongst the Greek fathers, Eusebius of Caesarea was the most celebrated chronographer and the undisputed initiator of ecclesiastical historiography. His history of the Church in 10 books had been known to Western Europe since the 5th century through the Latin translation by the Roman theologian Tyrannius Rufinus of Aquileia (*c.* 345-410/11). Eusebius' church history was a seminal work that influenced the way history was

written for centuries (Momigliano 1990, 141; Collinson 2011, np). In post-Reformation Europe, the historiographical work of Eusebius was rediscovered as it was believed that his history preserved the knowledge of the early centuries of Christianity, when the Church was closest to the teachings of Christ and hence at its purest.

It ought to be pointed out that 'ecclesiastical' history was a different matter from 'civil' history (Ricuperati 1983, 8-11). It had been "defined and constructed as a separate discipline ever since Eusebius [...] claimed to be the originator of this new subject" (Collinson 2011, np). The very name of the discipline in English was borrowed from the Greek title of Eusebius' work, the *ἐκκλησιαστικὴ ἱστορία*. The non-adapted Latin form 'storia' or 'historia ecclesiastica' had entered the English lexicon via the 5th-century translation by Rufinus, whilst a search of the *Early English Books Online* database (*EEBO* henceforth) suggests that the earliest occurrences of the phrase 'ecclesiastical history' in English appeared in the titles of the 16th-century translations.

The first, partial, English translation of Eusebius' church history was compiled between 1547 and 1553 by the Catholic niece of Sir Thomas More, Mary Roper Clarke Basset. This version is now preserved in London in the British Library MS Harley 1860, which includes Basset's translation into English of Books 1-5 and her translation into Latin of Book 1. Some extracts from Eusebius' history had also found currency in England through John Jewel's *Apologia pro Ecclesia Anglicana*, translated into English by Lady Ann Bacon in 1564. Extensive passages of the Eusebian Church history were also included in John Foxe's 1570 edition of the *Acts and Monuments*, and the first complete English translation was published by the reformed clergyman Meredith Hanmer in 1577. These texts all contributed to a "Eusebian renaissance" in post-Reformation London (Collinson 2011, np).

The "Eusebian Renaissance" in England and the Role of the Translator

In 1562, the Bishop of Salisbury John Jewel published the *Apologia Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, which represented the reformed Church of England's reply to the allegations waged by Catholics that the Reformation had set up a new Church. The *Apologia* was written in Latin for circulation in Europe, and in 1564 Lady Anne Bacon, courtier and mother of Francis Bacon, translated it into English. In Jewel's *Apologia*, Eusebius featured as a source for Christian terminology and apologetic arguments, as much as for being an historical witness of key events and testimonies of the primitive Church.

A number of brief extracts and phrases from Eusebius were printed in the *Apologia*, meaning that Lady Ann Bacon's translation of 1564 published the earliest examples of 'Englishings' of Eusebius.

The extracts were limited to brief yet significant paraphrases. The *Apology* made use of the first book of Eusebius, in which it was argued that the Christian doctrine was neither *νέος καὶ ξένος*, translated by Bacon as "New and Strange" (Demers 2016, 131), a doublet that would be regularly repeated by reformers, as has been seen. The *Apology* also revealed the fact that the term 'atheist' was not yet current in English.[2] Eusebius' *ἀθέους* was translated into Latin with the paraphrase "homines impios, qui Deum non habent" (Jewel 1848, 18), and by Bacon with the English doublet "wicked and godless creatures" (Demers 2016, 91).

Eusebius was also one of the main sources for John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, to the extent that "the early pages of the final version of *Actes and Monuments* consist partly of passages taken verbatim from Eusebius" (Collinson 2011, np). In Foxe's work, Eusebius was used as a historical source and mined for evidence of patristic testimony that had since got lost; for instance, Foxe used the fourth book of the Greek ecclesiastical history which "reporteth this woorthye saying of Polycarpus" (Foxe 1570, I, 74). Eusebius was then also cited by Foxe's martyrs to demonstrate the errors of the Church of Rome, as in the examination of John Philpot, who claimed to be able to prove "both by eusebius & other Historiographers, þᵗ the church of Rome hath manifestly erred" (Foxe 1570, VIII, 2006). It seems that Foxe used Latin translations of Eusebius as his source texts (Collinson 2011, np). Even though Foxe cannot be considered a translator of Eusebius, the degree to which the latter functioned as a model for his historiography emerges clearly from the pages of his work, the figures of his martyrs, and his "massive quotation of documents, indifference to stylistic conventions and the neglect of military and political topics" (Thomas S. Freeman cit. in Collinson 2011, np).

The case of Basset and Hanmer is different. The two lived through times of profound religious change and crisis, both for the Roman and Protestant Churches (Heal 2003). In their prefaces, they demonstrate an awareness of their role as translators, which allows us to understand their views concerning the significance of their undertaking, the authority they bestowed on their sources, and the problems they encountered.

Mary Roper Clarke Basset (d. 1572) was a prominent Catholic Englishwoman known for her "exemplary schooling" and her skills as a

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[2] The term 'atheist' does not appear in the *EEBO* corpus of printed texts before the 1570s, and the *OED* dates its first occurrence to 1571; see *OED*, s.v. ATHEIST, n. and adj.

classicist. She had been educated in the household of her mother, Margaret Roper, daughter of Sir Thomas More, another outstanding classicist of the Tudor era, inheriting "the mantle of Morean humanism" (Goodrich 2010, 301-303). As has been argued, Basset's approach to translation was shaped by her mother's approach in several ways, including translation methods and the conception of the female translator's modest authorial voice (Hosington 2010, 99-100; Goodrich 2010, 310).

Writing her dedication before Mary Tudor's accession to the throne, Mary Basset claimed that first amongst "the cawsys that moved" her to undertake the translation of Eusebius's *History,* was the fact that the work had never been printed in Greke, "save onely ones, and that in suche sorte, that yt ys in sundrye placys wondrefully unperfecte and corrupte" (Harley MS fol. 4v). Her work was thus a necessary and welcome addition to a defective bibliographical panorama. A thorough knowledge of Greek was essential to undertake the task of assessing and editing, and not only translating, the text.

Lamenting the state of the source text, the Greek *editio princeps* printed by Robert Estienne in Paris in 1544, Basset underscored her linguistic competence and implied that her work could remedy its shortcomings. She conjectured that the faults in the edition derived from faulty, unreliable copies "vntrewlye wrytten", or from damaged manuscripts "in suche wyse worne and peryshed that in every place thorowly the woord*es* and sentencys therof coulde not well be redd and dyscerned" (fol. 4v-5). Another problem was posed by the various sources, the "sundrye Greke aucthors", cited by Eusebius were inaccessible for a Tudor readership (fol. 5). The editorial project required therefore the skills of a humanist scholar able to identify authors cited in "small patches and peycys", to restore their context, causing "who so studyeth or redyth that storye [...] to passe ouer some parte therof not fully and wholy satysfyed therin" (fol. 5) and, where possible, to supplement the text (fol. 5v).

In the dedicatory epistle, Basset revealed her initial intention to translate the work in Latin, since the version by Tyrannius Rufinus, published in 402-3 and printed in 1473, had evidently been superseded:

> Ruffyne doth not in all poynctes thorowly perfourme the offyce of a trewe interpretor, sometyme alteryng the very sence sometyme omyttyng whole sentences togyther, sometyme addyng and puttyng to of hys owne, as manyfestly in hys translacon apperyth. (fol. 7v-8)

In contrast to Rufinus, she promised to perform "the offyce of a trewe interpretor", not to alter the "trewe sence" of her source, not to omit nor insert additions. However, only one book was eventually translated by

Basset, as the project was abandoned upon learning that a new Latin translation of Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical Histories* had already appeared.[3]

Basset's positions regarding the role of the translator find parallels in Meredith Hanmer's preface to the *Auncient Ecclesiasticall Histories*, which he published in 1577 and included the first complete translation of the ten books of Eusebius to be printed in English (Andreani 2020, 56-67). Hanmer was a reformed clergyman and a "Maister of Arte and student in diuinitie" at Oxford, as advertised in the title-page of his translation. His profile as a scholar underscored his credentials to undertake such a work, since his University curriculum involved extensive study of biblical and patristic sources in Greek, as well as Latin and Hebrew (Greenslade 1986, 307-309). Hanmer's statement that he had read the ecclesiastical histories in the original Greek "vnto an honorable Ladie of this lande" (1577, *iiij) underlined his skills further. He claimed to have worked directly from the original, probably the same *editio princeps* by Stephanus on which Basset had worked.

Similarly to Basset, Hanmer intended to make the source text accessible to the English reader. Advertising this aim served to emphasise the advancement of his editorial project in the tradition of Eusebian scholarship: "there have bene divers which attempted to translate these auncient Ecclesiastical histories, yet have geven over their purpose, partly being discouraged with the diversitie and corruption of the Greeke copies" (1577, *iiij *v*). His edition would be better. Hanmer claimed, for instance, that Rufinus "tooke no heede vnto the wordes and meaning of the autor which he tooke vpon him to translate, but interpreted for the most parte at his pleasure, by adding and diminishing, more like a Paraphrast then a translator" (*ibid.*). In the edition by Epiphanius Scholasticus, a 6th-century translator into Latin, Hanmer claimed to have found

> not onely such barbarous phrases, but also ignoraunce and palpable errour, that I can not chuse but maruell, howe any Grecian coulde be vnskilfull, not so muche in the straunge Latine tongue, as ignorant in his owne language. (*ibid.*)

The more recent work by the reformed theologian Wolfgang Musculus was of merit but still not satisfactory: "This Musculus as it is very like, wanting perfect coppies, erred fowly in infinite places. Moreouer, he is so

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[3] The one by the bishop of Chichester John Christopherson, formerly her tutor (Goodrich 2010, 303, 315). Goodrich notes she might also be referring to the translation published by Wolfgang Musculus in 1549.

obscure that the Translator hath neede of an interpretour" (*ibid.*). Finally, John Christopherson, the Catholic Bishop of Chichester (d. 1558),

> (as for his religion I referre it to God and to him selfe, who by this time knoweth whether he did well or no) was a great Clarke, and a learned interpretour, he hathe Translated passing well, yet sometimes doeth he addicte him self very much to the Latine phrase, and is caried away with the sound and weight therof. (*ibid.*)

Basset's translation preceded Hanmer but there is no mention in the latter's preface of the Harley manuscript, nor do we know whether Hanmer knew of its existence. If he did, he may have disregarded it because it was a partial version, a manuscript (all other translations listed by him were in print), or perhaps due to a mixture of professional or misogynistic preconceptions towards a woman translator who was not a theologian. Religious censorship may have played a role too, though in his evaluations of other Catholic predecessors (Christopherson) Hanmer had evidently attempted a balanced assessment that overcame religious differences.

These extracts illustrate the fact that both translators situated their work as an advancement of previous scholarship, which underlines their awareness of a tradition, their willingness to find their niche within it, and the desire to establish new ground. Both translators displayed a concern with representing the true sense of the source text and clarifying obscure sources and concepts from a past that had to be entirely reconstructed relying on few, decayed documents. In the next paragraph, however, it will emerge clearly that a consonance of intent and ambition can in fact lead to very different results, and the extent to which translation can indeed exemplify how "not everything can be reduced to a unitary meaning" (Rundle and Rafael 2016, 31). These, and the examples that follow, highlight the "interdisciplinary potential" of translation advocated by Michael Rundle (2014, 2-8), by showing that the activity of language intermediaries can offer privileged insights into broader cultural and hermeneutic tensions.

'Englishing' Eusebius: Mary Basset and Meredith Hanmer

One central issue for both Catholic and reformed translators was of course the correct interpretation of biblical and patristic sources, not an easy problem to solve, given the fragmentary and corrupted state of the key source texts. Here we can see how translation provides a helpful approach to the study of the Reformation as a specific historical context "in which

language and cultural exchange play a particular significant role" (Rundle and Rafael 2016, 42).

Mark Vessey has observed that, in general, for translations of this period, "[f]idelity to the original sense and timely publication appear to have been the translators' chief concerns" (1997, 775). Allegations of intentional tampering with the sources or failing to understand their authentic meaning, 'miscontruing', 'interpreting corruptly' or 'translating deceitfully', were part of the stock vocabulary of both Roman Catholic and reformed theologians disputing with one another. Hence, the linguistic competence of translators approaching early Christian texts was critical, in that it determined their reliability in assessing the meaning of the source text, and their authority in advancing and revising English ecclesiastical vocabulary.

In her dedication, Basset described the task of the translator bridging the historical and cultural gulf between her ancient source and her Tudor readers:

> [...] the names of measures, coynes, and suche other thinges lyke, whych though they were many a daye a go, comonly vsed and well knowen, are nowe for all that, at thys present tyme, growen quyte owt of vse and vtterly vnknowen. (fol. 5v)

She declared that

> when so there chaunced any suche straunge names to comme to my hande, neyther did I empayr the sence and meanyng of the aucthor, nor yet leave againe the place so obscure and darcke, but that yt might well and easely ynough be perceyued and vnderstanden. (fol. 5v-6)

She underlined the labour of tuning the translation to the "profound and graue" style of the source:

> whych as in so high a matter as he tooke in hande to treate of was moste decent and beste besemyng hym, so thought me yt on the t'other syde a thyng vndecent, and very farre vnbesemyng, yf I should not also for my parte labour and endeuor my self, with all possyble diligence to sett forth the same lykewyse in englyshe, somewhat accordyngly, as the grauytye and ymportaunce of so notable a storye required. (fol. 6)

Hanmer too was conscious of the difficulties posed by his source text, where "the words are short, the sense obscure and hard to be translated" and in "manie places wonderfully crabbed" (1577, *iiij). In contrast with his predecessors, his translation observed the imperatives of fidelity, accuracy and clarity. In order to achieve these aims, Hanmer resorted to metatextual

translations, including marginal annotations and full-length translator's notes:

> where the places did require, lest the reader shoulde be snared in errour, I have laide downe Censures of an other letter then the texte is of, where the author was obscure, I have opened him with with notes in the marge, where I founde the storie unperfect, I have noted it with a starre. (*ibid.*)

Differently from Basset, Hanmer was a visible translator who exploited print technology to his editorial ends through the use of marginalia and "censures" – translator's notes punctuating the text – highlighting his interventions by means of headings and special fonts. These devices served Hanmer also in discussing passages that challenged his Protestant world-view. As Basset, Hanmer underlined his adherence to the source text, claiming that "Whatsoever I found in the Greeke, were it good or bad, that have I faithfullie without any parcialitie at all laide downe in English" (1577, no sig.).

Basset and Hanmer had to devise strategies to translate concepts that were alien to their readership, to overcome "the sense obscure and hard to be translated" (Hanmer 1577, *iiii), so that they would "easely ynough be perceyued and vnderstanden" (Harley 1860, fol. 5v-6).

One initial problem was the translation of the several people, sects and heresies from the exotic Middle Eastern early Christian world. One such list appeared in Book 4 of the histories: "ἐσσαῖοι, γαλιλαῖοι, ἡμεροβαπτισταί, μασβωθαῖοι, Σαμαρεῖται, σαδδουκαῖοι, Φαρισαῖοι" (Eusebius 1544, 41/F1), which Basset translated as "*the* Essayans, *the* Galyleans, the hemerobaptystes, the Masbotheans, the samarytes, the Sadduceys and the Pharyseys" (fol. 234) and Hanmer "the Essaeans the Galilaea*n*s: the Hemerobaptistes: the Masbothaeans: the Samaritans: the Sadduces, the Pharises" (1577, 70). Amongst these terms, one was borrowed directly from Eusebius: "Hemerobaptist" (from *ἡμεροβαπτισταί*), which presents the same form with the –ist suffix in both Basset and Hanmer. A difference appears regarding the name of the inhabitants of Samaria, the "Samaritans", derived with suffix -an by Hanmer but rendered as the older non-adapted loan "samarytes" by Basset. Borrowing and derivation were the main strategies. A survey of the *OED* Historical Thesaurus shows that the names for the major Judaic and early Christian sects entered English from different channels and in stages. Some loans entered through the translation of the medieval collections of saints' lives, the legendaries linked to monastic scriptoria; others in the 15th century through the translation of the lives of St Augustine and Gilbert of Sempringham by John Capgrave and the vernacular writings of Reginald Peacock. The 16th century was another

important moment for the enrichment of terminology through the recovery and translation into English of patristic sources such as Eusebius (see also Andreani 2019, 392). The history of these terms generally points to long processes of selection and acceptance underlying the coexistence of forms with different suffixes, of which the variants "Samaritans" and "samarytes" are a case in point.

Editorial problems were also posed by concepts specific to the judicial, political and administrative structures of Antiquity. One particular instance that Basset may have had in mind when addressing the issue of the "straunge names" encountered in Eusebius's text, is the title of Pontius Pilate as a local administrator in Judaea. Basset's manuscript reads "the fourth yere of the *governaunce* of pontius pilate" (fol. 43v, italics mine), where Hanmer has "The fourth [year] of the *procuratorship* of Pontius Pilate" (1577, 14, italics mine). This is no small difference, given the source reads *ἡγεμονία* (hēgemonía). Basset opted for a dated Anglo-Norman loan, well-integrated into English vocabulary,[4] while Hanmer created a neologism *ad hoc*. Indeed, the difference between Hanmer and Basset reflects the uncertainty surrounding the title of Pilate already registered in classical and Biblical sources: Tacitus had *procurator* while the Gospels read *eghemon* (Migliore and Borzì 2005, 79). Hanmer's choice seems to reveal his dependence on the Latin source, while Basset opted for a term that might have been more easily understood by her readership.

In another passage in the fourth book of Eusebius, the choices of the two translators reflect these inclinations: a 'plain' variant in Basset's manuscript and one apparently more influenced by his classical sources in Hanmer's case. The Greek reads "τοῦ δ᾽ ἀποστόλου φασὶ τολμῆσαί τινας αὐτὸν μεταφράσαι φωνάς" (Eusebius 1926, 396).[5] The difficulty for the translators was posed by the verb *μεταφράσαι* (metaphrásai), translated by Hanmer as "[s]ome reporte that he presumed metaphrastically to alter the wordes of the Apostle" (1577, 74). Here Basset departed further from the source text: "he presumed also to alter and chaunge the apostles owne wordes" (fol. 246v).[6] In Hanmer's version, the adverb "metaphrastically" was evidently borrowed from Eusebius *μεταφράσαι*, aorist infinitive of *μεταφράζειν*, 'to paraphrase'. Neither Hanmer nor Basset opted for 'paraphrase', which, as a verb, is recorded only at a later date.[7] Both Hanmer and Basset perceived the

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[4] *OED*, s.v. GOVERNANCE, n.

[5] "And they say that he ventured to paraphrase some words of the apostle" (Eusebius 1926, 397).

[6] The reference is to the *Diatessaron* the paraphrase of the Gospels by the early Christian apologist Tatian of Adiabene (Migliore and Borzì 2005, 238).

[7] *OED*, s.v. PARAPHRASE, v.

significance of the source text, which they attempted to convey through a modifier borrowed from the source (Hanmer), and an intensifying doublet (Basset). It is interesting to note that even offering different solutions, both emphasised the concept of 'alteration', rather than the action of 'daring' expressed by the verb *τολμῆσαί* (tolmesai), translated with the English 'presume' in both versions.

The use of doublets was in fact one of the stylistic devices favoured by Basset, linked by Jaime Goodrich to the influence of her mother (2010, 313). Doublets were used to simultaneously clarify, emphasise, and to heighten the pathos of the text, as in the following extract, where "well-placed doublets heighten the travesty of religious alteration as well as the voracious nature of the innovators" (Goodrich 2010, 313):

[...] who they were, of what sorte, and at what tyme also, that for desyre of chaunge and alteracyon fell into so extreme errors and blyndenes that they letted not openly to shewe theym selves authors and ringleaders of false doctryne not ceasyng insatyably lyke ravenous wolfes to vndermyne and treade downe the flocke of Chryste. (fol. 3v / 61v)

In the Greek edition by Stephanus the passage reads:

τίνες τε καὶ ὅσοι καὶ ὁπηνίκα νεωτεροποιίας ἱμέρῳ πλάνης εἰς ἔσχατα ἐλάσαντες, ψευδωνύμου γνώσεως εἰσηγητὰς ἑαυτοὺς ἀνακεκηρύχασιν, ἀφειδῶς οἷα λύκοι βαρεῖς τὴν Χριστοῦ ποίμνην ἐπεντρίβοντες. (Eusebius 1544, A1/1)[8]

For Hanmer this becomes:

[...] what men, howe many, & when through desire of noueltye, and error, falling into extremityes, haue published them selues Authors of knowledge falsely so called, & cruelly rent a sunder as rauening wolues, the flocke of Christ. (1577, 1)

Hanmer chose "novelty" for the Greek *νεωτεροποίας* (neōteropoías), translated by Basset as "chaunge and alteracyon"; he translated as "error" the Greek *πλάνης* (plánēs), "error and blyndenes" in Basset; finally, with "author" the Greek *εἰσηγητάς* (eísēgētás), "authors and ringleaders" in Basset. The Greek *ψευδωνύμου γνώσεως* (pseudōnúmou gnṓseōs), "false

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[8] "the names, the number and the age of those who, driven by the desire of innovation to an extremity of error, have heralded themselves as the introducers of Knowledge, falsely so-called, ravaging the flock of Christ unsparingly, like grim wolves" (Eusebius 1926, 7).

doctrine" for Basset, was translated by Hanmer with the phrase "knowledge falsely so called", closer the vocabulary of the source, "knowledge" rather than "doctrine".[9]

Further examples of Basset's use of doublets can be cited from Book 2, chapter 21 (all italics mine), "there in a redyness, vyolently *to invade and assawte* hierusalem" (fol. 99), which Hanmer translated with the single term "embushment" (1577, 31), a 14th-century borrowing from Anglo-Norman. In Book 4, chapter 15 Basset translated "all suche thynges as shoulde serve for the fyre were *prepared and sett in a readynes* abowt" (fol. 219), where Hanmer opted for a single verb "applyed" (1577, 66), used in the sense of 'making ready', another of Hanmer's innovations.

Conclusion

Basset and Hanmer consciously worked as translators situating their work in an editorial tradition and positioning themselves with respect to the theory and practice of translation. As observed by Jaime Goodrich, Basset's censure of previous translations "echoes More's implicit complaint that Greek literature has been poorly translated in the past" (2010, 312). Hanmer's survey of the faulty editions of Eusebius ecclesiastical histories reveals a similar view. The idea of advancement was expressed by the two translators in terms of fidelity to the source text and of clarity of expression, to be achieved through English equivalents understandable to Tudor readers while, especially, neither adding nor omitting anything from the source text. This involved a philological analysis that reveals the linguistic sensitivity of the translators and an awareness of the historical dimension of texts and language.

Similar premises were pursued with different strategies and led to different results. Based on the examples considered here, Basset's work on language involved searching for solutions from within her early modern English vocabulary; her resolution of adherence to the style of Eusebius, and to the principles of clarity and fidelity, translated into her penchant for doublets, doubtless also influenced by her background and training. With analogous aims in mind, Hanmer's solutions seem to be radically different. He opted for a vocabulary that was evidently more influenced by his classical sources and he introduced a number of loans and coinages that arguably characterise him as a 'neologiser' (see also Andreani 2019, 390-393). Divergence and variation between Hanmer's and Basset's editorial

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[9] The phrase used by Eusebius, moreover, is possibly a citation of the title of Irenaeus' work on heresiology (Ἔλεγχος καὶ ἀνατροπὴ τῆς ψευδωνύμου γνώσεως in Lat. Adversus Haereses) which Eusebius knew very well (Schott 2019, 39).

enterprises also reflect deeper differences in their cultural and educational backgrounds and, more cogently, in religion and doctrine. Here we can see how the study of the activity of language intermediaries provides a gateway to interpreting "other historical subjects" (Rundle 2014, 7), such as the role played by language and cultural exchange against the backdrop of religious turmoil during a period of extraordinary development of English as a language for scholarship, catechism and hermeneutic debate.

The two texts had different fortunes, connected to their material forms as much as to the religion of their authors. Basset's Catholic translation remained little known and circulated essentially within court circles, nor was it probably ever intended to exist outside manuscript circulation. On the other hand, Hanmer's Protestant text underwent several editions during the 16th and 17th centuries. His translation of Eusebius was only superseded in 1683, when a new English translation was published in Cambridge, based on the French edition by Henri Valois. As Hanmer and Basset had done before them, the 17th-century editors placed their work in an editorial tradition: they stated that Hanmer's fifth edition, then sold out, needed to be updated due to "many things that wanted Correction". They acknowledged Hanmer's work, whose shortcomings, they claimed, were "not so much attributed to the *Doctour*, as to the imperfection and mistakes of the *Greek Text* and those *Latine Translatours*, which the *Doctour* had made use of" (Valois 1683, A). By the late 17th century, the recovery of more manuscript witnesses and the advancements in textual scholarship of the previous century, made new editorial projects possible and timely.

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CHAPTER TWO:

LITERARY TRANSLATION

Paratexts in E. G. Bulwer-Lytton's Novels: Towards a Translational Stylistic Analysis

Marco Barletta

Edward G. Bulwer-Lytton and His Legacy

Knebworth House[1] is nowadays the grandest legacy left by the great Regency and Victorian novelist, editor, statesman and dramatist Edward George Earle Lytton Bulwer (1803-1873).[2] But clearly, the House is not the only torch passed on by the writer: in fact, he was one of the most prolific English authors of the 19th century[3] and wrote more than thirty novels, some plays and some poetic works with a Byronic taste. Despite this great heritage, today his reputation has fallen into oblivion[4] and in Italy what is

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[1] It is a country house in Hertfordshire, where today the last heir of the Lytton family Henry Fromanteel Lytton Cobbold, a British screenwriter and Bulwer-Lytton's great-great-great-grandson, lives. He has written a personal monthly blog about the Home of the Lytton Family since December 2005 (Knebworth House, n.d.).

[2] Edward G. Bulwer-Lytton, as he is more commonly known, was the third son of the General William Earle Bulwer of Heydon Hall and Wood Dalling, Norfolk (1757-1807) and Elisabeth Barbara Lytton (1770-1843). During his lifetime, he wrote an autobiography that remained uncompleted until his son Edward Robert Bulwer Lytton (1831-1891) tried to finish it, but even Robert did not fulfil the task, pausing it at 1832 (Bulwer Lytton E. R. 2014). It is only thanks to the grandson Victor Alexander George Robert Bulwer-Lytton (1876-1947) that one of the Lytton family members finally published a complete biography of the author (Bulwer Lytton V. A. 1913). Other relevant biographical works on Bulwer-Lytton are Cooper (1873), Escott (1910), Christensen (1976, 2004), Mitchell (2003).

[3] On Bulwer's huge literary production and reputation, see Mitchell (2003, XV-XXI) and Brown (2004).

[4] Apart from the *Introduction* to the biography written by Mitchell (2003, XX-XXI), there are also recent articles which highlight this loss of interest in the literary profile of Bulwer-Lytton (Flower 2019; Hughes 2003).

often remembered can most often be found through texts by other artists or through the use of his aphorisms. It is fairly common to find a poster for the promotion of a five-act opera, such as *Rienzi, der Letzte der Tribunen* (1842) by Richard Wagner, or an advertisement for the film *The Last Day of Pompei* (1959) by Mario Bonnard and Sergio Leone.[5] Other examples can be found by reading one of the *Peanuts*' comic strips drawn by the American cartoonist Charles Schulz, in which a reader may stumble on the funny beagle Snoopy, engaged in typing the famous sentence "It was a dark and stormy night",[6] or sometimes the readers of the weekly Italian Puzzler Magazine *La Settimana Enigmistica* may find a word quiz with one of Bulwer's quotations, such as the cryptogram "Castles in the air cost a vast deal to keep up".[7]

The literary fame of Bulwer – at least until the end of the 19th century – seemed to never end or vanish. He was one of the most recognized and translated authors of the Victorian Age in Europe and in America, more admired abroad than in his mother country (Mulvey-Roberts 2016, 93-96). With regard to his Italian reception, Bulwer "non ha bisogno di presentazioni", as stated in *Avvertimento del traduttore* (Bulwer-Lytton 1898, V), the preface to Bulwer's *The Coming Race* (1871).[8] Bulwer did not need any introduction, because he was the famous author of two historical novels set in Italy, *The Last Days of Pompei* (1834) and *Rienzi. The Last of the Tribunes* (1835). Similarly, another translator of Bulwer's *The Coming Race*, Claudia Casoretti, wrote the following about the English writer in the introduction to her translation (Bulwer-Lytton 1874, I):

> non solo uno dei più belli ornamenti della letteratura moderna Inglese, ma desso è uno di quei nobili e cari ingegni che diventano, per così dire (mi si

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[5] The opera *Rienzi, der Letzte der Tribunen* (1842) by Richard Wagner and the film *The Last Day of Pompei* (1959) by Mario Bonnard and Sergio Leone are based on two homonymous historical novels, written by Bulwer in 1835 and in 1834 respectively.
[6] This quotation is taken from the incipit of Bulwer's Newgate novel *Paul Clifford* (1830).
[7] The cryptogram was the sentence to guess on page 24 in the Italian magazine n. 4557 published on 25th July 2019. The quotation was clearly in Italian ("I castelli in aria sono costosissimi da mantenere") and it is taken from Bulwer's play *The Lady of the Lyons* (1838).
[8] Curiously, the translator of this novel, Uberto Novati, declared in this preface that his translation was probably the first one to have been published, but he was unaware of a previous Italian translation (cf. Bulwer-Lytton 1874).

passi l'espressione), *proprietà di tutte le Nazioni civilizzate.* (emphasis in original)[9]

In Italy Bulwer was translated while he was still alive and Italian editors competed to be the first to publish the latest novels of this widely admired English author, as is the case of the Italian translation of Bulwer's *Rienzi. The Last of the Tribunes* (1835). This was carried out by the famous Milanese historian and translator, Francesco Cusani (1802-1879), who reported the following in the preface to his translation, entitled *Ai Lettori* (Bulwer-Lytton 1847, 5):

> Uscito alla luce in Londra nel 1835, destò molto grido, e venne subito pubblicato in tedesco ed in francese. A Milano due versioni vennero annunziate nella primavera 1836, e gli Editori di esse gareggiarono nel prevenirsi l'un l'altro per appagare l'impaziente curiosità del Pubblico.

Recalling Jones' statement in "Literary Translation" in the *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies* (2009), paratexts are textual places where "literary translators may also express a separate voice" (154). Indeed, paratext "is what enables a text to become a book" (Genette 1997a, 1), and in translation, translated and translators' paratexts play an important role in the dynamics of translating. Reading and analysing paratexts in Bulwer's translated novels, like the abovementioned examples, may be useful to shed light upon how a translational stylistic analysis (Boase-Beier 2018, 2006; Malmkjær 2004, 2003; Saldanha 2014) with the aid of recent studies on the relationship between paratexts and translation (Batchelor 2020, 2018) can provide more information about the author and the translators and about the context in which they lived, amplifying the knowledge of the cultural networks of a specific period.

After a brief introduction of the main theoretical and methodological underpinnings of this study, I will provide an overview of the stylistic traits of Bulwer's literary works, in particular his use of paratexts and their presence in Bulwer's translated-into-Italian novels. Then, I will focus on the case of paratexts in Cusani's translations and how Cusani's translation can clarify the prestige of Bulwer in the 19th century, as well as the value of literary translations as texts with their own rights.

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[9] On the sparse information about the Lombard translator, Claudia Casoretti (Ruggiero 2009, 74 and in particular the footnote n. 17).

Bulwer's Style and Paratexts:
From Source Texts to Target Texts

According to Saldanha (2014), stylistic features that are generally taken into account in a translated literary work are restricted to those of the source text and this approach is often anchored to a source-text orientation in which "the translator's failure to re-create the source text's style is a foregone conclusion" (2014, 99). On the contrary, Boase-Beier's research, from her monograph *Stylistic approaches to translation* (2006) up to her recent studies on *Stylistics and translation* (2018), points out the stylistic value of the target text. The writer of the translated text is the translator, and differs from the writer of the source text. Starting from this assumption, questions in literary translations about choices and about motivations — what Malmkjær (2004, 2003) in her theorization of 'translational stylistics' calls respectively *how-stage* and *why-stage* — are primarily questions about translators' choices and their motivations. Moving away from a translator's always-failing recreation of the source-text style, Malmkjær's methodology on translational stylistics brings her "closer to the target end of the continuum [between the choices made by the author and those by the translator] because she performs a writer-oriented analysis and is more interested in *what translations tell us about the translators themselves and the context in which they work*" (Saldanha 2014, 99-100; emphasis added). But the great challenge is "the problem of attributing a particular stylistic trait to the translator as opposed to the author/source text (or viceversa), or to linguistic constraints" (2014, 101). With regard to the specific case of Bulwer's literary works and their translations, an analysis of paratexts in source and target texts will help us to identify the position of translators, their stylistic traits and traces left in their texts.

From a purely linguistic point of view, Bulwer's literary prose style is dense and complex. His novels are crowded with long sentences, an extended vocabulary, idiomatic phrases and many gallicisms or other loanwords. Moreover, the author often inserts poetic lines, quotations or other intertextual elements.[10] In a short passage from the *Introduction* to Bulwer's biography, Mitchell wrote the following about the author's style (Mitchell 2003, XX):

> To compound the problem, Lytton's novels are almost overtly didactic. He
> saw them as vehicles for moral or political instruction. They are often novels

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[10] On Bulwer's highfalutin' writing style, see Barletta (2019, 144-145), Mitchell (2003, XIX-XX) e Marucci (2003, 15-16).

with footnotes. The historical works are crammed with archaic words that would have sent an average reader in search of a dictionary.

The biographer highlights that a characteristic of the author's writing style is the use of a particular type of paratext, i.e. footnotes. According to Genette (1997b), it is possible to define and distinguish five subtypes of the so-called 'transtextuality', i.e. "all that sets the text in relationship, whether obvious or concealed, with other texts" (82-83). 'Paratextuality', one of the five subtypes, identifies the relationship between a core text and its paratexts that surround the main textual body, both within the book (named 'peritexts', such as titles, footnotes, prefaces, conclusions, table of contents, etc.) and outside it (named 'epitexts', such as reviews, newspaper articles, authorial correspondence, diaries, etc.). A second subtype is 'intertextuality', that can be, in short, defined as a form of quotation, plagiarism or allusion and it can be explicit or implicit in a text. The other three subtypes are 'architextuality', i.e. the relationship that links a text to a specific text genre, 'metatextuality', i.e. the explicit or implicit critical commentary of one text on another text, and 'hypertextuality', which is the relationship that describes the connection between two texts in terms of transformation, re-elaboration, modification or extension. As highlighted by Genette, these five subtypes are not intended as separate categories, but they can overlap.[11]

Considering this classification and Mitchell's claim, we can affirm that Bulwer's use of intertexts and peritexts was strictly related to the didactic function of his writings. He gave his readers much food for thought not only on the thematic issues of his stories, but also on the themes and intertexts inserted in the peritexts. He perceived his novels as instruments for teaching moral, ethical, historical or social values. In the preface to the three-volume novel *The Last Days of Pompei* (1834, VIII), the author explained:

> From the ample materials before me, my endeavour has been to select those which would be most attractive to a modern reader; — the customs and superstitious least unfamiliar to him — the shadows that, when reanimated, would present to him such images as, while they represented the past, might be least uninteresting to the speculations of the present.

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[11] For an extended definition of transtextuality and a deeper focus on paratexts, see Genette (1997a, 1997b). The last three mentioned subtypes (architextuality, metatextuality and hypotextuality) will not be treated in this study, whose focus is on peritexts (and some intertexts, which are also peritexts).

Addressing his readers directly and explaining his intentions in a preface are very common features of Bulwer's literary production. He wrote a preface in almost all his novels.[12]

Another stylistic feature of many of his novels is the use of epigraphs.[13] He added these peritextual elements not only at the beginning of each volume, but also at the beginning of every chapter included in the single, internal books of a volume. If one peruses Bulwer's epigraphs, one notes that he chose many quotations as epigraphs from a wide range of classical and modern literary texts, and from historical sources.[14] Moreover, all quotations were written in the original languages without an English translation except — at times — for the Greek ones.

In addition, the chapters of Bulwer's novels sometimes present their own title, as in *Devereux. A Tale* (1829), *Eugene Aram. A Tale* (1832), *Godolphin* (1833) and the already mentioned *The Last Days of Pompei* (1834). The use of chapter titles enables the author to distinguish the different macrosequences of the story. Like the epigraphs, they have an explanatory and anticipatory function, facilitating the process of reading.

Finally, the use of footnotes gives Bulwer the opportunity to use another textual place to express his point of view, his comments on the treated matters, his knowledge of the themes. Relevant examples are found in the historical novels in which he suggested other theories or historical facts interwoven with the plots. *Rienzi. The Last of the Tribunes* (1835) presents some footnotes in which the author explains his sources or historical perspective or in which he gives additional historical information.[15]

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[12] See, for example, the prefaces in *Falkland* (1827), *Pelham, or the Adventures of a Gentlemen* (1828), *Paul Clifford* (1830), *Eugene Aram. A Tale* (1832), *Rienzi. The Last of the Tribunes* (1835), *Ernest Maltravers* (1837), *Alice, or The Mysteries* (1838), but also in many of Bulwer's other novels and subsequent editions.

[13] This use of literary quotations often has an anticipatory and explanatory function. As reported in Genette (1997a, 146-7), this "English fashion of the novelistic epigraph" is a common and observable usage in the 18th and 19th centuries, such as that by Ann Radcliffe or Walter Scott.

[14] These types of insertions confirm his accurate historical research before starting to write his novels. I will explain this issue shortly with the explanation of Bulwer's use of footnotes. In *Zanoni* (1842), a novel set in Italy and in France during the Reign of Terror, Bulwer often introduced historical chapters - which include Maximilien Robespierre as one of the characters of the story - with a quotation taken from historical works, such as those by the two historians, Jean Charles Dominique de Lacretelle (1766-1855) and Maire Joseph Louis Adolphe Thiers (1797-1877). The same references were used for the explanatory footnotes.

[15] Looking at just the first volume of this novel, there are two footnotes in the preface and other nineteen footnotes in the core text (Bulwer-Lytton 1835, vol. 1). It is

Madeline Merlini, in the section *Presentazione* of the Italian translation *Zanoni* (2010), one of Bulwer's Gothic and esoteric novels, wrote the following (Bulwer-Lytton 2010, 9):

> Bulwer si vantava di essere il primo autore di romanzi storici veramente erudito. Consapevole del rischio di essere paragonato a Walter Scott, insistette sulla propria maggiore storicità: le ricerche che intraprendeva sempre prima di iniziare un'opera erano infatti assai approfondite.

Even though Bulwer recognized the value of the literary profile of Walter Scott, he searched for historical details in a deeper and more accurate way than his colleague.[16]

All this kind of information was provided in peritexts. This use of peritextual spaces is stylistically relevant if style is regarded as a pattern of choices in which deviance, prominence and literary relevance of certain textual features are taken into account (Leech and Short 2007, 34-59).[17] The intricacy of Bulwer's style was also confirmed in the paratexts written by other Italian translators, who decided to accept the challenge to translate his works and their complexities, often stressing the necessity to reevaluate the literary figure and the forgotten fortune of the English writer.

Daniele Tinti, who gives contemporary Italian readers a translation of Bulwer's dandy novel par excellence, *Pelham, or the Adventures of a Gentleman* (1828), wrote in his *Nota del curatore* that this literary prose work was not only full of historical facts and places, but also full of thousands of quotations, poetic lines, French expressions and Latin maxims, which he translated into Italian in order not to make the text "accidentato, o peggio, lezioso" (Bulwer-Lytton 2009, I). Tinti also added:

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significant quantitative data of the possible reading interruptions for Bulwer's readers, who could pause the reading in order to go deep in the historical and explanatory notes offered by the author in these paratextual elements.

[16] See Phillips (2004, especially p.140).

[17] Here I have considered the notion of style according to the definition in Leech and Short's *Style in Fiction* (2007), one of the most important bibliographical references in the field of stylistics. In the second chapter of this publication, the two authors defined 'deviance' as the difference between the normal frequency of a feature and its frequency in the text or corpus, 'prominence' as the general phenomenon of linguistic highlighting, whereby some linguistic feature stands out in some way, and 'literary relevance' as the notion of foregrounding or artistically literary relevance, as also defined by the Prague School.

> Infine, per rendere più leggibile un'opera così ricca di immagini, ambientazioni d'epoca e brevi manifesti di pensiero del protagonista-autore, mi è parso utile arricchirla con alcune note esplicative (…).[18]

Following Bulwer's train of thoughts is still today a challenge for his readers, and certainly for his translators. As in Tinti's translation, where the translator added footnotes, in the Italian translation *Paul Clifford* (2018), Bulwer's first Newgate novel published for the first time in 1830, Fabrizio Giannini inserted 378 notes at the end of the book between the last chapter and the table of contents.[19] In some of these notes, Giannini explained that the author had often used explanatory footnotes that he reported in quotation marks in these note-pages. The approach adopted by Tinti and Giannini, who added explanatory notes not included in the source texts apart from those explicitly indicated, did not betray the didactic function pursued by Bulwer in his novels.

A different case is the Italian translation of Bulwer's *Zanoni* (2010), edited – and most likely translated – by Madeline Merlini for the publishing house TEAdue. Merlini wrote a 13-page long presentation of the author, the book and its themes, and did not translate any footnotes or epigraphs contained in the original, thus avoiding all possible interruptions of the reading process.[20]

Paratexts in Cusani's Translations

As mentioned in the first paragraph, I will now examine the interesting case of the Italian translator Francesco Cusani, and his use of paratexts. The analysis is based on the conceptualization of the relationship between paratexts and translation put forward by Batchelor (2018) and Luo and Zhang (2018).

In view of Genette's structuralist approach and the rise of the term 'paratext' as an element of textual analysis, many studies have highlighted the importance of paratextual elements in translation studies. In her last monograph *Translation and Paratexts* (2018), Batchelor defines paratext as "a consciously crafted threshold for a text which has the potential to

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[18] Bulwer-Lytton (2009, I). Curiously, in his translation, Tinti did not report all epigraphs included in the source text on the front page and at the beginning of every chapter. See also Barletta (2019).

[19] See Bulwer-Lytton (2018, 188-217).

[20] Together with the lack of epigraphs and footnotes, Merlini's translation also presents some cuts, such as at the one at the end of the first book. Compare Bulwer-Lytton (2010, 66) with Bulwer-Lytton (1842, vol. 1, 103).

influence the way(s) in which the text is received" (2018, 142).[21] It is a new definition in light of new research in translation, new socio-cultural issues and new technological developments, especially in publishing, but it is surely noteworthy that the focalised interest in the target context into which the translation is received is strictly in line with the same interest mapped out by the abovementioned studies on translational stylistics. In fact, paratexts in translations can guide target readers, represent the translator's or editor's or institutional values, promote a particular reception and/or facilitate cultural translation or the reconstruction of a source cultural identity (Luo and Zhang 2018).

The Milanese translator Francesco Cusani was a contemporary of Bulwer and author of the uncompleted eight-volume historical encyclopaedia *Storia di Milano*. He was also the most recognized Italian translator of Bulwer's works in his time, even if he was not the only one. He translated and revised his Italian translations of Bulwer's novels until the last days of his life.[22] In the section *Bollettino Bibliografico* of the journal *Archivio storico lombardo: giornale della Società storica lombarda* published on 30th September 1884, Cusani was praised as an "egregio cittadino e storico di lena" and was depicted as the person who "tradusse l'*Ivanhoe* dello Scott, l'*Han* dell'Hugo e i romanzi del Manzoni inglese, il Bulwer" (Sangiorgio 1884, 588-589). In this epitext – using Genette's terminology – what is striking is not only the fact that Cusani was inextricably linked to the translation of Bulwer's novels, but also that Bulwer's reputation in Italy was comparable to that of Alessandro Manzoni, a touchstone in Italian Literature and the author of the most famous Italian historical novel *I promessi sposi* (1827).

In 1834 Cusani created eight editorial series, entitled *Serie di Romanzi Storici e d'altro genere de' più celebri Scrittori moderni per la prima volta tradotti nell'idioma italiano* for the Milanese publishing house Pirotta. These series were intended to provide the Italian readership of the day with some of the latest novels by non-Italian authors. Cusani himself selected and tried to compose a mixed, diversified collection of novels for each series (Re 2018, 173-206).[23] Bulwer-Lytton had a privileged position in this great

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[21] With regard to paratexts and translation, see also these references with their bibliographies: Catalano and Marcialis (2020); Batchelor (2020); Pellatt (2013); Elefante (2012); Gil-Bardají, Orero and Rovira-Esteva (2012); Tahir Gürçağlar (2011, 2002); Kovala (1996).
[22] On Cusani's profile, see Re (2018) and Vittori (1985).
[23] Federica Re has studied the profile of the Milanese historian Francesco Cusani drawing on archival materials and underlining the connection between his literary, historical activities and his political engagement (Re 2018).

and complex work, appearing in three of the eight series: the second one presents the three-volume[24] Italian translation of Bulwer's novel *Eugene Aram* (1832), translated by Francesco Ambrosoli and published with the Italian title *Eugenio Aram* in 1836. The fourth and fifth series respectively present Cusani's two Italian translations, which are considered sequentially *Ernesto Maltravers* and *Alice*, *o I Misteri*, both published in three volumes between 1838 and 1840. Other significant translations of Bulwer's novels by Cusani were *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei* published in three volumes between 1835 and 1836, *Rienzi. L'Ultimo de' Tribuni* in 1847, and *Zanoni* in 1848.[25] The way in which Cusani decided to translate all the original paratexts reveals both his attention to the style of the author and his historical views, probably due to his personal interest in history since the beginning of his literary career.

Although Cusani rendered the source texts very accurately, it is common to encounter prefaces and footnotes that amplified the already very complex, original paratextual system. As I will show, he gave the Italian readership an historical point of view and/or his viewpoint or even an annotation referring to translational choices. Bulwer's style was often deemed obscure and excessive by Cusani. By analysing the source texts, the translator noted that Bulwer's tendency to write in a buoyant and elegant style, often fell "nel gonfio e nel manierato per soverchie fioriture e per arditissime metafore" (Bulwer-Lytton 1835-1836, vol. 1, XXI).[26] Bulwer's *usus scribendi* probably led Cusani to facilitate the reading process, intervening with footnotes that simplified or clarified the connections or references in some passages of the narrated stories.

By way of example, two interesting cases can be seen in the footnotes on page 17 in the first volume of *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei* (1835-1836):

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[24] Unlike the recent one-volume translations of Bulwer's works and in line with the contemporary editorial norms – as the already mentioned translations of Tinti, Giannini and Merlini –, Cusani respected the division of Bulwer's novels in three volumes.

[25] Pirotta's series ended in 1844. So, the other translations of Bulwer's works are not included in the editorial project. *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei* translated by Cusani is a different case since it was not the first Italian publication of this novel. There had already been another translation on the Italian market, *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei* by Gaetano Barbieri, another famous translator of that period. It was published in 1835 for the Milanese publishing house A. F. Stella and sons (Bertani 2014).

[26] This is just an example of the numerous cooments Cusani made in paratexts in order to underline Bulwer's pompous style.

(1) Il testo veramente dice: *in the enemy yet corruption, in the raffinement
    yet the vice;* ma parmi che il senso cammini meglio invertendo la frase.
    (Il Trad.)
(2) Plinio il naturalista, che per meglio osservare il fenomeno dell'eruzione
    del Vesuvio sbarcò vicino a Pompei e rimase vittima del suo amore per
    la scienza. Vedasi la famosa lettera di suo nipote Plinio il giovane, che
    scrivendo a Tacito racconta la morte dello zio. (Il Trad.)

On the one hand, in footnote (1) Cusani explained his choice to translate
part of the text, i.e. "dall'energia piegante al vizio, e dal raffinamento alla
corruzione" (Bulwer-Lytton 1835-1836, vol.1, 17) with an inversion of the
two nouns, 'enemy' and 'raffinement', of the ST sentence. In footnote (2),
on the other hand, there is an explanation of the reference to Pliny the Elder,
cited in the body of the source text, with a suggestion to read the letter of
Pliny's nephew.[27]

The didactic aim of Bulwer's works is reproduced in the target texts. By
adding comments, footnotes and introductions to the texts, Cusani was in
line with Bulwer's aim to educate his readership and provide them with
relevant historical information in order to enhance readability and
comprehensibility.

Moreover, Cusani often intervened in his translations with his own
footnotes to respond to what he considered authorial attacks against the
Italian culture, which were often launched by the English writer through the
voices of the novels' characters. In the third volume of his Italian translation
Ernesto Maltravers, Cusani wrote cynically about Bulwer's comment on
Italian evilness pronounced by an antagonist of the story:

Grazie del complimento! Questi scrittori stranieri ci dipingono come i
maggiori scellerati che esistano sulla superficie del globo. Pazienza tant'altri
romanzieri, ignari affatto del nostro paese e dei nostri costumi; ma Bulwer,
che fu a lungo in Italia, dovrebbe essere meno pregiudicato![28]

Thus, Cusani does not remain invisible, destroying the readers' "illusion"
of forgetting that what they are reading is a translation (Hermans 1996, 24).
He used paratexts and, in this particular case footnotes, to make his voice

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[27] For other examples, see Cusani's footnotes in Bulwer's introduction to *Zanoni*
(Bulwer-Lytton 1873, IX-XXIII). Cusani's explanatory footnotes generally spread
all over his translated novels. See also Bulwer-Lytton (1835-1836) and those in
Bulwer-Lytton (1838-1839).
[28] Bulwer-Lytton (1838-1839, vol. 3, 255, footnote). The written comment on Italian
evilness is in the same page: "noi Italiani avveleniamo le nostre vittime!".

clearly audible. In doing so, he acted as a cultural mediator and as a defender of his culture.

Bulwer's Prestige and the Contribution of Cusani's Translations

Nowadays we can appreciate many almost forgotten authors thanks to literary translations. In Bulwer's *Paul Clifford* (2018), the translator Fabrizio Giannini wrote in the section *Prefazione del traduttore*:

> Edward Bulwer Lytton non era una persona comune (…). Quello che a noi interessa è il suo amore dimostrato per la scrittura nel corso di tutta la sua esistenza e che lo ha portato a realizzare lavori importanti, come quello che proponiamo ai lettori, lavori rimasti nell'oblio letterario, che troppe volte relega nell'oscurità autori considerati 'minori' ma che, al contrario, hanno prodotto opere degne di nota.[29]

In light of this consideration about Bulwer's creativity and his noteworthy literary production, literary translations with their paratexts and the paradigm of possibilities they create, can help to re-evaluate the reception of this author who must surely take the place he deserves among the most important representatives of the Regency and Victorian Age in English, and maybe European, literature. It is also interesting to consider both the prestige of Bulwer's translated works, contemporary and not, and the recent lukewarm reception of the author – today largely confined to intertextual references through advertisements, comic strips or aphorisms –,[30] in order to thoroughly evaluate his production, as well as the value of other personalities which surround his texts.

The mentioned examples from literary translations of Bulwer's works, and the specific case of Cusani's translations, provide an initial study, open to further developments, which aims to gain new insights into the way in which an English author of the 19th century such as Bulwer, acquired prestige thanks to literary translations.

According to this target-oriented perspective, a future and deeper translational stylistic analysis of specific literary translations associated to the analysis of their paratexts, can reconstruct Bulwer's prestige and, in particular, the prestige of his legacy. These last features are not limited to a context which includes only what was in close proximity to a source text

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[29] Bulwer-Lytton (2018, 3).

[30] See the examples of intertextual and paratextual references mentioned in the first paragraph of this paper (footnotes 5, 6 and 7).

and its narrow context, but also in an 'open proximity' which takes into consideration the areas and the relationship around the target text as well as the context in which the translators, like Cusani, lived.

Cusani's use of paratexts show his particular attention to Bulwer's style and to the didactic aim of Bulwer's writing, but also reveal the translator's stylistic traits. The latter, and a cross-analysis of translator's paratexts, provide information on Cusani's traces in the target text and on his perception of the source text, both as a translator and as an Italian reader of his time. Therefore paratexts should not be seen as simple interruptions of the reading process, but they constitute a new reading path to follow, a short parenthesis readers may open.[31] The study of the interconnection between paratexts and literary translation allows us to discover new cultural paths, new texts, translated but with their own values, as well as new profiles and personalities, like translators with their style of writing and of translating, editors and other important figures in a certain historical moment. These are people who are not famous nowadays, but who determined and probably influenced the historical, cultural and social context they lived in.

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[31] About this topic, see the interesting case on the use of footnotes in translations discussed by Elefante (2012, 115-119).

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Trauma and Survival: Translating a Post-Freudian Literary Biography[1]

Eleonora Gallitelli

Introduction

Translating for a non-academic publisher often results in a subtle back and forth of compromise and negotiation; very often while translating, and even more so during the process of revision with the publisher's revising editor, the translator will be obliged to seek a solution that can mediate between the competing claims of the original, the potential readership and, perhaps above all, the publishing house, which always has the last word on what is actually published.

Within the broad panorama of Italian publishing, literary biography presents itself as a hybrid form that mixes criticism and entertainment, and is characterised by a high level of intertextuality. The biographer frequently quotes passages drawn from both the author's and his contemporaries' literary production, and then from diary excerpts, letters and newspaper articles, in order to assure the reader of the biography's authority and reliability.

For all this documentation, however, the biographer's approach to his or her subject inevitably follows an underlying bias. The problem for the translator is to grasp and then respect this bias in the translation. What are the hermeneutic principles guiding the biographer's narration of the author's life? It is unlikely they will be explicitly stated. If the translator is not to miss or fudge the biographer's strategy, he or she will have to weigh up whatever clues or suggestions are available in the text.

With this premise in mind, analysing a particular issue where literary biography and translation – the two so-called "Cinderella[s] of Literary

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[1] I would like to thank Paolo Bugliani and Ilaria Villa for their interest in my paper and for their questions, which helped me to focus more carefully on the topic of trauma and translation.

Studies"[2] – intertwine, I will be setting out the case of the biography *In Search of Mary Shelley* by Fiona Sampson (Sampson 2018), a book I translated shortly after the publication of the first English edition (Gallitelli 2018). Since my essay is practice-oriented, I shall adopt a phenomenological descriptive approach of the kind proposed by Gideon Toury, founder of *Descriptive Translations Studies* (DTS), focusing above all on the tension between principles of adequacy and acceptability (Toury 1985, Toury 1995).

Sampson is a poet in her own right and writes with a marked style, laden with terminology derived from psychoanalysis. It becomes clear, although this is never made explicit, that her understanding of Mary Shelley, her family and fellow writers, is driven by a post-Freudian approach, and her language alive with Freudian terms. This paper aims to deconstruct the biography under question with a similarly analytic approach in order to explain, through close consideration of two decisive examples from the text, how I sought to align my translation with Sampson's own critical thrust.

As in many literary texts, one macroscopic element to be considered is repetition. A rhetorical device that falls into the category of the "figures of speech", repetition is often used to create rhythm and draw attention to an idea. The repeated use across a text of certain words and expressions can be significant, and all the more so if what is repeated is not common usage.

As an example of the clues to Sampson's approach that eventually guided my translation, I shall consider her repetition of the phrasal verb, "to act out," a usage that suggests a Freudian hermeneutics and whose semantic density presents a challenge to the translator, or rather a number of challenges, depending on the context in which the verb is used.

I will then go on to examine various occurrences of "self-invention," another term that does not have a dictionary equivalent in Italian, obliging me to adopt a neologism in some instances.

The translation choices cited here are the result of long negotiation between myself as translator and the revising editor, a freelance role outsourced by the publisher. The brief of the revising editor, a professional with a literary background but often with little knowledge of the source language, is to clarify whatever is obscure or merely implicit in the original so as to facilitate reading in the target language. As a result, what is a veiled hint or allusion in the original is often transformed in the translation into an explicit and univocal statement.

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[2] "For a long time translation was a Cinderella subject, marginalised, patronised or simply ignored by literary theorists" (Bassnett and Damrosch 2016, 295). The expression is also used by Benton in the title of one of his books (Benton 2005) and in the opening page of another (Benton 2009, 1).

The Challenge of *Acting Out*

The verb "to act out" is first used in Sampson's introduction where she talks about a game, "Frankenstein's Monster," that she and her friends played at school.

> Frankenstein's Monster, as *acted out* in the schoolyard, was genuinely frightening and unpredictable in ways that the boys themselves were not. (Sampson 2018, 2)[3]

> la *personificazione* del mostro di Frankenstein nel cortile della scuola era terrificante e imprevedibile come i bambini da soli mai avrebbero potuto essere. (Gallitelli 2018, 7-8)

Were it not for the further uses of the expression, "acted out" might not seem here to have any special psychoanalytic connotation and the OED definition would suffice.[4] The children act or play the part of Frankenstein in the schoolyard, transforming themselves into the monster: "At any moment a boy could turn into the Monster, trumping the rules of whatever we were playing – and we'd scatter screaming" (Sampson 2018, 2).

It's worth noting, however, that this first occurrence of the verb is coloured by the use of the word "uncanny" just two lines earlier ("there's something uncanny about the human who isn't quite a human"); and this was the word, we remember, that gave the title to Freud's famous essay of 1919, in which he dwells on the special aesthetic effect of this feeling.

> The subject of the "uncanny" is a province of this kind. It undoubtedly belongs to all that is terrible – to all that arouses dread and creeping horror; it is equally certain, too, that the word is not always used in a clearly definable sense, so that it tends to coincide with whatever excites dread. Yet we may expect that it implies some intrinsic quality which justifies the use of a special name. […] the "uncanny" is that class of the terrifying which leads back to something long known to us, once very familiar. (Freud 1919, 217-218)

Later in the biography, Sampson will mention this feeling again, this time using Freud's original German term:

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[3] All the italics in quotations have been added, except in the one instance indicated.
[4] *OED*, s.v. Act, v., 3.a. *transitive*. To perform (a play, film, or similar dramatic work); to represent (something) dramatically; to act out. Also in extended use: to feign, simulate (a particular emotion, feeling, or personality trait).

With typical lack of any pause to reflect, the Shelley party move on 30 April
to a house that is quite obviously *unheimlich* in every sense. (Sampson 2018,
206)

In this case, I decided to keep the original German in the Italian
translation, being immediately recognisable by the target-text reader:

Senza neanche il tempo per riflettere, il 30 aprile gli Shelley si trasferiscono
in una casa che è *unheimlich* in tutti i sensi". (Gallitelli 2018, 255)

A Freudian link seems clear. Hence, the decision to translate "acted out"
in that first usage with *personificazione* suggesting a denser meaning.
    The verb "to act out" occurs for the second time at the end of the third
chapter, which describes the first meeting between Mary and Percy Shelley.
Mary had spent much of her adolescence away from her family, her father
having twice sent her away from home, to the Kent coast, then to Scotland.
His reasons for doing this remain obscure, in part because someone, we do
not know who, chose to destroy all the letters between the teenage Mary and
her father. What we do know is that Mary's relationship with both her father
and stepmother, Mary Jane, was tense and unhappy.

The adult Mary knows her father cannot, or will not, protect her. Does she
already know this in her teens? … When he dies in 1836, he will be survived
by Mary Jane. *Emotional* and well able to *act out*, she might in the last five
years of her life want to 'set the record straight', perhaps to protect Godwin
rather than herself. (Sampson 2018, 72)

Da adulta Mary sa che suo padre non potrà o non vorrà proteggerla. O forse
lo sa già da adolescente? ... Dopo la morte di Godwin, avvenuta nel 1836,
Mary Jane resterà in vita ancora per cinque anni. *Emotiva* e più che incline
a *manipolare la realtà*, è possibile che abbia voluto "sistemare le cose",
forse per proteggere Godwin più che se stessa. (Gallitelli 2018, 95)

Earlier, Sampson described Mary Jane, Godwin's second wife, as
someone who deploys manipulative techniques to seduce him: "According
to later accounts of this courtship, Mary Jane Clairmont makes the running,
using the kind of shameless manipulation that shouts *man's woman*"
(Sampson 2018, 40; italics in the original). The author then wonders
whether Godwin is as ingenuous as his daughter when he falls into the trap
Mary Jane lays for him; mother of two illegitimate children, she rapidly took
control of the household, transforming the philosopher Godwin first into an
entrepreneur, then a bankrupt.

Given this context, the meaning of "to act out" seems close here to the Freudian concept of *agieren*, which, in psychoanalytic texts, is translated into Italian with a loan from English, *acting-out.*

As the psychoanalyst Maria Ponsi explains, "Freud uses this term, which is not the most common form in German, to describe a type of resistance that occurs in analytic treatment when, instead of recalling a significant past event and putting it into words, the patient expresses it in his/her behavior, *acting it out*." She adds, "Over time, the term has left this particular niche and spread to all psychiatric language to describe uncontrolled behavior or an impulsive action. What characterises *acted out* behavior is a lack of consideration in the subject, and a degree of indifference to the consequences that these actions may entail – consequences which at times prove dangerous for both others and the subject. When *acting out,* the subject acts before thinking, or without thinking: in his/her *actions*, acting out replaces thought and its articulation into words." (Ponsi 2012, 1).

"Act out", then, becomes a generic term to describe any kind of impulsive, hence potentially dangerous behaviour, where rational language is replaced by unthinking behaviour. However, in a discursive text like a biography it was deemed unacceptable to use the English borrowing *acting-out.* In the case in point, as already suggested, Mary Jane's ill-defined behaviour would appear to involve a more or less devious form of instinctive manipulation. These considerations led to the translation "manipolare la realtà", which renders explicit one of the possible meanings of the verb.

We should note here that "act out" is preceded by the adjective "emotional", placing the verb in the sphere of feeling. As Ponsi points out in her analysis of the term and its use in the literature of psychoanalysis, "it is as if the subject had an (evidently unconscious) ability to emotionally engage the interlocutor and make him/her resonate with what is being projected, at times to the point of forcing a reaction." (Ponsi 2012, 5).

Sampson's third use of "to act out" is again preceded by "emotional". However, in this case the situation is further complicated for the translator by the need to find a translation that satisfies both context and cotext. Here in fact "acting out" is immediately followed by a different manifestation of the base verb, "acting up". This time the text refers to another woman, Jane-Claire, or simply Claire Clairmont, Mary Jane's daughter, who had inherited from her mother the same manipulative impulsiveness:

> She also has her mother's *emotional* canniness. Over the years to come, as she grows up, Mary will emerge as someone who acts with dignity, certainly in public. Her half-sister Fanny Godwin will write admiringly, in one of her own last letters, about her 'calm contented disposition, and the calm

philosophical habits of life which […] you pursue everywhere'. Jane-Claire, however, has no *compunction* about *acting out, or at least acting up*, and pandering to the Romantic preoccupation with *sensibility*. (Sampson 2018, 108)

Peraltro, ha l'astuzia *emotiva* di sua madre. Negli anni, crescendo, Mary si presenterà come una donna che agisce con dignità, specialmente in pubblico. La sorellastra Fanny Godwin ricorderà con ammirazione, in una delle sue ultime lettere, l'«indole calma e appagata, e il calmo stile di vita filosofico che […] persegui ovunque». Jane-Claire, al contrario, perde ogni *inibizione* quando si tratta di *fare una scena madre, o almeno una scenata*, e di assecondare l'ossessione romantica per il *sentimento*. (Gallitelli 2018, 137)

Unlike Mary, whose half-sister Fanny twice describes as "calm", Jane-Claire is explosively emotive and exhibitionist. In this case the introduction of "to act up" underlines the histrionic aspect of Jane-Claire's behaviour in contrast to Mary's philosophical calm. Specifically, "to act up" means to act in an unruly or undisciplined way, often with reference to children (in Italian you might say "fare i capricci", which, however, is more colloquial). On the other hand, "Semantically, the term *acting out* also refers to both a theatrical representation (to *act* a part) and the externalization of an act, and its rapid accomplishment, as indicated by the preposition *out*" (Ponsi 2012, 1). To keep the play or link between the two verbs, the translation deploys the combination *scena/scenata*, while trying to recover the allusion to Freud with the introduction, shortly before, of the word *inibizione*; this is a little forced as an interpretation of the English *compunction*, emphasising the abandonment of any self-censorship in the girl's hysterical behavior. The decision is supported by an observation Sampson makes in the next paragraph, describing one of Jane-Claire's episodes of hysteria:

Percy takes over Mary's *Journal* to make a lengthy record of an evening during which he and Jane tell each other ghost stories and are fascinated by the hysteria they provoke in each other. From this note it is clear that both Percy and Jane-Clair were extremely sensitive to ghost stories; anything that had to do with death and the supernatural provoked an emotional reaction that bordered on the pathological. (Sampson 2018, 108)

In his writings on trauma in literature, the American historian Dominick LaCapra maintains that a melancholic trauma victim will incessantly attempt to "act out" the repressed past in the present (LaCapra 2001). This is exactly Percy's typical behavioural pattern.

In June 1816 Claire, Shelley and Mary are staying with Byron and Polidori in the famous Villa Diodati by Lake Geneva. Byron has proposed

the writing competition that will inspire Mary to write *Frankenstein*. The five stay up late in the evening talking by candlelight of ghosts and phantoms; Byron begins to recite Coleridge's *Christabel* and it is at this point that Shelley is seized by a fit of "hysteria".

According to Polidori, who witnessed this highly emotional scene, Percy's "trauma" could be linked to an episode from his past, around which that same evening he had tried to invent a story:

> Percy starts a story 'founded on the experiences of his early life'. It's intriguing to speculate what such experiences, if not fictional, might be. He has recently disclosed to Polidori that, when he was at Eton, his father tried to have him incarcerated in a lunatic asylum: does he try to recreate the state of mind he was then in? (Sampson 2018, 127)

Sampson is convinced that in fact Percy is "cultivating intense reactions" stimulated at least in part by another "encounter with the supernatural," one that his friends tried to provoke by having Byron recite some verses of Coleridge. She quotes Polidori:

> Shelley, suddenly shrieking and putting his hands to his head, ran out of the room with a candle. Threw water in his face, and after gave him ether. He was looking at Mrs. S, and suddenly thought of a woman he had heard of who had eyes instead of nipples, which, taking hold of his mind, horrified him. (Polidori 1911, 128)

The word "hysteria" appears again immediately afterwards in association with stories in a passage that gives the book's last use of "to act out":

> Of course, they've all been drinking, and perhaps taking laudanum too. Percy has form on staying up late and getting the creeps, although as far as we know in the past he's done this vicariously, by working Claire into a state of *hysteria*. Now that her attention is taken up by Byron, it's almost as though he feels challenged to recreate his hold on her. Polidori's diary segues so directly from this *scene of acting out* to Percy's account. (Sampson 2018, 127)

> Naturalmente hanno bevuto, e forse anche preso del laudano. Non è la prima volta che Percy resta in piedi in nottate da brivido, anche se, a quanto ne sappiamo, in passato ha tremato per procura, inducendo Claire in uno stato di *isteria*. Ora che è Byron a catturare l'attenzione della donna, si sente quasi sfidato a ristabilire il proprio ascendente su di lei. Il diario di Polidori scivola direttamente da questa *scena di forte emotività* al racconto di Percy. (Gallitelli 2018, 160)

Basing my decision on the preceding translations of "to act out", I chose to render the emotional nature of Shelley's reaction explicit, as, perhaps unconsciously, he deploys this hysterical behaviour manipulatively to re-establish his hold on Claire by acting as she often acts. In this passage, in fact, the author's own diagnosis is made explicit:

> Percy resembles a type of highly gifted young man who receives a diagnosis of bipolar disorder but remains high-functioning because manifesting only on the manic end of the spectrum, with no disabling depression. (Sampson 2018, 128)

With this fourth and last use of the term then, the psychoanalytic approach underlying the biography emerges clearly and likewise Sampson's position in relation to her characters: for while many characters in the story show a tendency to impulsive behaviour, here it is Percy Shelley who is presented as the one truly pathological case.

Self-invention as a Survival Skill

Immune herself to the contagion of "acting out" – the term is never used in her regard – Mary Shelley, Sampson suggests, in order to clinch her thesis, "must be fighting a strong desire to fold her arms, must also be controlling a pretty strong desire to walk out on the whole scenario" (Sampson 2018, 128). This contrast between her self-control and the exuberant emotivity of those she was closest to would be a constant in the unhappy and tormented life of Mary Shelley. Instead of releasing the pain of trauma in hysterics, even as a child Mary had always practiced self-control, in part thanks to the rigid discipline of her father. In May 1812, for example, when Mary was just fourteen, he sent her to stay with the Baxter family in Dundee and gave them the following instructions:

> I do not desire that she should be treated with extraordinary attention, or that any one of your family should put themselves in the smallest degree out of their way on her account. I am anxious that she should be brought up (in this respect) like a philosopher, even a cynic. It will add greatly to the strength and worth of her character. (Sampson 2018, 67)

As noted in the previous examples, "acting out involves a compulsive and repetitive re-living of the trauma; individuals who act out have difficulty distinguishing between the past and the present and struggle with notions of future. They are haunted by their experience and trapped in the past that wounded them" (Schick 2011, 6). Nevertheless, a different

response to trauma is possible. As described by LaCapra, "working through" is an "articulatory practice" that gradually enables one to make distinctions between past, present, and future. It "requires going back to problems, re-elaborating them, and perhaps transforming the understanding of them. Even when they are *worked through*, this does not mean that they may not recur and require renewed and perhaps changed ways of working through them again. In this sense, *working through* is itself a process that may never entirely transcend *acting out* and that, even in the best of circumstances, is never achieved once and for all." (LaCapra 2001, 148-149).

In Sampson's biography this expression is used on various occasions with reference to Mary, and specifically to her writing and to the mourning process[5] of which that writing was a part.

> Writing in Bath in the autumn of 1816, this is the life Mary dreams of. But to get to it she will have to live through two deaths, a marriage and a birth, and, as if all that weren't enough, to *work through* the many difficulties of composing a first novel. (Sampson 2018, 140)

It's worth noting that here "work through" goes together with "live through," establishing an interpenetration of life and writing that is central to our discussion. In this case, in fact, the expression "to work through" is associated not with the earlier traumas we have listed, but with the writing itself, which thus becomes a way to "*overcome* resistances due to repression" (Freud 1914, 148).

> Nell'autunno di Bath del 1816, Mary è impegnata nella scrittura: è questa la vita dei suoi sogni. Ma prima di realizzarla dovrà passare per due morti, un matrimonio e una nascita, e, come se non bastasse, *superare* le tante difficoltà che comporta la composizione di un primo romanzo. (Gallitelli 2018, 175)

The translation of "work through" with "superare" (literally *overcome*) is consistent then with the pattern of meaning: Mary appears to succumb passively to the bereavements ("dovrà passare per due morti" – literally "she will have to pass through two deaths") but reacts actively, by means of her writing, to elaborate those traumas in the creation of *Frankenstein.*

Writing is one of the ways, certainly the most mediated and refined, with which Mary slowly constructed her identity. Throughout the book, her

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[5] "Working through involves a process of mourning, in which past atrocities are acknowledged, reflected on, and more fully understood in all their historically situated complexity." (Schick 2011, 1).

biographer emphasises her capacity for self-affirmation, despite a long list
of traumas that begin with losing her mother at birth, then go on with being
rejected by her father during her adolescence and betrayed by her husband
(with her half-sister and any number of other women), while losing three of
her four children.

In describing this determined impulse for survival, Sampson frequently
resorts to the prefix "self" in relation to Mary's behavioural patterns and
strategic life choices, in particular the word "self-invention," which is also
used with reference to other women in the book.

This term, first used, according to Merriam-Webster's dictionary, in
1914, has the sense of "the act or an instance of inventing or creating one's
identity or conception of oneself".[6] Fred Weinstein, quoting the critic Margo
Jefferson in his book on Freud, more elaborately describes it as "the
redesigning of cultural conventions and expectations in order to perceive
oneself and the world in new ways and to new ends. At its worst, it is an
erasing or suppressing of all those things in order to enhance one's status in
the world" (Weinstein 2001, 65).

In her biography Sampson links the word to the notion of charisma,
particularly in relation to the young Mary as she looks around for models
on which to construct her identity:

> One can't help feeling that, in following up these acquaintanceships, Mary
> is revealing a fatal attraction to charisma. After all, she grew up among the
> larger-than-life presences of her father's successful, intellectually highly
> influential friends, and she's still only twenty-four, an age at which attaching
> oneself to the brightest available star is a normal part of *self-invention*.
> (Sampson 2018, 198)

> Impossibile non notare che, nel coltivare queste conoscenze, Mary rivela
> un'attrazione fatale per il carisma. Dopotutto, è cresciuta tra gli esuberanti
> amici di suo padre, uomini di grande successo dalla forte carica intellettuale,
> e ha ancora soltanto ventiquattro anni: un'età in cui seguire la personalità
> più brillante che hai sott'occhio fa parte del processo di *autoinvenzione*.
> (Gallitelli 2018, 245)

And again, with reference to the adult Mary:

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[6] See *Merriam-Webster's Dictionary Online*, s.v. SELF-INVENTION, (n.),
https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/self-invention, accessed March 28,
2020. It is interesting that both Merriam-Webster's examples involve pop stars, Bob
Dylan and David Bowie. It seems that self-invention has to do with an artist's self-
creation and projected image.

Mary has achieved her radical aim of leading the writing life as a woman, but not without a great deal of such careful *self-invention*. And it's not going to get any easier. (Sampson 2018, 232)

Mary ha raggiunto il suo obiettivo di radicale nel condurre una vita da scrittrice, ma è sempre dovuta ricorrere a un'accorta *autoinvenzione*. E per lei le cose non diventeranno più facili con il tempo. (Sampson 2018, 288)

This process of female self-invention is interrupted, perhaps one might say sabotaged, by the accession to the British throne of Queen Victoria, who ushers in "A newly conservative era of gender relations [, something that] will famously be summed up in mid-century by Coventry Patmore's long poem 'The Angel in the House'[7]" (Sampson 2018, 232).
Elsewhere Sampson remarks that:

Every young woman of her generation comes of age when she leaves the family home to get married, but Mary has gone much further, embarking on a course of *self-invention*. (Sampson 2018, 98)

Ogni ragazza della sua generazione esce dalla minore età nel momento in cui lascia la casa paterna per sposarsi, ma Mary è andata ben oltre, intraprendendo un percorso di *autoinvenzione*. (Gallitelli 2018, 125)

The Italian publisher's revising editor was sceptical about the use of the term *autoinvenzione* in the translation; the word is not to be found in Italian dictionaries. Wishing to avoid unnecessary neologisms, she proposed that we translate "self-invention" with "autonoma creazione di sé," four words to paraphrase one.
I objected that this word was used six times in the text, an insistence on the author's part that suggested the importance of the concept in the story of her characters. At this point, the revising editor changed her position and recognised that the term was "the author's preferred way of viewing and explaining the behaviour of her book's female characters".[8]
In fact, this act of self-invention is attributed to Mary Jane, before being attributed to Mary herself:

by the time they wed Godwin does know something of Mary Jane's *self-invention*. (Sampson 2018, 42)

quando i due si sposano, Godwin qualcosa sa dell'*autoinvenzione* di Mary Jane. (Gallitelli 2018, 57)

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[7] Patmore, Coventry. 1887. *The Angel in the House*. London: Cassell and Co.
[8] Samuela S. (editor), email message to the author, June 14, 2018, my translation.

In this case the revising editor suggested that my translation "dell'autoinvenzione" be changed to "della vita fittizia di Mary Jane" or to "del romanzo che Mary Jane ha costruito sulla sua vita," as though to underline the interweaving of literary writing and lived experience that is so important in the story of Mary Shelley.

Dense as it is with psychological, ideological and literary implications, the term self-invention turns up again with reference to Mary Jane's daughter, Claire, who is, quite literally, seeking to establish a different identity by choosing new names for herself:

> Her earlier susceptibility to Percy, her *self-inventing* experiments with her own name, so like any bored teenager today practising a signature or a selfie style, the volatility recorded by Percy in Mary's *Journal* – all these suggest that Claire, now eighteen, is just not very grown up. But they also suggest something else: an assumption that she can and will have what she wants, which is modelled at least in part on a seductive, Shelleyan rhetoric. (Sampson 2018, 131)

> La sua precedente vulnerabilità a Percy, i suoi esperimenti di *autoinvenzione* con il proprio nome, simili a quelli di una qualsiasi adolescente di oggi che sperimenta una firma personale o cerca un nuovo stile per i suoi selfie, la volubilità di cui Percy prende nota nel *Diario* di Mary, tutto questo ci induce a pensare che Claire, ora diciottenne, non sia molto adulta. Ma fa pensare anche a qualcos'altro, e cioè alla sua presunzione di poter ottenere quello che vuole, che si rifà in parte alla seducente retorica di Shelley. (Gallitelli 2018, 165)

One might think that the business of inventing oneself were a female prerogative, a tool for self-definition that women from non-traditional families resorted to when obliged to invent for themselves an identity – name, role and social position – that other women in traditional families acquired naturally and without effort at birth. However, there is one male figure in the book who is just as active as the women in inventing himself, Percy Shelley:

> For all his *self-invention* as a brave radical, he still seems to need *affirmation*, if not adoration. (Sampson 2018, 163)

In my first version (1) I tried to repeat the prefix "auto-" (for "self") in *autoaffermazione*, but the revising editor modified the phrase (2), no doubt in order to avoid the homeoteleuton with *adorazione*:

1. Pur essendosi costruito un'identità da impavido radicale, sembra ancora
    ambire all'*autoaffermazione*, se non proprio all'adorazione.
2. Pur essendosi costruito un'identità da impavido radicale, sembra ancora
    aver *bisogno di conferme*, se non proprio di pura e semplice adorazione.

To close the circle, at the end of the book there is an explicit reference
to Mary's condition in the last years of her life when the accumulated
traumas of youth and maturity took their toll, leading her to abandon her
previous revolutionary ideas and retreat into the painful sterility that would
herald her imminent death.

> Whatever the success portrayed by Richard Rothwell in 1839 – whatever her
> achievement in creating a home and a future for Percy Florence – the lack
> of support has, finally, brutalised Mary. Modern research tells us that post-
> traumatic stress is particularly associated with poor cardiovascular health in
> women; it also tells us that general stress is associated not only with
> depression and anxiety – both of which Mary suffers – but also with
> hypertension, depressed immune response and metabolic dysfunction. It's
> as if all we need to do is wait for Mary to become ill. Sure enough, from
> 1840 she begins to develop terrible headaches, dizzy spells and 'neuralgia
> of the spine', the kind of excruciating nerve pain that accompanies back
> injury. For just over a decade of life that remains to her, she will be
> increasingly unwell. (Sampson 2018, 244)

It is as if, in the absence of the chance to "work them out" in her writing,
the accumulating duties, difficulties and responsibilities that Mary had to deal
with throughout her life – the "psychic growing pains of her adolescence"
(Sampson 2018, 61), an adored but always distant father, a husband who could
"tune in brilliantly well to manipulate psychic atmospheres, and particularly
the unconscious psyches of susceptible individuals" together with a
"suffocating, often hysterical psychic atmosphere" (Sampson 2018, 208) –
could only, at the last, manifest themselves in physical illness.

Conclusion

In so far as writing had served her as a tool for survival, when Mary loses
this resource, she is herself lost. As Tim Parks observes in *The Novel: A
Survival Skill*, where he draws on Valeria Ugazio's theories of systemic
psychology to consider the place of creativity in the artist's life, if fiction
writing can offer "resolution and greater ease, to the writer or the reader", it
might also be "a way of rendering an unhappy situation chronic, by allowing
just sufficient consolation and reward from the expression of unhappiness
to prevent us from making big changes". As the title of his book suggests,

Parks believes that writing can offer "relief from internal conflict," particularly where there is a reluctance to take

> *some other more radical and practical course of action*: if you are not willing, that is, to undertake the real life changes that might resolve a dilemma, or if such changes have been tried but proved impossible, unworkable, then write! (Parks 2015, 179)

In this story the characters were not always aware of the psychological consequences of their actions for themselves or for others. Percy's youth perhaps justifies him for his carelessness with Mary's affections, and the same is true for Mary who, as a very young mother, sees three of her four children die without knowing how to react.

Recounting their lives, and above all Mary's, the biographer is clearly seeking to provide the reader with the awareness they lacked, and thus give sense to their story. But of course she does so with the words and theories we have today, ideas unavailable to her characters. At the beginning of the book she writes:

> If Mary and Percy sometimes seem unaware of what they're doing as they set out on their first trip across Europe together, we have to remember not only how young they are but also that they and their peers lack many of the languages for understanding the self that we take for granted. (Sampson 2018, 88)

At the time, she adds, "The European mind does not yet even have a formal notion of the unconscious – though there is a sense that some aspects of the psyche are more hidden than others".

This process of revealing the psychology behind the narrative draws on a psychoanalytical vocabulary to go deep into the traumas that underlie the famously dark novel that is *Frankenstein*.

Reading and translating a literary biography, one must always bear in mind that "there is hardly such a thing as a theory of biography, merely an acknowledgement that each age tends to explore the form in a manner consistent with its preoccupations." (Benton 2009, 3).

So perhaps a descriptive approach such as Toury's is not sufficient to ensure the deepest faithfulness to the original text. The history of ideas, allowing the translator to put in context not only the life of the person who is the object of the biography, but also the writing of her biographer, may be equally useful as a general framework.

In order not to uproot this biography from its time and from the particular approach of its author, it was crucial for me, as the translator, to

identify and then seek to preserve in the Italian the technical terminology of psychoanalysis, without however upsetting the publisher, who clearly wanted a more reader-oriented text, one less difficult for laymen to understand, hence shorn of any obscure words and concepts.

Since the translator is always "playing a social role [...] fulfilling a function allotted by a community" (Toury 1995, 53), when translating a complex text such as a biography they have to keep their "three eyes" wide open: one to the writer, one to the public, and the other to their purse (that is, to their employer, the publisher).[9] The art of finding a balance between these three entities is perhaps what makes the work of the translator so interesting.

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[9] I am paraphrasing Alfred Döblin, in Palazzolo (1990).

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Narrating Migrant Identities in (Self)translation: Jhumpa Lahiri's *In Altre Parole* and Francesca Duranti's *Sogni Mancini*

Eleonora Natalia Ravizza

Introduction

Having been borne across the world, we are translated men. It is normally supposed that something always gets lost in translation; I cling, obstinately, to the notion that something can also be gained. (Rushdie 1991, 17)

Migrants are translated beings in countless ways. They remove themselves from their familiar source environment and move towards a target culture which can be totally unknown or more or less familiar, depending on factors such as class and education as well as reasons for migrating; they most likely will have to learn or perfect their skills in another language in order to function in their new environment; their individual and collective identities will experience a series of transformations as they adjust to the loss of their place of birth and turn it into a gain. (Malena 2003, 9)

I translate, therefore I am. (Lahiri 2002, 120)

The metaphor of migrant identity as a form of translation is a recurrent topic in cultural studies. In the quotes above, Salman Rushdie and Anne Malena describe migrants as "translated men"/"translated beings," reminding us that the word "translation," from the Latin *transferre* ("to carry across"), combines spatial and linguistic dimensions. Movement and language are combined in a figure of speech hinting that the processes of cultural transfer and adaptation which migrants undergo take place in the linguistic medium, as it is through the latter that individuals define themselves, make sense of the world and build their relationships with others. Although indissolubly marked by loss (of home, of family ties) the trans-lingual, trans-cultural and trans-spatial processes mentioned in the extracts are also described as the

trigger of positive transformations which do not only affect single individuals, but also intersubjective dynamics, as well as the very fiber of contemporary societies (Cronin 2006).

The third epigraph, taken from Jhumpa Lahiri's essay "Intimate Alienation: Immigrant Fiction and Translation," introduces us to the main issue that this essay aims to address, namely the intersections of translation, migrant identities and self-narration. In the quotation, the deictic "I" assigns reference to a specific confessional, extra-diegetic self, that is, of course, Jhumpa Lahiri herself, describing her efforts to incorporate the multiple aspects of the translational processes which overdetermine migratory experiences into her writings. Lahiri's "I translate, therefore I am" describes the profound impact of her experience as the American-raised daughter of first-generation Bengali immigrants on her narratives. What is even more interesting, nevertheless, is the fact that, just like Descartes' *cogito*, the statement may also be read as a general proposition concerning not just the individual writer per se, but rather a method involving the construction of "translated identities" through the very practice of writing. What Lahiri is hinting, in this perspective, is that migrant writers do not only strive to find ways to give a linguistic shape to the in-betweenness which they inhabit, but they also come into being as subjects of social interactions within the cross-cultural discourse which they articulate in their narratives.

If narratives may be regarded as a site of production and performance of subjectivity, translation may be incorporated into the text as a narrative strategy in order to give substance to the above-mentioned metaphor of migrants as "translated beings." Translational processes inscribed in narratives may work as patterns through which behaviours, feelings, emotions are (de)constructed under the eye of the reader. Also, they may provide insights into how individuals relate to the shared, material medium through which their relations come into being, i.e., language.

How does translation feature as a strategy of subjectivation in first-person, confessional narratives? How does a narrative "I" configure itself through translational processes which are incorporated in a narrative text? This essay addresses these questions in relation to two different literary works focusing on the experience of migrant subjects living and travelling across the Atlantic, between Italy and the United States. The first, Jhumpa Lahiri's *In altre parole* (2015)[1] expands her "I translate, therefore I am" into a linguistic autobiography which accounts for the writer's developing a sense of the self in a foreign language. The book deals with Lahiri's unexpected decision, while at the height of her literary career, to make

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[1] *In altre parole* was first published by Guanda in 2015. All quotations in this essay are from the parallel text edition published by Bloomsbury in 2016.

Italian the language of her literary production. The second, instead, is a novel by the Italian writer Francesca Duranti, *Sogni mancini* (1996), translated by the author herself into English as *Left-Handed Dreams* (2000). The bilingual dimension that the novel's first-person, autodiegetic narrator experiences as an Italian academic *émigré* is further explored in the self-translated version of the book. Both Lahiri's and Duranti's texts, as the next sections will show, allow us to appreciate the narrative dimension of translation through the personal account of a first-person, translingual narrator.

A Fictional Turn in Translation Studies: Transfiction, Translated Identities and Fictions of Self-translation

This study on the intersections of fiction, translation and migrant identities is to be read in the context of what, ever since the beginning of the twenty-first century, has been addresses as a "fictional turn" in translation studies (Woodsworth 2018, 1). The recurrence of translation as a trope, motif or theme in an ever-growing number of fictional works (literature, cinema, TV) was first addressed as a "turn" by the Brazilian scholar Else Vieira (Woodsworth 2018, 1), and later further explored by Adriana Pagano (2000), Rosemary Arrojo (2002), Dirk Delabastita and Rainier Grutman (2005) and Michael Cronin (2008). The works of these scholars focus on how the emergence of new global interdependencies and newly formed semiotic context has brought about artistic and theoretical interest in translation as a metaphor of the contemporary age. Translation, as Cronin puts it, cannot be regarded a meaning-stabilizing activity. It cannot be simply addressed as the establishment of a linear correspondence between a source and a target text but rather as a "a mutable mobile which operates within a topology of fluidity" (Cronin 2006, 28). In this perspective, fictional works engage ever more with interpreters and translators as agents of cultural exchange and meaning-production. As noted by Rita Wilson (2007), the increased presence of translation in fiction can be read as an attempt to counter what Laurence Venuti called "the translator's invisibility" (1995). Differently put, it should be read as a response to the tendency to consider translation only as an ancillary activity, to hide the translators' work in favour of apparent fluency and transparency in the target language, and to banish translators from the world of co-authorship (Wilson 2007, 381).

More recently Kaindl and Spitzl (2014) have coined and popularized the term "transfiction," which they defined as "aestheticized imagination of translatorial action" in fictional work (Spitzl 2014, 364). A concept further

developed in the work of Judith Woodsworth (2018) and Marta Pérez-Carbonell (2018), "transfiction" highlights the fact that fiction does not simply reflect the reality of translation, but it also actively contributes in creating and circulating narratives which actually influence the way we perceive processes of cultural and linguistic transfer. The prefix "trans," in this sense, highlights the capacity of "transfiction" not only to move across languages, but also to contribute to the production of knowledge on translation and translational processes beyond the narrative domain. Kaindl suggests that fiction actively contributes to give a narrative shape to the "change, transformation, fragmentation, dislocation and cracks [which] have become key coordinates for understanding the motion created by translation" (2014, 2). Moreover, he argues that within contemporary narratives, the importance of translation as a theme and as a narrative device goes even beyond the concept of globalization. As a matter of fact, it should be considered as an important means to "establish[…] a 'cosmodern' world in which difference becomes the pivotal point of comprehension and the basis of human relationship" (2014, 3).

The concept of "transfiction" relies on the fact that, as Kaindl puts it, in recent years translation "has been expanded to include a whole plethora of transfer processes between cultural contexts, ranging from values and ideologies and to cognitive styles and everyday actions" (2014, 2). It is not simply a finished operation of interlinguistic transfer but rather a complex process which traverses different dimensions of our experience – not only the linguistic, but also the emotional, the social, the cultural and, of course, the narrative, making translation studies an extraordinarily interdisciplinary field. The idea of "cultural translation" was first addressed by Homi Bhabha in *The Location of Culture* (1994, 319-337), who brought attention to transfer and interaction situations particularly related to post-colonial or globalized context. Since then, "the metaphor of translation has been expanded to encompass a whole plethora of transfer processes between cultural contexts, ranging from values and ideologies to cognitive styles and everyday actions" (Kaindl 2014, 29).

As noted by Elena Di Giovanni, Lahiri's "I translate, therefore I am" is to be ascribed to the tendency to consider translation as an all-embracing phenomenon (2009, 473). In her note on the translation of the above-mentioned essay "Intimate Alienation" into Italian, Di Giovanni describes Lahiri's narrative efforts as "humanization of translational processes" (2009, 474 – my translation), highlighting how Lahiri's reflections on translation are marked by a continuous shift from the linguistic to the personal sphere. In her essay, which mainly deals with the Pulitzer-Prize awarded short story collection *The Interpreter of Maladies* (1999), Lahiri

argues that her characters should be regarded as people who "must make sense of the foreign in order to survive" (2002, 119). In *The Interpreter of Maladies*,[2] translation does not simply figure as a theme: actions are inscribed in a practice of continuous linguistic and cultural negotiations and, as Lahiri puts it, language is itself "an element of drama" (2002, 120): it is lost and mourned, found and re-created; it is part of the characters' efforts of self-preservation or it allows them to configure new possibilities for existence. As they translate themselves from Bengali to English, or from English to Bengali, they also re-position themselves into their world, and they redefine their intersubjective limits.

As Di Giovanni notes, the very fact that Lahiri bestows a markedly personal and intimate value to translation, paradoxically makes her stories more "universal" (2009, 473). Lahiri describes her cultural operation in the following terms: "[u]nlike my parents, I translate not so much to survive in the world around me as to create and illuminate a nonexistent one. Fiction is the foreign land of my choosing, the place where I strive to convey and preserve the meaningful" (Lahiri 2003, 120). In this passage, literary imagination is described both as a space of creativity and as an archive of the interactions prompted by cultural encounters across different generations and along different rungs of the social scale.[3] The narrative space is structured by the necessity of giving a linguistic shape to the "in-between" categories of cultural difference which overdetermine hybrid experiences. Fiction, differently put, may become itself a site of linguistic negotiations, a fluid space in which the recognition of cultural alterities and the necessity of moving across languages and cultures may be configured into experiential and linguistic categories. Lahiri's "I translate, therefore I am," does not equate "translating" with "being," but rather with an unfinished "becoming" which relates to how different hybrid subjectivities are negotiated within the linguistic medium. If José Saramago once defined literary writing as a translation process in which "we transfer what we see or feel into a conventional code of symbols" (quoted in Kaindl 2014, 2), contemporary migrant writers expand this concept and handle fiction as a

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[2] Lahiri's essay, first published in 2002, only mentions *The Interpreter of Maladies*. It should be noted, nevertheless, that also Lahiri's subsequent fictional works in English *The Namesake* (2003), *Unaccustomed Earth* (2008), and *The Lowland* (2013) focus on characters experiencing the translational dimension of their identities.

[3] Although a few of Lahiri's stories concern working class subjects, most of her narratives are focused on middle-class Indian immigrants and on the conflicts between older generations (striving to preserve the memories of their past) and younger generations (struggling to adapt to the society they are living in).

space of linguistic encounters and confrontation across conflicting codes, as well as a matter of deep personal engagement.

Lahiri's rephrasing of the Cartesian *cogito* is nevertheless even more compelling when read in the context of autobiographical or semi-autobiographical texts which Rita Wilson addresses as "self-conscious novels" (2009, 186). The term "self-conscious novels," which had previously been adopted in studies on the novel and metafiction (Alter 1975, Stonehill 1988) is used by the Australian Italianist with reference to an array of Italian women writers active in the 1980s and 1990s (Marta Morazzoni, Sandra Petrignani, and, most significantly for the purpose of this essay, Francesca Duranti), particularly engaged in the articulation of "the interconnectedness of the 'I' that writes and the 'I' that lives, [and] frequently reflect on the 'splitting' or 'doubling of the persona of the author'" (2009, 186). "Self-conscious" *sensu* Wilson, then, intersects autobiography with meta-reflexivity, although it does not only refer to autobiographies in the strict sense, but also to other texts which re-elaborate autobiographical material (e.g., whose protagonists may be addressed as an alter-ego of the author).

What is even more interesting is the fact that "self-conscious novels" are described as novels of self-translation. Wilson claims that "writers [of self-conscious novels] self-reflexively explore the extent to which they see themselves as constructed through language, [and] the narration of their lived experience is increasingly viewed as an act of (self-)translation" (2009, 186). "Self-translation" is used here with particular reference to the work of migrant writers and is endowed both with metaphorical and pragmatic connotations. Differently put, on the one hand, it refers to the fact that writers, as in the case of Duranti, may draw on their own experience as migrants to reflect on "translated identities" from a geographical, linguistic, and textual point of view. On the other hand, as Wilson puts it, "translation becomes an integral part in the creation, embodiment, and voicing of meaning and identity" (2009, 186).

The following section deals precisely with how Jhumpa Lahiri's *In altre parole* and Francesca Duranti's *Sogni Mancini* place the idea of "self-translation" at the center of their self-conscious narrative. As transfictional texts in the sense outlined above by Kaindl, these two works engage with individuals defining themselves through writing and narrating. Simultaneously, they engage in a negotiation of the personal across conflicting linguistic media. An analysis of the metaphorical extension of the word "self-translation" in these two texts calls attention to the link between translation and interlingual autobiographical writing, as well as to the practice of self-translation itself as an extension of a writer's creative process.

Self-translation as a Narrative Device in *In altre parole* and *Sogni mancini*

As the practice through which bilingual authors translate their own texts into a second language, self-translation has recently received growing interest within the emerging field of translation studies. A phenomenon "almost as old as the written culture," and which until not long ago was considered as "marginal" or "occasional" (Rubio Árquez and D'Antuono 2012 – my translation), self-translation is now examined in light of current discussions on globalization, migration and cultural hybridization. Literary self-translators, who face "trans-bordering" in their everyday experience, and make their readers part of their struggle, also challenge the very distinction between authoring and translating, bringing together two roles that are traditionally not only distinguished but, as Venuti reminds us, often regarded as in a hierarchical relationship (1995).

It has been observed that self-translated literary works are frequently also autobiographical or semi-autobiographical texts. "[T]ranslingual literature, language memoirs, born-translated novels and questions of identity" are some of the denominations that have been applied to the work of multilingual writers who, as the editors of a recent study on narrating the self and self-translation Falceri, Gentes and Monterola argue, may explore and come to terms with the heterolingual constitution of their own identity by producing two language versions of the same text (2017, vii-viii). Written in cross-cultural contexts, these types of narrative go beyond traditional identification of language with national identity, and invest language with a border-crossing potential. The complexity of different and yet intersecting linguistic landscapes is explored to reconfigure the translational dynamics through which bilingual, plurilingual or even diglossic subjectivities come into being.

As they focus on the linguistic experience of subjects who do not feel completely "at home" in a single language, personal narratives engaging with self-translation are often highly self-reflexive. Differently put, the language, the text, the intertext and the context are not just the medium in which the story unfolds, but they are also part of the very message which these types of narrative convey. Processes of writing, interpreting and translating are endowed with a central importance and are described through the differential perspective of separate languages, as they are also the very site through which the narrating subjects mediate their own identity.

Both *In altre parole* and *Sogni Mancini/Left-Handed Dreams* allow us to explore the links between creative writing, self-translation, and autobiography. In Lahiri's text, the first-person narrator emerges as the

signer of what Philippe Lejeune called "the autobiographical pact". The reader's identification of the first-person narrator and main character is guaranteed not only by the "honored signature" reported on the cover jacket of the book, but also by the necessary premise of the "identification of the [authorial] self with the [narrative] self, all the more affirmed because it is repeated, uncovered, and recovered through a series of events" (Regard 2002, 4). Duranti, instead, denies the autobiographical nature of her text in the very first sentence of the novel's "Preface": "Questo non è un romanzo autobiografico" (1996, 5). Nevertheless, Marina Spunta argues that this disclaimer, in fact, "leads the reader (especially the reader of Duranti's fiction, who is used to an element of autobiography) to suspect an autobiographical link" (1999, 233). Also, the similarities between Francesca Duranti and the novel's protagonist, Marina Satriano (both of whom are Italian expatriates living and teaching in New York), have led Elena Anna Spagnuolo to identify it as an example of "autofiction," a literary genre between biography and fiction, in which the story is fictional but draws inspiration from the author's life (2017, 72).

In both *In altre parole* and *Sogni Mancini/Left-Handed Dreams*, the narrators are multilingual "selves in the making," and the journey towards self-awareness which they undergo is strictly linked to their reflections on travelling across different linguistic dimensions of existence. Self-translation is of course a central theme, but what is most significant is the performance of a textualized self through the exploration and appropriation of those interstitial spaces in which the autodigetic first-person narrator somehow feels not at home in the languages which she speaks. *In altre parole* is characterized by a narrator constantly questioning her relationship to the languages in which her life unfolds (Bengali, English and Italian), and discussing the very process of writing in a foreign language. What may appear as a declaration of love for Italy and the Italian language is in fact characterized by the awareness of foreignness and distance, and by the fact that the narrator constantly feels the need to justify her own speaker's position. Self-translation is connected to the fact that the author's "I" is always configured as the agent of an ongoing mediation. The process of her becoming a fluent speaker and writer of Italian happens through the filter of a mother tongue which she is not able to identify (is it the language inextricably linked to her early childhood, which she spoke in the family but in which she never learned to read or write? Or is it the language that she learned at school, in which she became a world-acclaimed writer? See Lahiri 2016, 146ff). In *Sogni Mancini/Left-Handed Dreams*, instead, self-translation as a theme traverses two main levels. The first is that of the bilingual dimension in which the narrator lives her life, which is explored

in complementary ways in the two versions of the novel. The second one, instead, has to do with the narrator's search for ways of narrating the compositeness of her own self, as well of the many potential selves that she could have become.

The two texts that have been selected as the object of this essay may at first sight not seem engaged with the notion of "interstitial space," as put forward by Homi Bhabha (1994, 303-337), which is deeply marked by the asymmetries of power that are typical of (post)colonial situations. Lahiri has often been criticised for her depicting mainly upper-middle class characters looking for integration in American society, and for suppressing deep conflicts of power and culture that may not be "palatable" for her prospective readers. Rajini Srikanth, for example, describes her work as a production of a "desirable difference," and reads it as strategy to brand and sell diaspora to an international audience (2012, 51-74). *In altre parole*, like Duranti's *Sogni mancini/Left-Handed Dreams*, certainly depicts a privileged migrant subject, whose struggles are not comparable to those of the millions of economic migrants, refugees, or displaced persons facing actual hardship and discrimination. In both works, the speaking voice belongs to a successful intellectual who has consciously made the choice of leaving her country and speaking a foreign language. Lahiri's and Durante's works may outwardly be ascribed to the field of "diversity" ("a category of comparative ethics, aesthetics, or ethnology," Bhabha 1994, 50) rather than "difference" ("a process of signification through which statements of culture or on culture differentiate, discriminate, and authorize the production of fields of force, reference, applicability, and capacity," Bhabha 1994, 50). Nevertheless, both books deal with languages as a site of renegotiation of intersubjective and collective identities, and the "privileged" position from which they are speaking is a result of what Bhabha calls "the overlap and displacement of domains of difference" (1994, 2), whether "difference" is connected with ethnicity (Lahiri), gender or social class (Duranti). Lahiri does explore her language-learning process (of the Italian language, but also, and most significantly, of the English language) from the perspective of a subject of the in-between, and tackles the issues of ethnicity and prejudice quite openly (see chapter "Il muro"). In *Sogni Mancini/Left-Handed Dreams*, Marina Satriano, the Italian scholar who moved to New York to pursue an academic career, constantly negotiates her present and her past selves across the lines of the social classes which she has traversed. Her narration intersects her middle-class present with her memories of her family's immigrant past and of her years following her father's premature death, in which she contributed to her family's survival taking up a job as cook at the age of

thirteen. Italian and English are inextricably linked to her class identity, as code-switching choices in the original and translated versions testify.

In Lahiri's *In altre parole*, the fact that the narrator is a "subject in the making" emerges especially through the ways the narrator appropriates the trope of "exile" and adapts it to her own experience as a woman who cannot feel at home in any of the languages in which her life unfolds. The importance of the metaphor "exile" as a main element in the development of the subject's relationship to Italian is highlighted in the titles of two chapters ("L'esilio," "Il secondo esilio") and is repeated and reaffirmed throughout the text (see chapters "La rinuncia," "Lo scambio," "Il riparo fragile," "Il muro" and "Il triangolo"). Language is presented as site of distance and alienation, and yet, these are the conditions through which the subject starts her exploration of cultural interstices, carving a new space for herself and finding new ways of reconnection. Even the account of her childhood, and of her growing up as a migrants' daughter, is presented in terms of linguistic exile. Lahiri describes the first language that she learned, Bengalese, in terms of a double disjunction: firstly, between her and the American context in which she grew up and wanted to assimilate; secondly between her and the country of her origin, as she claims that her heavy accent and limited command of the language make her feel as if deprived of authority and power while interacting with other Bengalese (2016, 16-18). Similarly, English is also presented as an experience of separation, something the author encountered for the first time only when she went to school, and which somehow created a fracture with her family and early childhood. As a child, she was forbidden to speak English at home, and at school she could not speak Bengalese; in order to be accepted in the places in which her life unfolded, she had to temporarily suppress a part of herself, and she even felt ashamed of her impossibility to completely fit in.

Paradoxically, Lahiri claims that Italian, the language which she decided to learn only out of personal interest rather than external circumstances, offered her the possibility of radicalizing her linguistic exile, as well as of embracing it. Italian allows her to take a distance from both languages, and also to develop a new awareness: "Dove mi porta, questo nuovo tragitto? Dove finisce la fuga e quando? Dopo essere fuggita, cosa farò? In realtà non è una fuga nel senso stretto della parola. Pur fuggendo mi accorgo che sia l'inglese sia il bengalese mi affiancano. Così come in un triangolo, un punto conduce inevitabilmente all'altro" (Lahiri 2016, 152). The sequence of questions in this passage signals that Italian is also not a point of arrival in her search for identity, but rather a new departure for a new process which will allow her to remediate her exile in English and Bengali. As she remarks

in another passage, her relationship to Italian as a foreign language is also inevitably marked by an unbridgeable distance:

> Eppure questo mio progetto in italiano mi rende consapevole delle distanze immani tra le lingue. Una lingua straniera può significare una separazione totale. Può rappresentare, ancora oggi, la ferocia della nostra ignoranza. Per scrivere in un'altra lingua, per penetrarne il cuore, nessuna tecnologia aiuta. Non si può accelerare il processo, non si può abbreviarlo. L'andamento è lento, zoppicante. Più capisco la lingua, più si ingarbuglia. Più mi avvicino, più si allontana. Ancora oggi il distacco fra me e l'italiano rimane insuperabile. Ho impiegato quasi metà della mia vita per fare due passi. Per arrivare solo qui. […] (Lahiri 2016, 90)

In this passage, spatial metaphors are used consistently ("distanze," "separazione," "andamento," "avvicino," "allontana," "distacco," etc). The extract exemplifies the densely metaphorical language that Lahiri uses to describe her language-learning process. Metaphors are constantly present throughout the whole text, as well as in the two short stories which Lahiri included ("Lo scambio" and "Penombra"), of which she engages in an allegorical interpretation which casts light on the role which translation played in her life (Monaco 2016). Lahiri deploys figurative language as a cognitive tool. It is used to describe the complex human experience of language learning from both an emotional and an intellectual point of view in ways which are nonetheless easily accessible to apprentices of foreign languages. Clarity is also a consequence of the simple, yet polished syntax (choice of parataxis over hypotaxis, asyndeta) which is also a distinctive feature of her work in English

By remarking that the distance between her and the languages she speaks is insurmountable, Lahiri also describes her training in the foreign language as a path marked by frustration: she comments on the arduousness of her first steps in the foreign languages ("Il colpo di fulmine"), the difficulties posed by the Italian grammars (her problems in understanding the *imperfetto*, or the use of prepositions, see chapter "L'imperfetto"), and cultural misunderstandings ("Il diario"). In *In altre parole*, frustration is presented in connection with the process of writing the very book that readers are holding in their hands:

> Faccio del mio meglio per colpire il bersaglio, ma quando prendo la mira, non si sa dove arriverà la freccia. Almeno cento volte mentre scrivevo i capitoli di questo libro mi sono sentita talmente demoralizzata, talmente affranta che avrei voluto smettere di farlo. In quei momenti tenebrosi la mia scrittura italiana non mi è sembrata altro che un'impresa folle, una salita troppo ripida. Se voglio continuare a scrivere devo resistere quei momenti

burrascosi in cui il cielo si scurisce, in cui mi dispero, in cui temo di non poterne più. (2016, 180-182)

The passage is much more than a *captatio benevolentiae* because Lahiri, through her writing, is actually *performing* the efforts of self-translation. As the text refers to the writing of the book chapters, it makes readers aware of the process through which it has been constructed. Besides, the first-person narrator is interpellated as someone who is constantly dealing with the same feelings of insecurity and frustration. What is suggested here is that just like she managed to overcome the frustration of writing (previous) chapters in English, she will (successfully) overcome future struggles.

The chapter "L'impalcatura" is particularly interesting insofar as it deals with writing and the performance of translated identity as a collective endeavour instead of just an individual one. Another extraordinary self-reflexive chapter, "L'impalcatura" is about the editorial process which accompanied the publication of *In altre parole*. Lahiri comments on the proofreading that her texts underwent at the hand of her Italian teachers. She deals with subsequent professional editing by the editors at *Internazionale*, the magazine in which some of the texts collected in *In altre parole* were published for the first time, in terms of cooperation and respect: "Hanno capito il mio desiderio di esprimermi in una nuova lingua, hanno rispettato la stranezza del mio italiano, hanno accettato la natura, sperimentale, un po' claudicante, della mia scrittura" (2016, 88). Her acknowledgment that her writing is not just the product of her individual efforts shows that her exile in the Italian language may be read as the beginning of a collaborative undertaking. The experience of writing emerges as a collective project in which the "I" also opens up to the contributions of others. Her linguistic autobiography acknowledges that identity is, in fact, relational, and that learning to speak and write in a foreign language is possible thanks to exchange and cooperation.

Francesca Duranti's *Sogni Mancini/Left-Handed Dreams* is also deeply concerned with how to narrate and perform a "translated identity" through writing. The novel's protagonist, Marina Satriano, is obsessed with the idea that she may also be someone else – that the person she has become is only one of the many "selves" that she could have been. She believes that she may be able to reconnect with her unrealized selves (and most particularly with her left-handed self (i.e. the more unconstrained and free-spirited person she could have been if her mother had not forced her into learning to use her right hand) through the "Machine," a sort of externalized memory to which she entrust her dreams and her intuitions: "'Le mie notti', dissi a voce alta, 'tutte le mie notti, da due anni a questa parte, sono immagazzinate nella Macchina. È un'altra vita, eppure è la mia vita. Infinite vite possibili.

E ora, se scoprissi di essere una mancina corretta, tutto si dovrebbe moltiplicare per due, giusto?'" (Duranti 1996, 142).

The theme of the impossibility to reclaim a coherent and unitary identity certainly draws on the model of Luigi Pirandello's novel *Uno, Nessuno e Centomila* (1925). Nevertheless, what Duranti highlights is not the tragedy of modern individuals facing the crisis brought about by the disruption of nineteenth century epistemology. On the contrary, the virtual multiplication of her personality becomes the philosophical foundation of her defense of tolerance. Marina discusses these issues with Prof. Cerignola, an Italian Academic who is trying to convince her to return to Italy and take up a highly remunerative job as a political communication expert. The latter suggests that her efforts to reconnect with the *personae* which she could have been would bring her to consider her ideological adversaries as the embodiment of what she could have been. To this, Marina replies:

"Eh, lo so. Infatti la sto considerando una scorciatoia fantastica da applicare al mio lavoro con la Macchina. In fondo l'effetto è sempre lo stesso: indebolire questa beata identità facendo uscire molte ipotesi alternative… Sospirai. "Un grande argomento a favore della tolleranza, ma certo non un pensiero che possa aiutare a fare delle scelte. È come se tutto andasse ugualmente bene, o ugualmente male. Non varrebbe più la pena di fare nulla, solo tirare avanti." (Duranti 1996, 75)

The passage shows that Marina's work with the Machine is focused on deconstructing the very concept of "identity," rather than with constructing a new, different self which would replace the old Marina. Yet, it also focuses on the risk of paralysis which a too fluid self – a self who is not able to recognize and respect Otherness as such – would run into. The problem that the extract highlights is that of finding ways of "translating the self" into a narrative that does not flatten Otherness onto a form of standardized identity.

Marina's search for identity is strictly connected with her not feeling at home in Italy or in the United States, and with her constant questioning of whether to live on either side of the Atlantic. In this sense, the metaphor of self-translation largely embraces the spatial dimension of Marina's narration. The novel begins and ends with Marina's finding herself in the in-between, even though the condition of living across two geographical, linguistic, and cultural dimensions acquires different perspectives as she engages with the narration of her personal quest. Marina's narration starts with the image of her being held on a plane hovering above Rome, unable to land because of an autumnal storm hanging over the city. She is presented as neither in America nor in Italy, trying to move across the two dimensions

of her existence while missing the final encounter with her dying mother.[4] With the exception of the first chapter, which deals with Marina's mother's funeral, the rest of the novel is set in New York. Nevertheless, the physical setting does not correspond to the geography of Marina's memories, obsessions and preoccupations. On the one hand, Italy constantly resurfaces through her obsession with her past and her attempts to find answers to the questions which she could not ask her mother (is it true that she was born left-handed and then forced to become right-handed? What was she like as a child? How was she conditioned into becoming a more disciplined self?). On the other hand, upon her return to the United States, Marina is offered twice the chance to go back to Italy. Her reflections on both proposals intersect with her attempts to narrate her multiple, dormant "selves," as she expects that her inquiry into the nature of her "I" will also provide a direction to her life.

The translational dilemma of her existence is mirrored in a language full of code-switching both in the Italian and the English version of the novel. Marina constantly disseminates her narrative in Italian with English words that are related with the bourgeois existence she is leading in America. For example, as she begins telling the story of her missed encounter with her dying mother to her implied readers, i.e., her students at NYU, she uses the word "lecture" instead of the Italian correspondent "lezione" ("potrei ricavarne una *lecture* da tenere a voi, ragazzi" (Duranti 1996, 9), because the Italian and the English concept are linked to different experiential dimensions, and the translation cannot express the same connotations or emotional associations. Also, Duranti utilizes words such as "Health Club" (instead of "palestra"), "delivery" (instead of "consegna"), "doorman" (anziché "portiere") or "Lunchbox" (instead of "cestino per il pranzo"), to highlight how her (glamorous) life in New York is untranslatable into her Italian, which is strictly connected with her working-class condition as the daughter of impoverished farmers, who had to start earning her living at the age of thirteen. Particularly relevant is the use of Italian, English, and

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[4] "Chiamatemi Robinson," Marina repeats twice in the course of her narration (Duranti 1996, 30, 32), thus establishing a comparison between herself and two eminent exiles in the history of Anglophone literature, Robinson Crusoe and Ishmael, the first-person narrator of Melville's Moby Dick: lost and shipwrecked like them, as Marina Spunta puts it "Martina has to invent her own self, as well as her language, mixing freely between Italian, American-English, and other European languages." (Spunta 2000, 388). The cross-cultural intertextual reference to two literary masterpieces written in English does not mimic the hybrid nature of Marina's self, but metalinguistically reflects her necessity to forge the composite linguistic and cultural tools in which her narrative may unfold.

occasionally French words with reference to food, in a way that remains quite unaltered in both versions of the novel. As food is a recurrent theme throughout the narration (Marina recalls starting working as a cook at a canteen at the age of thirteen, and then as a personal chef to a rich benefactor who sponsored her education), the names of dishes are often used with reference to a social dimension of her life-experience ("risotto alla Milanese" is connected to her childhood memories, while foreign names such as "Tarte Tatin," "Whiskey sour," "entrecote", "aragosta armoricaine," "gateau des adieux," etc., are connected to her newly acquired bourgeois social status.

Language is presented as a stratified space of exile. Her Italian is haunted by the memory of internal migration, and with the fact that Marina's family had to relocate from Lucania to Tuscany when Marina was just an infant, following the loss of their farm. Trapped in a condition of poverty, hard work and foreignness, Marina does not fully integrate in the Tuscan society and, differently from her sister Carmelina, refuses to exhibit certain linguistic "mannerisms" to better fit in ("Mia sorella Carmelina – ora Milly – parla con un accento toscano esagerato, che non esiste in natura. Per emettere quelle 'c' così superlativamente aspirate impegna tutte le sue forze, al punto che già per due volte ha dovuto farsi operare di un polipo alle corde vocali," Duranti 1996, 10). Also, English is at times connected with a dimension of artificiality, to which Marina opposes a sharp refusal ("Non chiamerò i miei figli Dexter, Savile o Kenneth," Duranti 1996, 223). As a consequence, at the beginning of the story, Durante focuses on the inadequacies of either languages to "speak to her own self," and claims that her experience should be told in a language formed by the fragments of her own experiences, and that as such it would be inaccessible to anybody else.

> Siamo venuti via da Forenza quando non avevo ancora un anno eppure sento che non sarei io senza le memorie Lucane che mi sono state trasmesse da mia madre. Poi ci sono le memorie toscane, i colori toscani dell'Isola del Tesoro, la mensa alla Stanic, le rocce di Calafuria a strapiombo sul mare, l'Università di Pisa; e infine la New York dei primi tempi dopo il mio arrivo, con gli elicotteri che atterravano sul grattacielo della Pan Am, e le prime grandi manifestazioni gai al Central Park. Sono frammenti che formano un sistema – una lingua che mi serve per parlare con me stessa. Una lingua senza parole, se è vero che le parole servono per condividere i pensieri con gli altri. Qualcuno – come il signor Ceccarelli capomensa della Stanic o il dottor Paoletti, amministratore delegato in pensione – possiede qualche frammento di questa lingua, ma così pochi che quando li pronunciano fanno l'effetto di un disco rotto. (Duranti 1996, 16-17)

The narration, consequently, is framed here as a translation from what Marina calls the "lingua che mi serve per parlare con me stessa" into the two languages that she considers as imperfect means to express her composite and fragmentary nature. In this perspective, self-narration, as a form of translation, allows her to establish a form of communication with the rest of the world.

Marina's obsession with the inadequacies of English and Italian is strictly connected with her obsession with the absence of a stable essence, origin, or core identity ("'Se abbiamo dentro qualcosa' avrei voluto dire, 'una specie di baricentro invisibile che non è *I think*, *I doubt*, *I vote*, *I speak*, *I sit*, ma semplicemente *I am*, debbo supporre, nel mio modesto caso personale, che questo minuscolo granello di luce sia lucano, toscano o newyorkese?", Duranti 1996, 55). Her mother's loss prompts her personal crisis because it symbolizes a loss of origin and ontology: as the memory of Marina's ancestral self cannot be retrieved, the meaning of her existence is never present, but constantly deferred to other signs. The Machine takes over the mother's role as question-answer. Yet, it is nothing but a recording device which accumulates dreams and stories generated by Marina's failed attempts to reconnect with her dormant selves. The narratives it records and develops are nothing but the outcome of self-generating speculations.

The breakdown of the Machine at the end of the novel reveals the sense of Marina's narration. The narrative that she has been retrospectively producing replaces the self-absorbed story-telling that she had entrusted to the Machine. Her effort to narrate her story are revealed as attempts to address a "you," i.e., her implied readers (her students to whom she wants to explain why she may or may not leave her profession), but also her actual reader. The reader understands that the story that Marina has been telling is about how she stopped speaking the "lingua che mi serve per parlare con me stessa" (1996, 16) and started opening up about herself, translating her "self" into the external, trans-personal and shared linguistic media which are not able to fully contain her experience, but allow her to connect with others.

Sogni mancini/Left-Handed Dreams' open ending shows precisely that the novel's focal point is Marina's ability to recognize that, in order to be narrated, her story has to become part of an exchange with others. After she politely declines Prof. Cerignola's offer, she is left pondering on the possibility of reuniting with her first love, Costantino Schelucci. The encounter with Costantino after a decades-long separation is, in fact, secondary to the narrative journey that Marina has been telling, the breakout of the Machine and its consequences. It is not clear whether Marina and Costantino will actually be together. Besides, the novel does not say if

Marina's future will be in Italy or in the USA. What has changed is that Marina's in-betweenness is now presented not as a preoccupation with her origins, but rather as openness regarding new possibilities and her desire to make emotional investments in others: her newly found dogs, her students ("E forse, se farò in tempo, vorrò avere un figlio, e se non lo avrò – non ridete, ragazzi: ci siete voi," Duranti 1996, 229), and, possibly, Costantino.

Both Lahiri and Duranti's novels, then, focus on the self as relational. As a narrative device and as a theme, self-translation highlights how the subject is entangled in a linguistic net of otherness. Languages are presented as lived experiences, historically and socially connoted phenomena, and also as permeable systems. The capacity to move from one language to the other allows the narrative "I" to establish new connections and to grow as part of newly formed communities.

Translating Narratives of Self-translation

If, as argued in the previous sections, self-translation is both a central theme and the object of narrative performance of the speaking "I" in both Lahiri's *In altre parole* and Duranti's *Sogni mancini*, what happens to the two texts when they are translated into English? As previously mentioned, while Duranti actually self-translated *Sogni mancini*, Jhumpa Lahiri refused to translate her work from Italian into English. Her unwillingness to become her own translator is the object of the chapter "L'adolescente peloso," in which her characteristic metaphorical language is deployed to express the way she feels about the two languages. She compares English to a self-sufficient adolescent son, demanding his mother's attention while the latter is busy tending to a defenceless baby – i.e., the Italian language, which needs to be constantly cared for. In an "Author's Note" preceding the 2016 parallel text edition published by Bloomsbury, Lahiri claims that, given the self-discipline that writing in Italian requires, moving back and forth from one language to the other would be counterproductive: "translating the book myself would have broken that discipline, it would have meant reengaging intimately with English, wrestling with it, rather than with Italian" (2016, xiv). Self-translation into English is described as something which would require a personal rearrangement, and besides it would not necessarily compare honestly with the Italian text:

> Rispetto all'italiano, l'inglese mi sembra prepotente, soggiogante, pieno di sé. Ho l'impressione che, finora in cattività, si sita scatenato e che sia furibondo. Probabilmente, sentendosi trascurato da quasi un anno, ce l'ha con me. Le due lingue si affrontano sulla scrivania, ma il vincitore è già più

che ovvio. La traduzione sta divorando il testo originale, lo sta smontando.
(Lahiri 2016, 116)

The text presents self-translation (from Italian into English) as lived experience. The act of learning a second language is compared with a process of personal growth. As a consequence, self-translation would not enhance the narrative, but rather show a regression in the process described in the book. Lahiri claims that her fluency in the English language would bring her to rephrase and rewrite most of her passages.

As a corollary to this, Lahiri's passage implies that "faithfulness" to the Italian text can be guaranteed only through the filter of another – a translator who can take up the task not only of rendering the text into English, but also to mediate Lahiri's self-translation into the language from which she is trying to distance herself. The task of translating *In altre parole* into English was entrusted to Ann Goldstein, editor at the *New Yorker* and translator, among others, of Elena Ferrante, Pier Paolo Pasolini, Giacomo Leopardi and Alessandro Baricco. Though quite faithful to the style of Lahiri's book, Ann Goldstein's translation sometimes makes some of Lahiri's linguistic choices explicit in order to facilitate comprehension to readers who might not speak Italian or have a limited command of it. For example, as Lahiri deals with how she learns new vocabulary, she also speaks about what she considers untranslatable words: "Raccolgo delle belle parole che non hanno equivalenti in inglese (*formicolare*, *chiarore*)" (2016, 46). Goldstein leaves the original Italian word and adds an explanation afterwards ("I gather beautiful words that have no equivalents in English (*formicolare*, *chiarore*: to move in a confused fashion, like ants, and also to have pins and needles; shafts of light," 2016, 47).

The English translation was published as a parallel text edition so that it does not replace the original text, but rather functions a guide through the text for English speakers who may or may not fully understand the Italian version. The layout of the text invites the reader to go back and forth from the English to the Italian page, in order to experience autonomously the linguistic estrangement that Lahiri describes in her text.

Durante's choice of self-translating *Sogni Mancini/Left-Handed Dreams,* instead, is perfectly consistent with the way the novel deals with Marina Satriano's needs to tell her story. The narration is the outcome of the narrating 'I''s desire to communicate with others – the students, as implied readers, but also the actual reader. English and Italian are both presented as imperfect media, and the narrative efforts shows precisely how they cannot be neutral, transparent tools to express a message. The materiality of languages, i.e., the fact that words are strictly linked to personal, social, historical dimensions that do not easily travel from one

system to the other, is part of the narration. Code-switching, for example, as Spagnuolo puts it "allows Duranti to move beyond the supposed identification with one single language, and to affirm and establish affective and creative connections with both languages" (2017, 79). Though in a more limited way, Duranti maintains code-switching also in the English version by selecting Italian words that convey the speaker's impossibility to translate certain dimension of her existence into the English language (e.g., the name of dishes indissolubly linked to memories of her teenage years as a cook are in Italian: *Risotto alla Milanese*, artichokes *alla Giudia*, etc.). Also, as signaled by Spagnuolo, code-switching is part of an attempt to hybridize languages which is also visible in the coinage of new words, such as "to de-southern" (i.e. depriving someone of their southern traits), which allow Marina to recreate the Italian horizon of experience into a foreign language (2017, 81).

Although Lahiri and Duranti follow diametrically different strategies regarding the translation of their work into English, both writers show awareness that translations are not just simple transposition from one language into another. Languages are themselves part of the message, and as such, translation is part of a creative process. While discussing *Sogni Mancini/Left-Handed Dreams* Spagnuolo argues that heteronymous translations are mediated forms of communication which force migrant subjects to undergo processes of interpretation and rewriting through the filter of otherness. Self-translation, on the other hand, provides the opportunity to take back control of their agency and to shape their own voice in a way that gives them back empowerment and autonomy (2017, 68-69). This argument works very well with Duranti's text, as "Duranti's attempt to establish connections with both linguistic systems correspond to her strategy of resistance to a total assimilation, intended as a form of surrender to the values and meanings of the new society" (Spagnuolo 2017, 82). Nevertheless, the opposite translational choice made by Jhumpa Lahiri shows, from a different perspective, that authors translating their own autobiographical texts are negotiating their own selves in the process. This is precisely the reason why Lahiri refuses to translate the Italian text into a language which she masters as a native speaker. As the process that Lahiri describes is that of "being spoken" by a foreign language, the English version had to show the sign of someone else's mediation (Lahiri 2016, xiii-xiv).

Conclusion

This paper has dealt with how the concept of self-translation traverses Jhumpa Lahiri's *In altre parole* and Francesa Duranti's *Sogni Mancini/Left-Handed Dreams* on three different, yet interconnected levels. Firstly, it is a main theme and a recurrent metaphor describing the processes of cultural mediations that the first-person narrators undergo in the process of "writing the self." As such, it is a powerful narrative mechanism to explore cultural alienation, the search for identity and the complex negotiations of belonging within conflicting linguistic and semiotic systems. Secondly, it is inscribed in the very narrative structure of the text as a meta-reflexive device: the narrators openly reflect on the language they are using and on how translation influences the process of narration itself. Self-reflexivity plays a central role in understanding the relationship of self-translations with the very configuration of the narrator's "I." Thirdly, self-translation has also been addressed as a practice, although in two opposite ways: while Duranti's approaches it as an integral part of her creative process, Lahiri refuses to translate her own Italian texts into English.

Framing this study within the context of "transfiction" allows us to see how fiction can produce knowledge on translation as a deeply human experience. Belonging to multiple cultural and linguistic contexts means to learn to recompose one's fragmentation, and also accept it as a part of one's self. Self-translation as a narrative strategy, a site of meta-reflection and a practice, in this sense, does not only entail autonomous and self-conscious processes of redefinition of the self, but also the acknowledgement that languages are, inevitably, sites in which the encounter with others may take a variety of forms.

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SELF-TRANSLATION AND LANGUAGE HYBRIDISATION IN GARY SHTEYNGART'S *LITTLE FAILURE. A MEMOIR* (2014)

MICHELE RUSSO

Bilingualism and Linguistic Interferences

Emigration and displacement do not represent new frontiers in literary and linguistic studies. However, the upsurge of immigrants and exiles (many of them to English-speaking countries) over the last two centuries has offered new perspectives for analysis in the field of travel theories and has enhanced the effects of the growing circulation of people on the socio-linguistic aspects of modern society (Cronin 2000, 1-2). The consequences of geographical dislocation on exiles' cultural background have increased the interest in the relationship of the traveller with language(s), bilingualism, language attrition, i.e. the loss of the mother tongue, and translingualism, as well as in the exile's passage from the source language to the target language (Basch, Blanc-Szanton, and Glick Schiller 1992, 1-24; Dewilde 2019, 944-945; Polezzi 2012, 345-347). In most travel narratives, the investigation into the question of language has often been overlooked (Cronin 2000, 2) and, accordingly, a partial interpretation of texts has ensued. Apart from socio-cultural matters arising from emigration, different aspects have been recently pinpointed in the analysis of the complex relationship between bilingualism, translation and self-translation, such as border-crossing, the concepts of passage and changing identities (Zaccaria 2017, 9-38). As critics have often argued, well-known Russian-American writers, such as Cournos, Brodsky, Nabokov and, more recently, Shrayer, introduced language hybridisation into their writings (Hansen 2018, 113-114; Perotto 2006, 260-263), as a consequence of their linguistic uprooting, which led them to the adoption of their target language in their literary works, interspersed with 'reminiscences' of their source language. In the context of a globalised world, such linguistic passages have generated the groundwork for the self-translation of the exile's cultural world. Compared with the objectivity of translation, self-translation has become more and more common

among émigrés, due to its subjective and sociolinguistic implications, since it is the means employed "to reshape the self through and across languages, to express a different sensibility and experience, thus a different identity every time" (Saidero 2020, 32). Self-translation entails a process of self-definition as a consequence of physical displacement and, in this process of resettlement, self-translation is employed by the émigré to translate his or her self into a different self, by means of a creative procedure that rewrites his or her linguistic passage. Among the young emigrating intellectuals, a less famous contemporary writer, Shteyngart, one of the latest representatives of the Russian-American émigrés, has paved the way for modern translingualism (Wanner 2012, 157). In particular, *Little Failure*, his autobiography, is his most meaningful work from a translingual and a transcultural perspective, since he depicts the evolution of his linguistic background by way of his journey from Russia to the USA through Europe (Brown and Celayo 2009, 30). *Little Failure* has often been analysed from a transcultural perspective (Bryla 2018, 89-90; Wanner 2008, 662-663), owing to its focus on the author's experience of different cultural stages, which resulted in his status of a "doubly hyphenated American" (Bryla 2018, 90). Along with the transcultural aspect of Shteyngart's autobiography, the aim of this paper is to go beyond the 'romanticised' overtones of the account of the writer's life (Cooper 2018, 41; de Man 1979, 921) and to bring into focus the peculiarities of his translingualism which, as a consequence of his experienced transculturalism, represents Shteyngart's means of expression. By considering other Russian-American writers, this analysis will dwell, therefore, on the comparison of foreign phrases and sentences in the English macrotext, with the purpose of defining the narrative function of the writer's source language(s), Russian and Hebrew; it will penetrate the hybrid 'fabric' of the text in order to contextualise Shteyngart's work within the field of bilingualism and self-translation.

The first interesting linguistic element originating from Shteyngart's native land is represented by his nickname, whose sound reproduces a hybrid version of the title. It is, in fact, adapted to the Russian context by his mother as "Failurchka, […] a fusion of English and Russian" (Shteyngart 2014, 4), standing for "Little Failure," as his parents used to call him to express their disagreement about his chosen course of study, as they wanted him to be a lawyer, not a writer (Brauner 2017, 17). "Failurchka" becomes the lexical emblem of the story. It is repeated throughout the text not only to merge two different and distant linguistic worlds through the phonetic hybridism of the word itself, but also to emphasise the author's feeling of displacement in a foreign country. Shteyngart's first impressions of alienation actually refer back to his Russian childhood when, recalling a

moment in the Leningrad subway, he expresses a metalinguistic reflection on the words he sees on the wall: "Those words whose power seems not only persuasive but, to a kid about to become obsessed with science fiction, they are indeed extraterrestrial. The wise aliens have landed and WE ARE THEM. And this is the language we use. The great and mighty Russian tongue" (Shteyngart 2014, 55). The 'majestic' features of the Cyrillic characters, with the 'squared' forms of the capital letters, convey a sense of estrangement in the inner world of the protagonist, who does not feel part of the society he lives in and seeks refuge in story writing. "The great and mighty Russian tongue" (Shteyngart 2014, 55) is thus associated with the propaganda of the regime and seems to counterbalance the protagonist's solipsistic dimension. Shteyngart's decision to depict a plurilingual setting in his work derives from his early doubts about his cultural identity (Maior 2015, 124-126). He even imagines his Jewish-American *alter ego*, namely the 'other' Gary, who would have been born if his grandmother had married her former suitor in America. If this had happened, the hypothetical 'other' Gary would have been Jewish-American, and not Jewish-Russian-American (Wanner 2012, 157-160). As Shteyngart writes, "Perhaps alternate-Gary would come up to me and say, 'I'm Russian, too!' And I would say, '*Ah, vy govorite po-russki?*' And he would […] explain to me that, no, he doesn't speak Russian" (Shteyngart 2014, 69).

The illustration of such an imaginary identity shows that the writer is aware of his overlapping identities, which he traces back to his grandparents and to the problems they dealt with during their process of adaptation to the American context. In this regard, he writes: "I always thought that both of my grandmothers struggled against the despised Hebrew accent, the *Ghhhh* sound in place of the strong Russian *RRRRRR*, but when I bring it up with my father, he says empathically: 'Your grandmother *never* had a Jewish accent'" (Shteyngart 2014, 35). With reference to his own experience, he claims: "whenever I try to flaunt my hard-perfected English, whenever my new language comes pouring out of me, I think of her [his grandmother]" (Shteyngart 2014, 35), while his parents "came to this country [the USA] stuffed with advanced degrees and keen to master the universal language of English" (Shteyngart 2014, 35). The writer avails himself of the onomatopoeic expressions to show the main phonic features of his family's languages. The "Ghhhh" sound, a peculiarity of Hebrew, is soon replaced by the harshness of the "RRRRRR" sound, 'voicing' the Russian language; the latter is, in turn, replaced by the English-American language. These sentences show the linguistic passage of the writer's family from Hebrew to English through Russian. In this 'linguistic map,' Russian stands for the language in-between, the language that, rather than joining two linguistic

worlds, marks the irreversible transition from the Jewish world to the American world.

Although Shteyngart has repeatedly returned to his birthplace, he relinquished his source language and is now considered, for this reason, a translingual writer. At the same time, his writing discloses his bilingual nature, as he often uses foreign phrases and words, in Russian and Hebrew, and translates such phrases and words into English, thus involving the reader in his plurilingual world. The writer, for example, quotes some expressions that his grandparents used to address to his father, and translates them into English: "*Oni menya lyubili kak cherty*, […] *They loved me like devils*" (Shteyngart 2014, 36). Moreover, he remembers a day, in America, when his father took him to the bus station, since he did not want to spend the holidays with his family. His father kissed him goodbye and said: "'*Bud' zdorov, synok*,' […] *Be well, little son*" (Shteyngart 2014, 184). He translates some Hebrew lyrics in this way: "*Yamin, smol, smol, yamin,* left right, right, left, *troo-loo-loo-loo*" (Shteyngart 2014, 301). He also quotes his answer to his mother who, after arguing with her husband, claims she does not want to talk to him: "'*Nu, khorosho. Kak vam luchshe*.' Well, that's fine. Do as you please" (Shteyngart 2014, 320). Other examples bring to light Shteyngart's bilingual personality, as he often acts as a self-translator in the quoted dialogues with his family. When he writes about a fishing trip with his father and his American friend, Jonathan, he cites his father requesting him to translate the Russian phrase: "'*Prokhod dlya oslov!*' Papa proudly declares. 'Gary, translate.' 'It's the passage for donkeys,' I say to Jonathan" (Shteyngart 2014, 194). He represents the border between two worlds and, at the same time, is the only one in his family who can interpret the American world. He even analyses the metalinguistic aspect of some conversations with his family, in which he not only uses Russian and Hebrew words, but also hybrid expressions, whose particular phonic effects, characterised by the mixture of Russian and English, reproduce his parents' foreign accent (Kager 2013, 80-82). With reference to the same fishing trip, Shteyngart (2014, 194) renders his father's accent as follows:

> 'Over *zer* is mostly *flyook* and *zer* is *flaunder*…Guys, don't pull *feesh* so fast! Give him time to get on hook, okay?' […] It occurs to me that if we had spoken English instead of Russian at home, my father would have lost some of the natural cruelty that comes with our mother tongue. *Eh, you, Snotty. Eh, you, weakling*. Because all I want to do now is to speak to Papa and Mama in Jonathan's English. Which also happens to be my own.

The onomatopoeic reproduction of his father's English words typifies the harshness of the Russian sounds, and the writer himself dislikes the

Russian interference in his father's conversations with the local people. He underlines the difference between his English and that of his parents, and considers himself nearly as good as a native speaker. Shteyngart includes the hybrid words that his father utters and marks them in italics.[1] They disclose the immigrant's transition to a new linguistic dimension, which Shteyngart's father is unwilling to undergo. The idiomatic and slang words in the passage and, in general, in the whole text, such as "snotty" and "weakling," highlight the writer's wish to prove that his linguistic transition is progressing, that he can master the target language by employing its lexical and metalinguistic overtones. The use of the hybrid words shows that the writer means to investigate the various registers of the language and to illustrate the phases and the problems that every immigrant has to face when settling into a different linguistic context. Some immigrants, like the writer's parents, will never overcome their language barriers, owing to their age, which hinders linguistic adaptation, whereas the young Shteyngart changes his attitude to the new language. The steady interaction between the single units of the source language and of the target language allows him, at the same time, to maintain contact with his native country. His dialogue with the source language occurs by manipulating and 'deforming' the sound of certain words of the target language, so as to render some phonic peculiarities of his source language through the words of the target language. As the autobiography progresses, his sense of isolation fades from the text and his claimed proficiency in American English stands out.

Self-translation and Language Attrition

Before 'boasting' about his linguistic achievements, the writer dwells, in his numerous flashbacks, on the difficulties he had to tackle in the long passage to the American culture. The complex process of linguistic interference is emphasised in America, where the linguistic isolation that Shteyngart experiences at the beginning of his American life, due to his poor knowledge of English, makes him realize that "the Russian language is my friend" (Shteyngart 2014, 105). His mother tongue, which he believed to be

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[1] In this regard, it is worth mentioning that his tendency to reproduce the immigrants' English, contaminated by the Russian accent, emerged in his previous works, such as *Absurdistan*, an imaginary autobiography, which, like *Little Failure*, not only abounds in linguistic interferences and plurilingual expressions, but contains numerous passages interspersed with Russian phrases. Such contamination consists in deliberately making grammatical and spelling mistakes in *Absurdistan*, and it even involves the phonetic aspect of the words in *Little Failure*, in which the misspelling aims to deform the lexis and to render the foreign accent in English.

overwhelming and the emblem of the Soviet regime, is now his only means of communication. The Russian language stands for the writer's 'stronghold,' since it is located at the core of his semiospheric dimension (Lotman 1985, 64), an imaginary circular space, the writer's semiotic space, representing his linguistic background. The interference of new linguistic elements along the edges of his semiospheric structure generates a linguistic dynamism, characterised by the interaction between his source language and his target language. As a consequence of this interaction, the author can draw his first linguistic comparisons: "English is the language of commerce and work, but Russian is the language of the soul, whatever that is" (Shteyngart 2014, 137). By interacting with new cultural contexts, the author starts upon his route to hybridism and self-translation in order to carry out a more in-depth analysis of the languages he uses. The account of his life in the USA is imbued with Russian and Hebrew phrases, such as "*Tot kto ne byot, tot ne lyubit*. […] He who doesn't hit, doesn't love" (Shteyngart 2014, 125), "'*Luchshe ne zhit'!*' […] *It is better not to live!*" (Shteyngart 2014, 126) or "*Sheket bevakasha! 'Please* be quiet'" (Shteyngart 2014, 112), which are regularly self-translated into his adopted language. Shteyngart establishes a dialogue between the different languages and penetrates the pluri-discursive aspect of his lexical 'mosaic,' thus attaining the deepest cultural layers of the foreign phrases and setting up, in Bakhtinian terms, phono-semantic connections between the languages he employs in the text (Bakhtin 1979, 141). On recalling the conversations with his Russian-American friends in the Russian neighbourhood in New York, he writes: "The Russian nouns lacing the barrage of English verbs, or vice versa ('*Babushka, oni poshli* shopping *vmeste v ellenvilli*' – 'Grandma, they went shopping together in Ellenville')" (Shteyngart 2014, 170). The use of an English word like "shopping" seems to meet the need to emphasise the sibilant sounds, which are frequent in Russian and, at the same time, to merge the language of his childhood with the language of emigration (Trapp 2016, 59-62). As the writer improves his adopted language, he writes his first story in English, whose Slavic title, "Svida," takes the reader back to his origins. Later on, he writes "Gnorah," which, as the title suggests, focuses on Jewish issues and, as he writes, "marks the end of Russian as my primary tongue and the beginning of my true assimilation into American English" (Shteyngart 2014, 161). The awareness of his gradual American 'naturalisation' is expressed at the beginning of chapter 13 as well, "Sixty-Nine Cents," in which he claims: "When I turn fourteen, I lose my Russian accent. I can, in theory, walk up to a girl and the words 'Oh, hi there' would not sound like *Okht Hyzer*, possibly the name of a Turkish politician." (Shteyngart 2014, 179). Shteyngart overcomes the linguistic barrier owing to his attending

American educational institutions, with his consequent interactions with the locals.

As I have underlined, Shteyngart enhances the sense of estrangement in the text and, in addition to mentioning the English translation of the foreign words that he uses, he reveals his concern with translingual writing and self-translation. In particular, the frequent passages from his target language to his source language unveil the reflexive aspect of his writing as self-translation, since translingual writing entails a ceaseless investigation into the expressive tools of the source language and of the target language. As Kadiu (2019, 36-37) suggests, reflexivity is the "awareness of the text's condition as translation." Such reflexivity "is possible only if we make visible the act of translating itself, by showing the original text that is being translated" (Kadiu 2019, 36-37). By translating the numerous foreign loan words in his autobiography, the writer enhances the sense of estrangement in the reader, who is confronted with the writer's bilingual context. In this regard, Kadiu distinguishes two types of reflexivity: hermeneutic and mechanical. The former is "the translator's subjective interpretation of the source text" (Kadiu 2019, 10), whereas the latter is "a thoughtless, automatic response to a stimulus" (Kadiu 2019, 10). If compared with Nabokov's approach to translation, the 'father' of the Russian émigrés abroad, Shteyngart's self-translation is characterised by mechanical reflexivity (Baer 2011, 179). In his numerous self-translations of phrases and sentences in his novels, Nabokov clearly avails himself of hermeneutic reflexivity, since he often explains, especially in his autobiography, the translation of the Russian and French expressions that he uses in the text. He discusses, for instance, the different overtones and meanings of the words that he translates, he dialogises and 'comes to term' with them, whereas Shteyngart translates the foreign loan words without dwelling on any metalinguistic interpretations.[2] Like Nabokov, Shteyngart never conceals the source texts of the single 'fragments' that he translates, and shows the passage of the message from the source language to the target language (de la Puente 2015, 586-588). However, Shteyngart conveys his detachment towards his act of self-translation when he translates the foreign expressions in his text. He is less 'involved' than Nabokov in the process of translation, since he provides the reader with the translation of foreign words, phrases and sentences, avoiding metalinguistic comments.[3] An example of this approach can be

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[2] In his numerous plurilingual passages, Nabokov, in *Speak, Memory. An Autobiography Revisited* (1966), often analyses the phonic and semantic relationships between certain Russian and English words he uses in the text.

[3] As Wilson (2009, 194) writes, "The self-translator constructs a new reality by deconstructing both source and target language. The losses and gains in the passage

seen when he remembers his family's excitement at winning a ten million dollar cheque (which turns out to be a disappointment): "'Mama, Papa, we won! We won! *My millionery*!' We are millionaires! '*Uspokoisya*,' my father says. *Calm down*" (Shteyngart 2014, 131). In these sentences, along with the above-mentioned ones, he literally translates the Russian units into English, but does not linger on the choice of translation. The reflexive aspect of his translation is less 'informative,' since the 'fragments' of the source language are not discussed or 'shared' with the reader in the process of translation. He draws the reader's attention to the act of self-translation, but does not explain the relationships between the two languages he deals with; he increases the sense of estrangement by means of the frequent use of foreign loan words. His detached attitude, however, sometimes recedes from view in the text when he carries out a synchronic analysis of the target language, focusing on the peculiarities of American English in the context he is exploring at a specific time. The self-translator, as the translator and the author of his or her text, generates two main types of self-translation, owing to the different identities that the author's self assumes. According to Wanner (2018, 122), the self can be "the subject or the object of the translational process. If seen as the subject, the self is the agent of textual production. If the self is perceived as the object, however, self-translation literally involves a 'translation of the self.'" Following this hermeneutic approach and considering the most prominent Russian-American writers, Nabokov's self is the subject of his self-translation; his self (re)creates and (re)writes his self-translated works by gracefully manipulating the stylistic tools of his target language and adapting his source language to the cultural and linguistic context of the American environment, whereas Cournos's and Shrayer's selves are perceived as objects and, as such, are forged by a process of cultural translation. The self as subject (re)creates its linguistic world in a second language, while the self as object focuses more on its cultural passage than on the process of linguistic transposition. Although Cournos emigrated at an early age and Shrayer moved to the USA just after

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between the source and the target language and the ensuing lack of precision take the writer into the realm of the inexpressible, the space where new expressions are generated in pursuit of the inner voice."

In an older article, Steiner (1970, 126) points out "the polysemic nature of Nabokov's uses of language[s]. […] the possible existence of a private mixed idiom 'beneath,' 'coming before' the localization of different languages in the articulate brain." Moreover, he states that "Nabokov is a writer who seems to me to work very near the intricate threshold of syntax; he experiences linguistic forms in a state of manifold potentiality and, moving across vernaculars, is able to keep words and phrases in a charged, unstable mode of vitality."

his teenage years, they both have a similar approach to self-translation in their translingual writing. Since writing in a second language means self-translating from the source language, Cournos and Shrayer employ a simple and direct language, which often oozes with their foreign origin, and, in their linguistic passage, they are concerned with their cultural resettlement, while Nabokov embellishes his style in his English writings with refined phrases and expressions. In this context, Shteyngart merges the two perspectives. On the one hand, he self-translates the Russian expressions as they are, showing the objective aspect of his self and without (re)creating his narrative style in the target text; on the other hand, the subjective part of his self stands out as the narration progresses and his mastery of English increases, because he manipulates and (re)creates, as I will discuss, the onomatopoeic effects of numerous English phrases.

Another aspect that is connected with emigration is the representation of the geographical spaces he crosses and the effect they have on his linguistic evolution. Unlike previous Russian-American writers, who journeyed to the USA by ship, Shteyngart starts his emigration by plane, stopping in Western Europe. When he lands in East Berlin, he hears for the first time another language, and that is his "first understanding that the world is not powered entirely by the great and mighty Russian tongue" (Shteyngart 2014, 81). The writer's long stay in Western Europe fostered the formation of a 'third linguistic space,' that is to say a 'neutral' dimension where the immigrant was exposed, for the first time, to different languages (Shteyngart stayed five months in Italy) before the final emigration step. This third stage exerts a remarkable influence over the writer's private semiotic dimension (Lotman 1985, 58). The culture shock and the introduction of new linguistic elements into his semiosphere discloses new horizons and provides him with new contrastive elements. Thus, the English narrative is characterised, in this section, by the use of Italian and German lexis, like "'Medicina per il cuore!' […] 'Mille lire! Mille lire!' […] 'Grazie mille! Grazie mille'" (Shteyngart 2014, 89), "'[…] über alles!' […] Jungen" (Shteyngart 2014, 84), and the autobiography seems to become the macrotext of Shteyngart's self-translation consciousness. He carries out his first translation experiments in this plurilingual narrative, in which the encounter of different signs generates an explosion of new senses (again in Lotmanian terms), as well as specular linguistic spaces (Faye 2019, chap. 6). Moreover, the translation experiments disclose the complex issue of language attrition in Shteyngart's work. The writer's two main languages clash and interact to the point that the gradual predominance of English casts a shadow on the fluency of his mother tongue. Unlike his parents, whose accent is still very strong and who utter expressions like "*Ver* is man toilet?" (Shteyngart 2014,

192), Gary claims "my accent has faded and my English is strong and I can converse at a kilometre a minute" (Shteyngart 2014, 192-193). Such a linguistic contrast explains a common concern among immigrants, i.e. the loss of their native language, which often leads translingual writers to mingle phrases from the source language with others from the target language, in order to preserve their previous language in the wide universe of their linguistic in-betweenness. To go along with Espino Barrera (2017, 188), "translingual authors describe the mother tongue as a 'sick' limb 'infected' by a second language and […] they go to great lengths to try to salvage whatever remains of this precious possession." As a result of this process of language attrition, *Little Failure* can be considered the expression of an intellectual diglossia, more than an example of the writer's bilingualism. Unlike Nabokov, whose bilingualism (and even trilingualism) emerges in the perfect mastery of his source language and target language in his works, Shteyngart's intellectual diglossia, which represents one of the many overtones of bilingualism and is the expression of an 'imperfect' bilingualism, consists in his use of two languages in two different social contexts (Perotto 2006, 265-266). Following the concept of diglossia, his target language overshadows Russian and becomes the "high variety," the language he uses in all formal situations in America. His mother tongue is employed by the author in informal contexts, with his family, and is therefore the "low variety." A similar attitude to the source language and to the target language occurs both in Shteyngart's predecessors, like Cournos and Brodsky, and in Shrayer, contemporary with Shteyngart; they employed Russian in their private lives, but spoke English when they discussed matters concerning their work (Brodsky 1996, 164; Perotto 2006, 266-267). Nabokov, therefore, is an example of a polyglot who was "proficient in several languages at once," while Shteyngart, as well as the above-mentioned writers, "may be more active and engaged in some and less so in others" (Stavans 2018, 5).

Like many translingual writers, Shteyngart returned to his native country, and he has returned to Russia many times. His journey into the past 'tests' his bilingualism or, better, the loss of his childhood language and, therefore, his diglossia. As he puts it: "Granted, with my ever-growing American accent, I do not sound entirely native when I *govoryu po-russki* [speak Russian] with cabdrivers, hotel clerks, or even my good Petersburg friends" (Shteyngart 2014, 325-326). Shteyngart is aware of his henolingual stage, that is the condition of linguistic *in-betweenness*, and his return to the city of his birth formerly called Leningrad, but now called Saint Petersburg, increases his sense of non-belonging in a land whose language used to be his 'friend' in the American context (Espino Barrera 2017, 193; Steiner

1970, 120). Shteyngart's familiarity with the target language is so rooted in him that he examines the American advertisements from a metalinguistic angle: "When I shut my eyes I hear […] the commercial for Juicy Fruit gum sung with such intense abandon it makes me scared ('*Jew-seh froooot is gonna moooove ya/it gotta taaaaste that cut raaaaght throoo ya-ugh*')" (Shteyngart 2014, 157). The writer decomposes the single words and even 'drawls' the vowel sounds in order to dwell on each word and study its own phonic peculiarities. He unveils the vowel effects employed in the American advertising to make the message more 'appealing' and, from certain aspects, simpler, so that the succession of the same vowels allows any person to remember the slogan.

Compared with other Russian-American writers, Shteyngart shows once again different approaches to self-translation. Considering that translation often aims to emphasise some elements that are not visible in the source text, it can employ a metonymic procedure, in order to highlight certain aspects of the source culture or the target culture by means of metaphors, symbols, allusions and hidden references (Tymoczko 2007, 198). The self-translator has more freedom than a translator to devise such metonymic associations. According to the different elements that the self-translator intends to highlight or conceal, Oustinoff (2001, 29) singles out three types of self-translation, which Sanfelici discusses in her article on bilingualism and self-translation (Sanfelici 2016, 142-143): *naturalisante*, *décentrée* and *(re)créatrice*. The first category of self-translation is oriented to the target language and avoids any interference from the source language. The *décentrée* self-translation, preserving the interference of the source language, oozes with the foreignness of the target text, increasing the reader's (de)familiarising process, while the *(re)créatrice* self-translation eliminates all links between the source text and the target text and (re)creates, reshapes, forges the target text. By depicting his linguistic evolution, Shteyngart employs all three categories in *Little Failure*, in that, self-translating his life, he often adopts a *décentrée* approach when he renders his parents' foreign accent in the target language, but then switches to the first category, the domesticating approach, when he reproduces the onomatopoeic sounds in order to emphasise his thorough knowledge of the target language, as well as to (re)create the paralinguistic world of American English. From a different angle, Nabokov, like Shteyngart, adopts all three approaches in the self-translation of his works (Russo 2020, 70-73), because he aims to express his fluency in the target language, uses frequent foreign expressions to preserve the link with a foreign world and, at the same time, (re)creates the target text to adapt it to the target context. Cournos, one of the first Russian-American writers, and Shrayer, belonging to the modern

generation of Russian-American literati, mostly employ the foreignising effect of the *décentrée* approach in their English autobiographies, respectively *Autobiography* (1935) and *Waiting for America: A Story of Emigration* (2007). In their translingual effort to self-translate the story of their lives, Cournos and, more particularly, Shrayer, stress the foreignising effect by means of expressions written in their childhood languages, Russian and Hebrew, and by making use of unnatural structures, 'contaminated' by the influence of their source language (Gurfinkel 2009, 207).

Target Language and Technology

Unlike Nabokov's autobiography, *Speak, Memory*, whose plurilingual structure is characterised by a sophisticated style, *Little Failure*, written many years later, when technology reached its peak and started to affect language, presents a more informal language. The writer utilises many slang and even vulgar expressions, combined with the new linguistic changes brought about by technology and cybernetics. He goes beyond the contrastive analysis of his source language and his target language and focuses on the graphic style of his adopted language, of which he emphasises the estranging effects introduced by technology. In this regard, it is worth dwelling on some examples, whose peculiarity has no comparison in other translingual works.

He foreshadows such changes in the text by analysing the characteristics of the target language in the signs and posters he sees in the USA. Shteyngart often writes the foreign expressions in italics, which mark the frontiers separating the languages of the text. He also increases the foreignising effect of the text by using other characters, such as block capitals, especially when he quotes particular messages, advertisements, road signs and billboards. When he describes a walk with his father, Shteyngart (2014, 201-202) writes:

> We are passing the five skyscraper-high, insect-like air traffic antennas down the street from us with their fearsome signage: WARNING THIS FACILITY IS USED IN FAA TRAFFIC CONTROL. LOSS OF HUMAN LIFE MAY RESULT FROM SERVICE INTERRUPTION. ANY PERSON WHO INTERFERES WITH AIR TRAFFIC CONTROL…WILL BE PROSECUTED UNDER FEDERAL LAW.

The block capitals lead the reader to a metalinguistic dimension and stand for the immigrant's displacement. The road sign conveys coldness, detachment, depersonalisation and loss of identity through the squared

characters of the capital letters. Like the Cyrillic characters that he used to
see in the Leningrad subway before moving to the USA, the block capitals
disclose another aspect of the language, since they are used for official
communication and do not convey the emotional essence of the language as
the everyday register does. The coldness of the target language increases
when the writer quotes messages and sentences from the screen of the
computer games he plays. The graphic style changes once again and the
characters of the language convey further alienation and displacement. The
lapidary messages of the road signs become more compressed within the
'borders' of the screen, they reduce the emotional interaction between the
speaker and the language itself. Each sentence stands isolated in its line with
the symbols that are keyed in via the keyboard (Shteyngart 2014, 199):

> page 120
> Embankment (Leningrad)
> P.S. This message will self-destruct in thirty hours.
> > Drop recorder
> You wanna leave the recorder behind?
> > Yes
> Ya shure?
> > Yes
> Absoludly?
> > Yes
> Todally?
> > Yes
> I can't hear ya!
> > Yes

The message contains very informal words and expresses the caducity
of communication. The words written on the screen will disappear, there is
no guarantee that the message will last, owing to the abstract character of
software devices. The 'telegraphic' communication includes slang
vocabulary and very short sentences, which the author utilises to reproduce
the typical American sounds. The influence of technology on the writer's
target language shortens communication, makes it essential, temporary and
unemotional. Every sentence of the message is 'shrunk' by the borders of
the line. The lapidary communication expressed by the technological device
reflects the spirit of American society, where life is faster and affected by
the new technological era. It embodies the writer's isolation and his attempt
to interact with the new environment. Shteyngart once again (re)creates his
target text by merging the informal vocabulary of the target language with
his foreignness. His target language, as a 'hosting language,' apparently
welcomes him when he penetrates the metalinguistic aspects of American

English, but technological devices prove the opposite. Shteyngart's communication with the screen fades out as he shows (2014, 196) in the following passage:

> In the dim light of Jonathan's computer room his two five-and-one-quarter-inch Apple disk drives are twirling with anticipation. The > represents the so-called status line, upon which the player would give directions. For example:
> > W
> would mean the player wanted to go west. Or
> > Open mailbox.

Communication is reduced to symbols and single letters. The alienating characteristics of the target language, which are emphasised by the introduction of technology, account for the choice of the themes of the stories that he writes in his early American years. His works are metafictional texts, they are stories within the writer's autobiography and voice his inner meditations as an exile. They are set on imaginary planets and his choosing extraterrestrial places owes itself to his feeling of estrangement in American society.

In addition to his detached attitude to the self-translation of the foreign phrases in the text, the writer often associates some English words and letters with other possible meanings. The acronym of the Jewish school he attends, the Solomon Schechter School of Queens, is "SSSQ." He explains the symbols that he associates with the letters contained in the acronym: "The *S*'s are as drunk as Step-grandfather Ilya, and they're falling all over one another; the *Q* is an *O* stabbed between the legs at an angle. Often I forget the *Q* entirely, leaving just the quasi-fascistic SSS" (Shteyngart 2014, 111). The abbreviated name of the Jewish school brings to mind the horrors of the Nazi Regime in the writer's imagination. Owing to the frequent cultural and linguistic associations in the text, another theoretical approach should be taken into account. By translating the Russian phrases into English, Shteyngart intends to raise the reader's interest in his linguistic passage, so that he or she can 'cross' over with him without 'getting lost' in the plurilingual text. From a semiotic perspective, Shteyngart's concern with the reader's participation in his linguistic transition responds to the need to maintain what Jakobson called the phatic function. The latter, as is known, has the purpose, among the different linguistic functions, of boosting the communicative act between the addresser and the addressee, by not resorting to semantically complete sentences, but to short phrases that guarantee the contact between two or more speakers. According to Jakobson (1960, 355), the phatic function, which he ascribes to the

anthropologist Malinowski, "may be displayed by a profuse exchange of ritualized formulas, by entire dialogues with the mere purport of prolonging communication." The message the addresser utters consists, as a result, of short and simple sentences or phrases, like "hello," "can you hear me?" whose aim is to make sure that the speaker does not lose contact with the person he or she is talking to. Likewise, the numerous foreign loan words that Shteyngart employs and translates in his autobiography hinder the communicative act and increase the estranging effect on the reader's part, but the author's translation of each Russian or Hebrew word or expression represents the phatic function of plurilingual communication. The author uses the translated segments as short communicative acts in order to maintain his contact with the reader. The foreign loan words are elements of communicative discontinuity, linguistic interferences, which the author introduces into the text and adapts to the narrative functionality of the English macrotext. At the very end of the book, when he recalls his visit to his grandfather's grave in Saint Petersburg, Shteyngart writes some of the words from his prayers in Hebrew and Russian, like "*Yitgaddal veyitqaddash shmeh rabba*" (Shteyngart 2014, 349) and, for the first time, he even employs the Hebrew and Russian characters. The very last sentences of the autobiography 'sum up' the plurilingual essence of the text. Shteyngart writes two Hebrew words in their original characters, transliterates them as "*Ve'imru, Amen*" (Shteyngart 2014, 349), then translates them into English as "Let us say, Amen" (Shteyngart 2014, 349), and into Russian as "I Skazhem: Amen!" (Shteyngart 2014, 349 – my transliteration), using Cyrillic letters. The close of *Little Failure* is Shteyngart's final and most complete example of self-translation, since his contrastive lexical analysis leads him to continually self-translate his sentences and highlights the 'recessive' elements of his source language, his links with his linguistic past.

Conclusions

The complex concept of self-translation brings into focus the connections between bilingualism, diglossia and translingualism (Benjamin 2000, 16-17). Translingualism is still a wide field of research with many unexplored 'areas' but, at the same time, it has become more and more recurrent in scholarship over the last decades, owing to the increased emigration of intellectuals and their need to adopt, in their writings, the target language and, more often, English as a *lingua franca*. Translingualism is, therefore, a form of 'neutral' writing, since it reflects the emigrant writer's linguistic world, along with his learning peculiarities, revealed in the use of the

structures and lexis of the target language. Translingualism is linked, in turn, to diasporas, in this case the Russian diaspora in the USA, which has led to the creation, since the Cold War, of specific *enclaves*, namely heterotopic spaces, to use Foucault's definition, where exiles mirror the civilisation of their native country.[4] Heterotopia represents a 'counterspace,' an isolated space which shares the same cultural and linguistic elements as other distant spaces (Foucault and Miskowiec 1986, 24-26). However, such elements are changed and adapted to the environment of the land of emigration, and reflect a 'by-culture,' a new world where the transplanted culture blends with the characteristics of the local culture. *Little Failure* is the narrative of an *enclave*, of the cultural Russian spaces overseas, encircled by the borders of the American world. This *enclave*, from the protagonist's perspective, gradually merges with the local context, with consequent changes in the language, as he himself explains in his autobiography. The *enclave* is comparable, at the beginning of Shteyngart's life in America, to a 'no man's land,' characterised by the isolation of the people who created it. Unlike other immigrants, the writer interacts, despite the discriminating attitude of many Americans, with the new world and starts a long process of linguistic and cultural 'evolution.' The book can also be considered, therefore, a *Bildungsroman*, as it portrays Shteyngart's linguistic growth during the course of his journey from East to West. Thus, his route illustrates his passage to a transcultural and translingual dimension as well, which he reaches by de-constructing and re-constructing his cultural background (Lewis 2002, 26; Clark 2018). He can settle into a new context by questioning his source culture, as well as by juxtaposing and combining different cultural and linguistic dimensions. The chaotic mingling of his values and stereotypes leads him to the 'reconfiguration' of his own identity in the New World (Edwards 2013, 19-23; Farwell 2018). Being a twenty-first-century autobiography, *Little Failure* combines the features of previous and contemporary translingual autobiographical texts. It expresses both the objective self, the latter undergoing a process of cultural translation, and the subjective self, as the active self-translator (re)creating the target text; it carries out different forms of self-translation, by mingling the target language-oriented approach, the source language-oriented approach, and the (re)creative approach, generating a new target text in a semi-hybrid language resulting from the assimilation of elements of the source language into the 'hosting' language. The autobiography is a

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polyphonic text which engages the reader in a dialogue with different linguistic and cultural worlds, and involves the reader in the complex experiments of self-translation of the author's life (Pivato 2020, 21).

This analysis of the Jewish-Russian-American writer cannot be concluded without mentioning, once again, the forerunner of translingualism and self-translation, Nabokov, whom Shteyngart sometimes mentions in his work. *Speak, Memory* is a more introspective text but, within the boundaries of his linguistic syncretism, Nabokov does not complete the account of his journey. Unlike Shteyngart, who describes a 'round-trip journey,' he stops his autobiography at Saint Nazaire's harbour, in France, where he lets the reader visualise his imminent transatlantic crossing and a new linguistic adventure. The parallelism with Nabokov (and other Russian-American writers) deserves further consideration. Suffice it to say that if the two works are similar in terms of cultural, linguistic and identity mutability, *Little Failure*, which completes the writer's itinerary and ends in his homeland, cannot but stand for a modern version of Nabokov's work, thus reopening new 'translingual negotiations' from a more concrete and less metaphorical perspective (Bryla 2018, 93).

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CHAPTER THREE:

SPECIALISED TRANSLATION

Re-thinking Specialised Translation: Translations as a Fuzzy Set

Giuliana Elena Garzone

Introduction

"We are a translated civilization". With these words Henri Meschonnic opened a lecture I attended over twenty years ago. Of course, he was referring to the biblical tradition, but that concept could also be applied to the classical (ancient Greek and Latin) and the Christian traditions. Western civilization has developed nourishing itself on the translations of the great works produced in those traditions.

But today the idea that ours is a translated civilization can also be applied synchronically to the contemporary world: in what has been described as the Information Society or the Screen Society (Pinto 2005, 2008), information and knowledge are incessantly exchanged across languages, cultures and media with unprecedented intensity, rapidity and pervasiveness.

Therefore everyone of us is exposed to a huge quantity of either covertly or overtly translated texts (House 1977/1997), in all formats, through a wide range of media, from heritage media to emerging technologies – print, wireless, television, computer networks, mobile devices – with the whole picture made more complex by technological convergence. A further dimension is added by the inherently multimedia and multimodal character of many of such technologies, which also contributes to generating various types of intersemiotic translation (Jakobson 1959).

As is to be expected, these evolutions have inevitably had an impact on how translation is conceptualized and perceived, but also on the translator's profession and *modus operandi*, with translators involved in (meta)textual operations that are not translating *sensu stricto*, e.g. post-editing, transediting, transcreation, localization. Also in theorizations of translation such evolutions have had the ultimate effect of shifting attention away from the close rendering of the ST as virtually the only criterion to be applied in translating texts in favour of greater consideration given to the perspective of the receiving culture.

It was against this backdrop that target-oriented approaches emerged, bringing new ways of thinking about translation and making a break with the typically source-oriented and prescriptive approaches of the past.

I am aware that talking about "target-oriented approaches" in general, to refer both to descriptivist and functionalist approaches, is a very broad generalization (possibly too broad), but what is of importance for the sake of this discussion is something these approaches do share, i.e. a radical change in perspectives on translation which broke with many of the tenets that had prevailed for centuries in reflections on translation. As Toury himself points out in the second edition of *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond* (2012),

> interestingly, the first formulations of the Skopostheorie by Vermeer (e.g. 1978) almost coincided with the beginning of my own realization that a switch to target-orientedness was imminent (Toury 1977) – which sheds interesting light on how changes of scholarly climate occur, especially considering that for quite a while the two of us were practically unaware of each other's work.

In spite of the differences, from their very beginnings the two schools of thought have shared important common grounds and in time have synergically contributed to a change in mentality in translation theory and, more in general, in approaches to translation.

Aim and Scope

In light of these observations, in this paper I will put forward some considerations on the impact and repercussions of the shift to target-oriented approaches in translations studies, focusing in particular on how these evolutions have impacted on the generally accepted definition of translation. Among the issues considered is the suitability of target-oriented approaches in general to account for the immense variety of translated and/or rewritten texts that circulate in the contemporary world and their variable relationship to the ST.

In the discussion, reference will be made prevalently to the most important works of the founding scholars of descriptivism and functionalism, Gideon Toury and Hans Vermeer. By necessity this involves leaving out developments carried forward by other scholars in the same areas of translation studies, not because of the intention to downplay some later theoretical contributions, but for the sake of linearity in reasoning and argumentation.

The focus of the discussion will mostly be on specialized translation in a broad sense, i.e. not following the restrictive definition of "specialised translation" given for instance by Wright and Wright (1993, 1) as "encompassing the translation of special language texts, i.e. texts written using Languages for Special Purposes", but rather based on a broader definition of *specialised translation* as *non literary translation,* i.e. the translation of non literary texts which constitute a rather broad continuum from essays, journalism, popular science and documents commonly in use in everyday life, to technical and scientific texts with various degrees of specialization, thus reflecting the variety of translators' professional assignments. In Francesco Sabatini's (1990, 637) categorization, this would include both "very binding" texts, i.e. scientific, normative, and technical texts (e.g. scientific demonstrations, laws, rules, legal instruments, technical descriptions and instructions), and "moderately binding" texts, i.e. explanatory and/or informative texts, including handbooks, essays, encyclopedias, newspaper articles and popularization.[1] Similarly, in Snell-Hornby's (1988) categorization focusing specifically on translation, this would include *special language translation* and *general language translation* to the exclusion of *literary* translation, which in her view among the three is the real case apart.

In the next section, the basic tenets of target-oriented approaches are briefly discussed, looking in particular at the implications for the conceptualization of translation from which – it is argued – the need ensues to re-define translation in consideration of the unsuitability of traditional definitions to account for the unprecedentedly vast and highly diversified range of translated/rewritten texts circulating in the contemporary world. A conceptualization of translations as a fuzzy set is then proposed, suitable to embrace such a wide range of textual products. An application of the notion in the analysis of two different kinds of translated/rewritten texts follows, before some conclusions are drawn.

Target-oriented Approaches

The emergence of target-oriented approaches in the 1980s came after centuries when the debate on the nature of translation and on the procedures it involves had been essentially based on the "literal vs free" or "faithful vs

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[1] This would exclude only "scarcely binding", e.g. literary texts either in prose or in poetry, which leave ample scope for differing styles and formats and for subjective interpretations; in these kinds of texts a lot of attention is given to form, and importance is given to formal devices, e.g. tropes, prosodic traits, etc.

unfaithful" opposition, which was variously reformulated by different thinkers, in the form of polar binomials, such as *semantic* vs *communicative* translation (Newmark 1981, 1988), *direct* vs *indirect* translation (Gutt 2000), *overt* vs *covert* translation (House 1977/1997), *actualization* vs *historicization*, *domestication* vs *foreignization* (Venuti 1995; Schleiermacher 1813/1993), *formal correspondence* vs *dynamic equivalence* (Nida 1964; Nida and Taber 1969), etc.

This was also often accompanied by the idea of "equivalence", which surfaced various times in the past, for instance in Lord Fraser Tytler's 1790 book,[2] and was introduced into modern translation theory through the notion of "equivalent effect" formulated by E. Nida (1964), which for a while gained great credit, also internationally (Miao 2000), and was adopted by many different scholars to integrate other notions that were central to their own theories.

Snell-Hornby (1988) has shown how problematic this notion is, being so general as to become virtually useless:

> *Äquivalenz* – as a narrow, purpose-specific and rigorously scientific constant – has become increasingly static and one-dimensional, equivalence (leaving aside the TG-influenced concepts of the 1960s) has become increasingly approximative and vague to the point of complete insignificance. (Snell-Hornby 1988, 106)

This is why – she argues – so many authors who do use the notion qualify it by means of a premodifier or a complement, thus reducing its generality: Jakobson (1959, 114) talks about "equivalence in difference", Nida defines "dynamic equivalence" (Nida 1964; Nida and Taber 1969), later renamed "functional equivalence" (Nida and de Waard 1986; Nida 1993), Catford (1965, 27) uses the expression "textual equivalence". But the scholars that gave the most importance to this concept were those belonging to the so-called *Leipzig School*, preferring the mathematical term *Äquivalenz* to the less specific *Gleichwertigkeit*, and while the notion was central to their debate and categorisation, there was a proliferation of "qualified" equivalence categories. For instance, Kade (1968) listed five: *totale Äquivalenz* (completely identical terms as in specialised terminology),

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[2] Fraser Tytler did not use the word "equivalence", but certainly defined it in terms that describe dynamic equivalence: "A good translation is one in which the merit of the original work is so completely transfused into another language as to be as distinctly apprehended and as strongly felt by a native of the country to which that language belongs as it is by those who speak the language of the original work" (Fraser Tytler 1790/1978, 15; cf. Miao 2000).

fakultative Äquivalenz (one to many correspondence)*, approximative Äquivalenz* (one-to-part-of-one correspondence)*, null Äquivalenz* occurring especially in the case of culture-bound items. Filipec (1971) preferred "structural equivalence" which he defined as the equivalence of the entire text (Snell-Hornby 1988, 20). Koller (1979, 186-191) described denotative equivalence, connotative equivalence, text-normative, equivalence, pragmatic equivalence, formal equivalence, which the translator can rely on ordering them hierarchically "according to the needs of the communicative situation" (Munday 2016, 75-76; cf. also Koller 1995).

In all these conceptualizations the underlying assumption is that the only real point of reference for the translator's strategic decisions is the source text, which the translated text tries to approximate in terms of "spirit or letter", i.e. form, style, and contents, and that for each text there is *one* best way to render it. Hermans talks about these conceptions of translation as the "normative and source-oriented approaches typical of most traditional thinking about translation" (Hermans 1985, 9).

It is from these approaches that contemporary target-oriented conceptualizations of translation shift away, highlighting the importance of considerations concerning the recipient culture and the use to which the translated text is destined as crucial elements for the translator to take into consideration in making her strategic decisions. This entails an idea of translations as autonomous, independently functioning target language texts, i.e. exactly as most readers will perceive them (Byrne 2006).

Both areas of target-oriented translation theories were deliberately provocative in their initial stages, calling into question – indeed trying to tear down – the basic tenets on which thought on translation had rested since antiquity, so they "aroused antagonism" being considered "somewhat unorthodox", and their initiators being seen as *enfants terribles* (Toury 1995/2012, 18). But in time there has been an ever wider acceptance of the idea that the closest possible approximation to the ST is not the only criterion the translator must consider when deciding how to translate a text, and certainly it is not the only yardstick against which the quality of a translation is to be measured. As Toury observes: "In the years to follow, most translation scholars, while not abandoning the seemingly safe haven of the source text, have at least come to integrate more and more target-bound considerations into the reasoning" (Toury 1995/2012, 19).

Toury considers translation a fact of the target culture, which is "initiated by the target culture" (Toury 1995/2012, 22) and whose characteristics are governed by the norms of the target culture. Accordingly, the basic choice a translator is called upon to make is between 'adequacy' (vis-à-vis the source text), i.e. leaning towards the assumed original, and

'acceptability' (vis-à-vis the TL and the target culture), i.e. "sweeping adherence to norms which originate and act in the target culture itself" (Toury 1995/2012, 79), and is determined by target culture expectations and conventions for a given kind of text in consideration of the use to which it is destined, with both adequacy and acceptability always present, albeit in differing proportions (Toury 1995/2012, 70).

On his part, Hans Vermeer[3] sees translation – or "translational action", in his terminology – as governed by its purpose (Reiss and Vermeer 1984/2014, 85-86; Vermeer 1996), i.e. its *skopos*, with its function in the recipient culture being a priority. It is interesting that Vermeer also uses the term *adequacy* to talk about a crucial property of a translation, but differently from Toury, sees it as the property of a translation where "the choice made of target-language signs is consistently in line with the requirements of the translation purpose". In other words, adequacy is the "relationship between a source text and a target text, where consistent attention is paid to the purpose (*Skopos*) of the translation process." (Reiss and Vermeer 1984/2014, 127).

In both cases, target orientedness provides a conceptual frame for the translator's strategic decisions; in both cases, the attitude towards different translational decisions and strategies is based on a flexible idea of translation, which would not be possible without the "dethroning of the source text" (Vermeer 1989/1990, 20).[4]

Descriptivism is more interested in "supplying exhaustive accounts of whatever has been presented/regarded as translational within a taget culture, on the way to make some generalizations regarding translational behaviour" (Toury 2012, XX), while functionalism takes a more professionally-oriented approach aiming at constructing a general theory of translational action.

When faced with a translational task, the translator decides on the strategy to be enacted on the basis of a number of factors, among which purpose is prominent. In the case of specialised translation the purpose of a translation is usually specified in the translation brief (Vermeer 1995; Kussmaul 1995; Nord 1997). In the absence of a brief – a quite common situation in actual practice – the translator has to rely on her evaluation of the recipients' assumed expectations and the idea of translation prevailing in the target culture.

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[3] Although the whole book is attributed to both authors, in a short text preceding the Table of Contents of the English edition of the book, the authors clearly state that the first part of the book was written by Vermeer, and the second part by Reiss; this is also stated in the Translator's Preface (Reiss and Vermeer 2014, i).

[4] English translation in Nord (1997, 29).

In this respect, a very useful notion is that of 'immanent translational conception' [*immanente Übersetzungskonzeption*] introduced by Apel (Apel and Kopetzki 2003, 65 – my translation), which is strictly dependent on the inherent social and cultural characteristics of a given [target] linguoculture as well as on the values predominating in it. This conception is usually more or less implicitly known by all the members of a given culture, and is interiorized by translators, mostly in the form of *norms*, a notion originally introduced by Toury (1980, 57), which is also incorporated in Reiss and Vermeer's *Skopos Theorie* (Reiss and Vermeer 2014, 82; 87-89). Toury describes norms as "a category for descriptive analysis of translation phenomena" (Toury 1980, 57). Realized in the form of "regularity of behaviour in recurrent situations of the same type" (Toury 1995/2012, 56), they can be descriptively reconstructed through a corpus of translations by means of generalization.

Redefining Translation

One of the consequences of the emergence and consolidation of target-oriented approaches was the acceptance of the idea that for each text several different tanslations are possible, in consideration of the purpose and use of the translated text in the recipient culture, and this had the inevitable effect of eliciting the need to redefine the notion of translation itself.

Reiss and Vermeer (1984/2014, 60-74) define translation as "an offer of information (or information offer, IO) about an offer of information", a seemingly provocative definition, but much less provocative for the fact of being set within the frame of an "information theory of translation".[5] In a nutshell, it only postulates a degree of metatextuality, but does not pose any other requirement, not even in terms of the relationship between ST and TT.

On his part, Toury sticks to his recipient culture perspective on translation and puts forward the notion of *assumed* translation, which is equated to that of translation: translation is defined as "all utterances which are presented or regarded as such within the target culture, on no matter what grounds" (Toury 1995/2012, 32; Toury 1980, 16). He poses three

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[5] This notion is clarified by the authors' definition of the actual meaning of the word "information" in this context: "'Information' is used here as a generic term for speech functions in the sense of a producer communicating (or, to be more precise, wishing to communicate) to an intended audience that he wants the audience to understand and how he wants it to be understood" (Reiss and Vermeer 2013, 56). And they further specify that "the description of translation as an information offer is a *methodological* approach which does not directly reflect translation practice" (Reiss and Vermeer 2013, 71).

postulates as minimum requisites for a text to qualify as translation: that there exists a source text ("the source-text postulate"), that the translated text derives from a transfer operation ("the transfer postulate"), and that there exists some kind of relationship between source text and target text ("the relationship postulate") (Toury 1995/2012, 28-31). It is to be noted that, sticking to his recipient culture perspective, in his model Toury sees these requisites as only "posited, rather than factual" (Toury 1995/2012: 28) as, in his view, it is enough that in the target culture they are *believed* to be met, and not necessarily actually met.

Within the context of this switch to a flexible and comprehensive notion of translation that does away with the prescriptive source-oriented theorisations of the past, a further element to be considered is the emergence of the notion of re-writing introduced by André Lefevere (1992). This notion was originally conceived with respect to the circulation of literary works, as Lefevere asserted the "importance of re-writing as the motor force behind literary evolution" (Lefevere 1992, 2). He saw this as particularly true in an age when most high literature reaches what he calls "the non-professional reader" not in full unabridged versions, but rather by means of various kinds of re-writings, "translation, editing, and anthologization of texts, the compilation of literary histories and reference books", as well as literary criticism, biographies and book reviews, which used to be considered "ancillary activities" (Lefevere 1992, 3), but are now extremely important for the circulation of literature for the general public. He shows that this phenomenon comes from afar in time, but in today's mass culture has become rife: if Byron read *Faust* in Mme de Stael's abbreviated version in *De l'Allemagne* and Pushkin read Byron in French, similarly today large numbers of non-professional readers approach books in "editions" or selected passages, and construct an image of them "supplemented by other texts that rewrite the actual original work in one way or another, such as plot summaries in literary histories or reference works, reviews in newspapers, magazines, or journals, critical articles, performances on stage or screen, and, last but not least, translations" (Lefevere 1992, 5).

Thus translation can be seen as one of many forms of re-writing, a special case in a broad spectrum of activities in which a text is produced on the basis of another pre-existing text, by means of various degrees of intra- and inter-semiotic and intra- and inter-linguistic transformations.

Lefevere conceived and originally applied the notion of rewriting to literary translation, in the awareness that the evolution of society and literacies was moving away from the prevalence of the book as a form of transmission of knowledge. In today's world the amount of rewritten materials that circulate is enormous and growing. Among the most popular

forms, one can mention popularizing versions and abridged/condensed versions of novels (also for children), prose versions of poetry, revisitations, adaptations for the screen and the stage, movie remakes, novels in graphic versions, comic-books, picture-comics and video-game adaptations, dubbing and subtitling, musical versions, song covers, audio-books, etc.

But the notion of rewriting is easily applied to non literary texts too, for instance in the form of abstracts, journalistic accounts, technical notes, transcripts, subtitles and screenplays, audiovisual-aided presentations, audio and video versions of scientific or informative texts, popularizing versions, didactic versions, documentary film popularizations, etc.

Of course, many of these forms of rewriting are translations, at least to some extent: using Jakobson's (1959) terminology, interlinguistic translations if rewritten across languages, intralinguistic translations if rewritten within the same language, and intersemiotic translations if rewritten using integrally or partially a different semiotic system.

Translations as a Fuzzy Set

Hardly any of the textual forms listed above would have been categorized as translations according to traditional conceptions still prevailing as late as the 1950s or 1960s, as they involve various degrees and forms of re-elaboration, transfer across semiotic systems, summarization, and textual reorganization.

But they are considered translations today because in a target-oriented perspective the relationship of a translation to its Source Text (ST) is not discrete and absolute, tending towards total "faithfulness", as was traditionally taken for granted, but rather "gradable", resulting from a translator's decisions in the context of his/her translation project, taking account of the function the translation is expected to fulfil in the target culture. Thus, if we look at the whole range of texts (written and oral) that are considered to be translations, on account of a relationship to the ST that is variable both in qualitative and quantitative terms, they appear to constitute a *fuzzy set* (Zadeh 1965; Bellman and Zadeh 1970; cf. Garzone 2015). According to L. A. Zadeh, the author who formulated the notion in the 1960s,[6] a fuzzy set is a set of objects "in which there is no sharp transition from membership to non-membership" (Bellman and Zadeh 1970, B141). An example of a fuzzy set can be traced back to Diogenes Laertius' *sorites* paradox or paradox of the heap (Oms and Zardini 2019). I

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[6] This theory has its antecedents in the theories of Georg Cantor (1845-1918), Jan Łukasiewizc (1878-1955) and Max Black (1909-1989).

have proposed (Garzone 2002a, 2002b, 2005, 2015) to apply fuzzy set theory to the set of translations, combining it with prototype theory (Rosch 1975, 1978; Labov 1973). In this perspective, translations are a set of rewritten texts containing non-homogeneous elements, some of which do qualify for full membership, while others deserve only graded membership.

At the centre of the fuzzy set of translations, there is a hard core of texts which match (nearly) perfectly the abstract idea of the "model translation", i.e. our prototypical idea of translation, which could be described as follows: a text translated word by word which works perfectly as it is, at all levels (morphological, syntactic, textual, discursive, pragmatic). Of course, this is a very rare case, which has a greater or lesser degree of probability depending on the typological differences beween the pair of languages involved. As one moves towards the periphery, texts will exhibit an ever lower degree of membership in the fuzzy set, until at a certain distance from the core the grade of membership equals zero, thus making the transition to "non-translations".

In previous works I have illustrated this notion with examples of translations of literary texts, also in an intersemiotic perspective, e.g., medieval poetry, Spoon River Anthology poems as translated for print publication and in the form of lyrics (Garzone 2015), and various culturally relevant texts (song lyrics, cartoon characters' names). Here I will rely on examples of translations from English into Italian of non literary texts. Each of the two examples has a different position within the set of translations as a function of the different degrees of manipulation and reorganization, i.e of rewriting, undergone with respect to the "prototypical translation" model, the first being clearly located quite near the centre of the set, while the second one is at a distance from it, having been submitted to a complex process of rewriting.

Higher Degree of Membership:
The Patient Information Leaflet

The first example to be discussed is the translation of a patient information leaflet for an anti-allergy medicine. This is a highly specialised and conventionalized genre, hardly needing any degree of cultural adaptation apart from the form of address which is usually *you* (second person) in English and *Lei* (polite third person) in Italian. This short text is the inception of the information leaflet of Avamys,[7] a drug used to treat the

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[7] The leaflets were retrieved respectively from the following websites: https://www.medicines.org.uk/emc/files/pil.6439.pdf and

symptoms of allergic rhinitis, produced and marketed both in the UK and in Italy by GlaxoSmithKline UK:

Package leaflet: **Information for the user** **Avamys 27.5 micrograms per spray nasal spray suspension** Fluticasone furoate […] What is in this leaflet	**Foglio illustrativo:** **informazioni per l'utilizzatore** **Avamys 27,5 microgrammi per spruzzo, spray nasale, sospensione** Fluticasone furoato	
1. What Avamys is and what it is used for	1. Che cos'è Avamys e a che cosa serve	
2. What you need to know before you use Avamys	2. Cosa deve sapere prima di prendere Avamys	
3. How to use Avamys	3. Come prendere Avamys	
4. Possible side effects	4. Possibili effetti indesiderati	
5. How to store Avamys	5. Come conservare Avamys	
6. Contents of the pack and other information Step-by-step guide to using the nasal spray	6. Contenuto della confezione e altre informazioni Guida fase per fase sull'uso dello spray nasale	
1. What Avamys is and what it is used for Avamys (fluticasone furoate) belongs to a group of medicines called glucocorticoids. Avamys works to decrease inflammation caused by allergy (rhinitis) and therefore reduce symptoms of allergy.	1. Che cos'è Avamys e a che cosa serve Avamys (fluticasone furoato) appartiene ad un gruppo di medicinali chiamati glucocorticoidi. Avamys funziona diminuendo l'infiammazione causata da allergia (rinite) e quindi riduce i sintomi di allergia.	

The two language versions have the same purpose and share the same generic conventions, with hardly any variation across the two cultures. Thus the translation follows the source text closely and the only changes are cases of shift (in Catford's terminology),[8] i.e. preference for a different grammatical form, and have to do with stylistic conventions of the genre in the two languages. In the translation of the title "Avamys 27.5 micrograms per spray nasal spray suspension" as "Avamys 27,5 microgrammi per spruzzo, spray nasale, sospensione" all the elements are maintained in an

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https://farmaci.agenziafarmaco.gov.it/aifa/servlet/PdfDownloadServlet?pdfFileName=footer_004942_038343_FI.pdf&retry=0&sys=m0b1l3, last visited 1 May 2020.
[8] Vinay and Darbelnet call this "transposition", but preference is given here to "shift" which is today more commonly used to indicate this procedure.

apparent one-to-one correspondence, but in English "suspension" is the head of a noun group and "27.5 micrograms per spray nasal spray" is a string of two premodifying groups, thus:

  [[27.5 micrograms per spray] nasal spray] suspension.

In Italian, instead, these three sequences are disjoined and become different elements in a list, separated by a comma:

27,5 microgrammi per spruzzo, spray nasale, sospensione

It is also interesting that the English word *spray*, occurring twice in the same line, is actually transferred into Italian the first time ("spruzzo"), while the second time it is rendered by means of transference ("spray"), relying on a loanword that is in common usage in Italian.

Another shift can be found in the translation of the line "What is in this leaflet" which is rendered nominally as "Contenuto di questo foglio" [*content of this leaflet*]. The transposition of verb groups by means of nominalized forms is part of the norms customarily followed when translating from English into Italian.

The last detail worthy of attention is the segment "Avamys works *to decrease* inflammation caused by allergy (rhinitis) and therefore *reduce* symptoms of allergy" (italics added), which is syntactically re-organized in the Italian version. In English it consists of a main clause followed by two coordinated infinitival clauses of purpose (Quirk *et al.* 1985, 1107), the first one of which is rendered in Italian with a gerund with an instrumental value "Avamys funziona *diminuendo l'infiammazione*" [Avamys works *by decreasing* inflammation caused by allergy], while the second one is rendered with a second coordinated main clause introduced by "e quindi" [and therefore] and with the verb in the simple present, so it describes the result of the drug's action: "*e quindi riduce* i sintomi di allergia" [and *it therefore reduces* symptoms of allergy].

Overall it can be said that within the fuzzy set of translations the translated patient information leaflet can be considered to be in a position that is very close to the core, i.e. to the prototypical idea of translation: same genre and generic conventions, same contents and same organization of content, very similar textual and linguistic organization.

The characteristics of this translation are obviously connected with the domain-specific character of the text (Garzone 2020). Information leaflets are seldom subject to cultural conventions, tend to be structured in bullet points or, at least, in short sentences each dealing with one topic, prefer repetition to the use of a potentially ambiguous pronouns, and feature

recurrent lexical bundles (Grabowski 2018)[9] which make this genre suitable for machine translation or computer-assisted translation. Indeed, it is often used as an example or a case study when discussing MT, translation memories, pre- and post-editing (O'Brien 2015, 11-12; Nitzche and Oster 2016; Čulo, Hansen-Schirra and Nitske 2017) or transediting (Schrijver, Van Vaerenbergh and Van Waes 2011).

Thus an important characteristic of specialized translations that qualifies them for the core of the set (or for an area of the set very close to it) is that they are suitable to be obtained by means of a computer-based rendition process, supplemented by transediting.

Lower Degree of Membership: The Newswire

As an instance of translation that has a lower degree of membership in the fuzzy set of translations, I shall use an Italian news wire (Manning 2008) translated by specialised news outlets and its English source text, released by an international news agency.

This pair of news releases has been taken from a corpus of texts focusing on the ongoing Middle East crisis and associated international terrorism, consisting of 400 news wires, comprising English source texts and their Italian translations, as well as 100 articles related to them published in *La Repubblica* online edition. The corpus was collected from January to June 2015 for a wider study (Garzone and Degano 2017) aimed at reconstructing the changes undergone by agency copy in the various steps of the news production process, i.e. in their translation from English into Italian and in the transfer, re-use and modification of the translated version into a news story.

The example discussed here includes only the English and the Italian versions of the newswire which provide an interesting example of rewriting, obviously determined by differences in journalistic cultures. It involves not only the transfer of information across languages, but also a high degree of manipulation and partial content reorganization. In the analysis, the categories traditionally used to describe translation procedures (Catford 1965; Newmark 1988; Vinay and Darbelnet 1995) are referred to, which are mostly focused on a micro-level and look prevalently at lexical and micro-

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[9] In patient information leaflets Grabowski (2018, 184) – following Biber's (2009) classification – finds a noticeable frequency of both multiword collocations, i.e. bundles composed only of content words (e.g. *package leaflet, possible side effects*), and multiword formulaic sequences, i.e. sequences consisting both of function and content words (e.g. *if you get any side effects, keep this medicine out of the sight and reach of children* (Biber 2009, 286-290).

syntactic choices. Therefore, in order to include phenomena at clause, sentence and occasionally even paragraph level too, reliance is also made on categories introduced by Lams (2010) for the analysis of rewriting in news services, as they were originally conceived to reconstruct variation in news narratives along "trajectories" (NewsTalk&Text Research Group 2011, 1846) from the original input provided by news agencies all the way to the output, i.e. the final newspaper article. Originally conceived for intralinguistic rewriting, the model has been adapted to make it suitable also to the investigation of interlinguistic transfer.

Here are the "trajectories" identified in the corpus of news agency copy across languages (for instances of all these trajectories, Examples 2 and 2a below):

(1) close rendition, i.e. verbatim reproduction of the ST (corresponding to Lams' "straight lift");
(2) condensation: the information is reproduced nearly completely but more concisely;
(3) displacement: a text segment (a phrase, a clause or a whole sentence) is extrapolated and entextualised in another part of the text (Silverstein and Urban 1996),[10] often with a change in deictics and/or in syntactic status;
4) deletion: deletion seems to be a recurrent strategy in the Italian translation of news agencies in English, as often translated news wires are more concise than the original ones, and omit segments of text, e.g. simple phrases or complements, or sometimes even complete clauses or whole sentences;
(5) shift: it involves a change in grammatical form from ST to TT through the procedure that Vinay and Darbelnet call "transposition" (Vinay and Darbelnet 1995, 36), i.e. change in word class, or – quite often – syntactic shifts, involving the reorganization of a clause.
(6) addition/expansion: it involves either the explicitation or repetition of a semantic component already included in previous elements of the text, or the insertion of details which are known, but not directly specified in the ST.

The following example shows an English text and its Italian version issued by the La Press News agency.

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[10] "Entextualisation", a notion originally introduced in anthropology (Bauman and Briggs 1990; Silverstein and Urban 1996; Blommaert 2005), refers to the extraction of meaning from one discourse and the consequent insertion of that meaning into another discourse through a process of de-contextualization or 'decentering', and 're-centering' in a different context (Silverstein and Urban 1996, 15).

Example 2

Al Qaeda's North Africa branch praises gunmen for Paris attack

LONDON, Jan 8 (Reuters) – Al Qaeda's North African branch praised the gunmen behind this week's killings at the Paris headquarters of the Charlie Hebdo weekly newspaper as "knight(s) of truth", a monitoring group said on Thursday.
The SITE Intelligence Group, which monitors radical Islamist organisations in the media, reported that Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) lauded the attackers with Arabic poetry on its Twitter account.
In France, a manhunt was under way for two brothers suspected of carrying out Wednesday's attack on Charlie Hebdo, a satirical newspaper which had published cartoons of Islam's Prophet Mohammad as well as other religious and political figures.
Ten journalists and two police officers were killed in the attack, which has raised questions of security in the Western world and beyond.
Many Muslims consider any depiction of the Prophet Mohammad to be against Islamic law.
AQIM has in the past killed French hostages in North Africa, and also clashed with French forces in northern Mali after Paris launched a military offensive in 2013 to dislodge Islamist fighters from the area.
<(Reporting by Raissa Kasolowsky; Editing by Sam Wilkin) REUTERS 182915+0000 20150108. Received by way of Telpress NewsReader at: 19:29 (GMT+1) in date: 08/01/2015>

LPN → *Charlie Hebdo, Aqmi elogia attacco: Aggressori cavalieri della verità*

Londra (Regno Unito), 8 gen. (LaPresse/Reuters) – Al-Qaeda nel Maghreb islamico (Aqmi) ha elogiato i due assalitori che ieri hanno fatto irruzione nella redazione del settimanale satirico francese Charlie Hebdo, uccidendo 12 persone, affermando che sono "cavalieri della verità".
Lo ha riferito il gruppo di monitoraggio di intelligence Site, affermando che Aqmi ha elogiato l'attacco di ieri con una poesia in arabo sul proprio account di Twitter.
Il settimanale in passato ha pubblicato vignette in cui è raffigurato il profeta Maometto, il che secondo molti musulmani va contro la legge islamica.
Aqmi ha ucciso ostaggi francesi in Nord Africa e si è anche scontrato con le forze di Parigi intervenute nel Mali settentrionale per fermare i combattenti islamici nell'area.

<Fonte Reuters - Traduzione LaPresse fbr/cba 082030 Gen 2015

The Italian text is obviously shorter, with whole paragraphs omitted and several displacements. In Example 2a the changes resulting from the translation and re-writing process are identified and classified according to the categories described above (an interlinear backtranslation into English is also provided):

Example (2a)

AL QAEDA'S NORTH AFRICA BRANCH PRAISES GUNMEN FOR PARIS ATTACK	LPN → CHARLIE HEBDO, AQMI ELOGIA ATTACCO: AGGRESSORI CAVALIERI DELLA VERITÀ *Charlie Hebdo, Aqmi praises attack: Aggressors "knight(s) of truth"*
1. LONDON, Jan 8 (Reuters) – Al Qaeda's North African branch praised the gunmen behind this week's killings at the Paris headquarters of the Charlie Hebdo weekly newspaper as "knight(s) of truth", a monitoring group said on Thursday.	I. Londra (Regno Unito), 8 gen. (LaPresse/Reuters) – Al-Qaeda nel Maghreb islamico (Aqmi) ha elogiato [*close rendition*] i <due> [*addition*] assalitori che ieri hanno fatto irruzione [*expansion*] nella redazione del settimanale satirico francese Charlie Hebdo [*close rendition*] <uccidendo 12 persone>* [*displacement from paragraph 4 + condensation*], <affermando che sono> [*syntactic addition*] "cavalieri della verità". [*close rendition*] *Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (Aqmi) praised the two attackers that yesterday irrupted into the headquarters of the French satirical weekly newspaper Charlie Hebdo killing twelve people, asserting they are "knights of truth".*
2. The SITE Intelligence Group, which monitors radical Islamist organisations in the media, reported that Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) lauded the attackers with Arabic poetry on its Twitter account	II. Lo ha riferito il gruppo di monitoraggio di intelligence Site [*close rendition*], <affermando che> [*syntactic addition*] Aqmi ha elogiato [*close rendition*] l'attacco [*metonymic shift*] di ieri [*addition*] con una poesia in arabo sul proprio account di Twitter [*close rendition*]. *This was reported by the SITE intelligence monitoring group, saying that Aqmi has lauded yesterday's attack with a poem in Arabic on its Twitter account.*

3. ~~In France, a manhunt was under way for two brothers suspected of carrying out Wednesday's~~ attack on Charlie Hebdo, a satirical newspaper which had published cartoons of Islam's Prophet Mohammad ~~as well as other religious and political figures.~~	III. [*deletion*] Il settimanale in passato ha pubblicato vignette [*close rendition*] in cui è raffigurato il profeta Maometto, [*syntactic expansion*] <u>il che secondo molti musulmani va contro la legge islamica.</u> [*dispacement from paragraph 5*] *In the past the weekly newspaper published cartoons where Prophet Mohammad is depicted, which according to many Muslims is against Islamic law.*
4. Ten journalists and two police officers were killed in the attack, ~~which has raised questions of security in the Western world and beyond.~~	
5. Many Muslims consider any depiction of the Prophet Mohammad to be against Islamic law.	
6. AQIM has ~~in the past~~ killed French hostages in North Africa, and also clashed with French forces in northern Mali after Paris launched a military offensive ~~in 2013~~ to dislodge Islamist fighters from the area.	IV. Aqmi ha ucciso ostaggi francesi in Nord Africa e si è anche scontrato [*close rendition + time complement deletion*] con le forze di Parigi intervenute nel Mali settentrionale [*condensation + syntactic shift*] per fermare i combattenti islamici nell'area [*close rendition with syntactic shift + time complement deletion*]. *In the past AQUIM killed French hostages in North Africa and also clashed with Paris' forces that had intervened in northern Mali to stop Islamic fighters in the area.*

An analysis of the trajectories between input and output as identified in Example 2a shows that only few segments of the target text derive from close rendition as there is a substantial re-elaboration in terms of content. Some lines are deleted from paragraphs 3 and 4, and so are two time complements ("2013" and "in the past": paragraph 6 > IV), while two whole sentences are displaced: the information about the number of casualties ("Ten journalists and two police officers were killed in the attack"), originally in paragraph 4, is moved to paragraph I where it is rendered as "uccidendo 12 persone", i.e. summing up the killed journalists and

policemen. Similarly the sentence "Many Muslims consider any depiction of the Prophet Mohammad to be against Islamic law", which is in paragraph 5 in the ST, is moved forward to paragraph III, and is turned into a relative clause attached to the translation of paragraph 3: "il che secondo molti musulmani va contro la legge islamica" . The information about the number of attackers, "two brothers", originally given in the deleted sentences in paragaraph 4, is also displaced and anticipated to paragraph I ("due assalitori"), although the information about them being brothers gets lost. Shifts, i.e. changes in word class, also occur, e.g "lauded *the attackers*" > "ha elogiato *l'attacco*", giving rise to a sort of de-agentivization of the object of the lauds, where the English version insisted on the subjects that perpetrated the action (gunmen, attackers, knights of truth). There is also a syntactic shift, involving the reorganization of a whole clause, e.g. "also clashed with French forces in northern Mali after Paris launched a military offensive … to dislodge Islamist fighters from the area" > "con le forze di Parigi intervenute nel Mali settentrionale per fermare i combattenti islamici nell'area" (paragaraph 6 > IV). Finally, several additions and expansions can be found, which in actual fact do not add anything to the meaning of the ST, but are obviously used to meet syntactic needs, in one case expanding a complement into a relative clause   ("cartoons *of* Islam's Prophet Mohammad" > "vignette *in cui è raffigurato* il profeta Maometto": paragraph 4 > III), and in another case adding a reporting verb "affermando che" and a form of "be" in paragraph 1 > I: "praised the gunmen…. as 'knight(s) of truth'", "ha elogiato i due assalitori *affermando che sono* 'cavalieri della verità'". These could also be interpreted as forms of explicitation, a recurrent trait of translated texts, whatever the language pair involved, which has been recognized as one of the potential translation universals (Laviosa 1998).

An evaluation of the rewriting procedures enacted to obtain the Italian version of the source newswire finds a significant degree of textual reorganization in the overall structure of the dispatches, involving a process obviously aimed at adapting the text to Italian journalistic style, usually more hypotactic than that of the Anglophone press, and news story conventions (Garzone and Degano 2017).[11]

As is customary in journalism, the ultimate aim for drafting texts to be tapped as sources by journalists (newswires, press releases) is to "pre-formulate" the language of the news story, so it can be "re-used" faithfully, indeed entextualised, in the final news article often by cutting-and-pasting

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[11] On Anglophone newswriting, see Cotter 2010 and Reuters 2014; on Italian journalistic style and news story conventions, see Salerno 2005 and Gualdo 2007.

complete sentences (Jacobs 1999; Catenaccio 2008; Jacobs and Van Hout 2009). Apart from that, in the digital era in press releases, preformulation is further justified by the fact that they can also reach the audience at large, without journalists' mediation, through institutional websites. The translator of the newswire is aware that she is producing a text that will be read directly by the end user. Thus in the example examined preformulation is part of the *Skopos* of the translation and has considerable weight in the overall organization of the translated text.

By Way of Conclusion

From the foregoing discussion it appears that in the contemporary world the conceptualization of translation has changed and become more flexible. Thanks also to the introduction of the associated notion of rewriting, it has been extended to embrace a wide range of metatextual products. These different perspectives diverge from the traditional, essentially prescriptive and source-oriented idea of translation, based as it was on prominence being given to its relationship to the ST. However, this traditional idea is comprised as a special case within a wider spectrum of metatextual products – departing along different dimensions from the proptotypical idea of translation – which I have proposed to conceptualize as a fuzzy set.

The gradual spread of this more dynamic and broader notion of translation has been favoured decisively by the emergence of target-oriented approaches in translation theory, which in turn – in a sort of virtuous circle – has its premise in the ever greater circulation of texts across languages, cultures, media and semiotic systems in the contemporary world. Thus the development of theories capable of accommodating new advances is matched by an evolution in the translator's profession which today, in addition to traditional translation assignments, also includes pre- and post-editing tasks, as well as transediting, transcreation, and localization.

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Translating the International Adoption Dossier: Focus on the Home Study Report

Emanuele Brambilla

Introduction

In the years 2018 and 2019, the Italian Commission for Intercountry Adoption authorised the entry into Italy of 1394 and 969 foreign children, respectively (CAI 2019; 2020). The arrival of adopted children is, therefore, subject to the opinion of this "newly created institution with its headquarters at the Prime Minister's Office", in charge of "guarantee[ing] that adoptions of foreign children come about in respect of the principles laid down by the Hague Convention of 29 May 1993 on the protection of juveniles and cooperation in relation to intercountry adoption" (CAI 2019).[1] Despite its crucial role in authorising "the taking in, nurturing, and rearing of biologically unrelated children in need of protection and care" (Post 2004, 68), this institution is not the sole enabler of the international adoption process in Italy. First, it is facilitated by *international adoption agencies* (Post 2004, 69-70); in the country there are fifty-one non-profit agencies,[2] which inform, train and assist prospective adoptive parents throughout the whole adoption process by attending to the procedures required abroad and supporting them in the post-adoption period. Second, the success of the international adoption process also depends upon the work of translators, who examine and adapt the *international adoption dossier* for international adoption agencies.

This relatively new text genre contains all the documents required by the native country of the adopted child. They include, among others, legal

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[1] The text of the Convention can be found at https://assets.hcch.net/docs/77e12f23-d3dc-4851-8f0b-050f71a16947.pdf (accessed 18th February 2020).

[2] The list of international adoption agencies in Italy is available at http://www.commissioneadozioni.it/gli-attori-istituzionali/gli-enti-autorizzati/albo-degli-enti-autorizzati/ (accessed 18th February 2020).

texts such as birth certificates and certificates from the Judicial Records Register, bank declarations containing financial information, reports written by a psychologist, and reference letters of all sorts shedding light on the applicants' eligibility and suitability for adoption.

The notion of *genre chain* as explained by Fairclough (2003, 31) might be thought to capture the essence of the dossier, in which "different genres are regularly linked together" (Fairclough 2003, 31) The more or less direct involvement in the adoption process of psychologists, physicians, bank clerks, court clerks, municipal employees and translators actually contributes

> to the possibility of actions which transcend differences in space and time, linking together social events in different social practices, different countries, and different times, facilitating the enhanced capacity for 'action at a distance' which has been taken to be a defining feature of contemporary 'globalization'. (Fairclough 2003, 31)

However, the dossier, as a process and a product alike, does not involve "systematic transformations from genre to genre" (Fairclough 2003, 31). In this sense, it is not even an instance of *genre mixing* (Bhatia 2014; Fairclough 2003), because the texts that compose it generally preserve their generic integrity and generic elements are not mixed. Like all reports, international adoption dossiers "are essentially informative but are always exploited for promotional purposes" (Bhatia 2014, 108), i.e. they provide information on prospective adoptive parents to foster their suitability and eligibility for adoption. Yet, promotional strategies are not used in those genres that are "essentially informative and traditionally non-promotional in intent" (Bhatia 2014, 103); for instance, the certificates drawn from the Judicial Records Register or the financial declarations issued by the Italian Revenue Agency do not contain promotional strategies but plainly describe the judicial and financial situations of the applicants. Similarly, the dossier must not be viewed as an instance of *genre colony* (Bhatia 2014, 65), as it is not a grouping "of closely related genres serving broadly similar communicative purposes" (Bhatia 2014, 67); the dossier, instead, gathers texts pertaining to the most diverse genres into a single document playing a vital institutional role in promoting eligibility for adoption. It could, then, be viewed as a hyper-genre (Giltrow and Stein 2009, 10), because it comprises and "enables several genres" (Giltrow and Stein 2009, 10); or, to put it simply, it must be understood as a jigsaw puzzle or a mosaic of genres, whose individual pieces provide a clear picture of the adoptive couple only when they are put together.

In light of the generic hybridity of the international adoption dossier and the need to translate it to enable the adoption process, the present study examines authentic Italian-language dossiers and their translations into English. Actually, the analysis of all the generic features of the dossier and the examination of the heterogeneous challenges posed by its translation is too broad an area to be adequately covered and systematically described in a single research paper. Therefore, this chapter focuses on the most representative among the documents that make up the international adoption dossier, i.e. the *home study report* (HSR).

The HSR is a preparatory document that is written and translated prior to the actual production and translation of the dossier. Drafted by the psychologist working for the adoption agency to preliminarily and succinctly inform authorities in the child's home country of various details regarding the prospective adoptive parents, the HSR contains, displays and exemplifies the most significant discursive features that can be regularly encountered during the analysis and/or translation of the dossier;[3] therefore, it lends itself to be examined and described in this chapter, which must, then, be viewed as the inception of a study addressing all the aspects of the international adoption dossier, a hybrid text that poses demanding challenges to the translator.

Material, Methodology and Aim

A parallel corpus of fourteen HSRs and their translations has been compiled. The documents were made available by *Mehala* Association, an international adoption agency based in the province of Lecco, which authorised the use of this authentic material, provided that sensitive personal information was not published or disclosed. The non-profit agency is accredited by the Central Adoption Resource Authority (CARA) – a statutory body of the Ministry of Women and Child Development of the Government of India – to process the applications of prospective Italian adoptive parents for adoption of Indian children; consequently,

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[3] Legal issues are not addressed in the HSR, with the exception of the short, standard sentence "Né i coniugi né alcun familiare o amico della coppia è stato mai coinvolto in procedimenti giudiziari" (translated into "Neither the applicants nor their relatives or friends have ever been involved in judicial proceedings"). The heterogeneous legal translation challenges posed by the various legal texts included in international adoption dossier will, therefore, be the topic of a separate paper.

Mehala mainly facilitates adoptions from India and, therefore, relies on IT-EN translation practices.[4]

The HSRs under analysis are, therefore, written in Italian and translated into English by the Italian freelance translators *Mehala* resort to. All the translators have a Master's Degree in Modern Languages or in Translation Studies, and receive a standard payment for every part of the dossier, which is charged to the adoptive parents. The translation of a dossier is commissioned to a single translator.

Considering the representative nature of the HSR, the comments on its genre features and translational aspects will also apply to the more extensive dossier, which will also be mentioned regularly in the following sections. The Italian HSRs and their English versions have been examined qualitatively, using as methodological tools the concepts of translation loss (Toury 2012, 292-293) and pragmatic quality (Newmark 1991, 125). In light of the heterogeneity of the subjects dealt with in the HSR in particular and in the international adoption dossier in general, the investigation has also drawn on the literature on LSPs (Garzone 2006), in order to glean discourse-analytical and translational insights regarding specialised discourse and technical vocabulary in the different spheres of professional life addressed in the texts.

Particular attention has been devoted to the translation of adverbials of stance (Biber and Finegan 1988) and hedging strategies (Hübler 1983), used by the psychologists who work for *Mehala* either to overtly express their attitudes, feelings or judgments towards the issues at stake or to modulate and reduce their commitment to the truth or the illocutionary force of their utterances. These discursive strategies, pervasive in the texts analysed, play a crucial role in determining the pragmatic force of the HSR and, therefore, demand that translators reproduce in the target language the psychologist's stance towards the applicants and their decision to adopt an Indian child.

In this respect, translation norms (Toury 2012) will be described but emphasis will also be laid on the need to draw prescriptive principles and methods from the analysis (Scarpa 2008, 87), with a view to providing a contribution to "the real world of translation pedagogy" (Scarpa 2008, 93). This eminently descriptive study, therefore, aims at not only illustrating the generic features of the HSR, but also at discussing how it *is* and *should be* translated. It is meant to present "descriptive norms based on solid empirical evidence drawn from professional translations but in a critical and, ultimately, prescriptive way" (Scarpa, Musacchio and Palumbo 2009,

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[4] The agency is also authorised to operate in Kenya and Burkina Faso.

39-40), in the spirit of "offering practical solutions to translation problems" and showing "both the advantages and disadvantages of choosing certain solutions rather than others" (Scarpa 2008, 92) in the translation domain of international adoptions.

The Home Study Report (HSR)

The HSR is the first document the translator faces in the dossier. Its length may range from three to four thousand tokens approximately. As regards topicality, the Central Adoption Resource Authority specifies that the

> Home Study Report (HSR) for purpose of Adoption is meant to give an assessment of the eligibility and suitability of the Prospective Adoptive Parents (PAPs) which includes social and economic status, family background, description of home & atmosphere therein and health status of the family. (CARA 2019)

This theme was first addressed by Alperson (1997, 42), who clarified that, despite its name, the home study – and hence the related report – is much more than a simple description of the applicants' home:

> The home study is *not* a description of your home. It is a profile of the type of person you are and the type of emotionally supportive and financially stable home that you will provide for a child. […]
> Basically, the home study aims to collect biographical information on the adoptive parent(s), their family backgrounds, why he/she/they are adopting, their personal and professional history, their feelings about raising children, their personal interests, and the qualities that make them potentially good parents.

To provide a clear overview of the environment the adopted child will be immersed in, the HSR is divided into different thematic sections, each covering a specific aspect of the past, present or expected future life of the adoptive family. In its "Draft Model Forms for Intercountry Adoption" (2015), the HCCH (Hague Conference on Private International Law) provides a "draft recommended model form" of the "report on the prospective adoptive parents" (2015, 21-34). The slightly different format provided in Schedule VII of the Adoption Regulations framed by CARA (2017) is followed closely by the *Mehala* psychologists. In particular, the *Mehala* report includes the following twenty-one sections, identified from letters a) to u):

a) Information on the couple and family context
b) Information on the family context
c) Financial situation
d) Description of the house and neighbourhood
e) Quality of current marital relationship
f) Attitude of grandparents, relatives and other important people towards adoption
g) Desired child and comments on prospective special needs
h) How they intend to organise themselves in anticipation of the child's arrival
i) Parental abilities and expectations towards the child
j) Preparation and training for adoption
k) Opinion on the promotion of the child's cultural heritage
l) Planning of the care of the child for all eventualities
m) How they intend to tell the child the story of his/her adoption
n) Psycho-social assessment of the couple
o) Judicial situation
p) Health conditions (physical and psychical)
q) Values
r) Motivation for adoption
s) References (names and addresses)
t) Analysis and general assessments
u) Specific recommendations

Sections a) and b) display bibliographical data in schematic and narrative forms, respectively. The particulars, qualifications, professions of the applicants and their relatives are listed and discussed; a) and b) are, therefore, mainly informative sections, as is section d), where the psychologist describes the applicants' house and lays emphasis on the neighbourhood and the quality of life in the community. Therefore, "the living space you have for a child is examined as part of the study, but it is not the main feature of the home study" (Alperson 1997, 42). The "main feature" of the HSR, i.e. the applicants' overall readiness and maturity to adopt (CARA 2017, 144), is discussed in the other sections. Evidently, the HSR is a document composed of heterogeneous parts; its topicality does not fall under one specific label, because it contains financial information, medical terminology and psychology notions describing the actual resources and moral qualities of the PAPs. In this respect, the translation of the HSR tests knowledge of specialised vocabulary, understood as "an essential component in a translator's competence, in spite of the possibility

of using dictionaries, glossaries and terminological data banks" (Garzone 2006, 13-14).

Financial Terminology

Financial and banking themes are addressed in section c) of the HSR and, in general, within different documents in the dossier, including the reference letters written by the applicants' employers, the financial declarations issued by the Italian Revenue Agency and the bank declaration(s) attesting that the current accounts of the applicants have a positive balance. Table 1 shows the sort of banking information that can be found in the HSR and, in general, in the dossier, together with the translation of the relevant excerpt.

SOURCE TEXT (ST)	TARGET TEXT (TT)
I coniugi hanno situazione finanziaria solida e stabile; il *reddito complessivo imponibile* per il 2015 è di TOT € derivante dal lavoro del signor X. Sono proprietari di un appartamento a Z, per il quale hanno *acceso un mutuo*, del valore di circa TOT Euro.	Mr X and Mrs Y have a solid and stable financial situation; the *aggregate taxable income* for the year 2015 is € SO MANY, totally deriving from Mr X's job. They own a flat in Z, for which they *have taken out a mortgage*; the market value of the flat approximately amounts to €SO MANY.

Table 1

As suggested by the above excerpts, the translators of the home study report are frequently confronted with financial and banking notions, and they are called upon to master technical terms and expressions such as *aggregate taxable income* or *to take out a mortgage*. The psychologist's aim in this section is to inform the Indian authorities that the financial situation of the applicants is solid; as a result, a series of phrases and expressions recur in the corpus, including *contratto di lavoro subordinato a tempo indeterminato*, *reddito da lavoro complessivo annuo lordo familiare, reddito fiscale da terreni*, *titolare di conto corrente bancario (cointestato) e libretto di risparmio postale*, *polizza assicurativa di rimborso*. In general, the analysis of target texts (TTs) indicates that the translators are at ease with this section, as resorting to *open-ended employment contract*, *yearly gross household income*, *taxable income from ownership of land*, *holder of a (joint) bank account and a savings account at the post office* and *reimbursement insurance policy* is their bread and butter.

Psychology Terms and Adoption-related Themes

Psychology concepts are also touched upon, in relation to adoptive parents and adopted children alike, occupying most of the sections of the HSR. Take the passage in Table 2, showing that the translator is confronted with the concept of *institutionalisation*, which is critical to adoption practices.

ST	TT
Si mostrano consapevoli delle conseguenze dell'*istituzionalizzazione* e della deprivazione psicomotoria oltre che affettiva dei bambini adottati.	They are aware of the consequences of *institutionalisation* and of the psychomotor and affective deprivation suffered by adopted children.

Table 2

Table 2 suggests that psychology concepts affect translation quality in that they compound not the actual interlinguistic transfer of the technical terms but rather the comprehension of their deep meanings and associated concepts. In order to grasp what the psychologist is referring to, the translator must first carry out a research inquiry to understand that *istituzionalizzazione* is "l'affidamento […] ad un istituto" and that

> L'affidamento […] ad un istituto non è incompatibile con lo stato di abbandono, in quanto la protrazione dell'affidamento a terzi oltre tempi ragionevoli è pregiudizievole per il minore. (Orsingher 2007, 44)

S/he must, then, look for the suitable equivalent, i.e. *institutionalisation*, which is defined as "the process of locating a person, a social group, an event, or an academic subject within an institutional context" (Harvey 2012). By widening his/her research, the translator will also find that "as applied to people, institutionalisation may refer not only to the incarceration of individuals in prisons, mental hospitals, etc., but also to the development of a set of traits or state of mind which ill-fits such people for a life outside the institutional context" (Harvey 2012). The observation of the corpus suggests that the translators have gradually grown acquainted with psychology-related terms and their meanings as, for instance, they also use the technical English term *institutionalisation* to translate Italian circumlocutions such as *esperienza in istituto*.

The concept of *ipostimolazione* is often mentioned by the psychologists in relation to institutionalisation, and the translators render it with either *understimulation* or *hypostimulation*. If the two terms can be considered synonyms, it is also true that, in English, terms prefixed with *hypo-* and

hyper- "belong to a very 'technical' register, so it is not unusual to use non-specialized expressions […] even in semi-specialized medical contexts" (Garzone 2006, 25). In light of this, the translator of the international adoption dossier should be informed that opting for less formal semantic equivalents might turn out to be the most appropriate strategy while translating the specialised but semi-formal HSR.

Other technical terms and expressions pertaining to the domain of psychology and, in particular, to the theme of adoption, include *famiglia disfunzionale* (*dysfunctional family*), *esperienza abbandonica* (*abandonment experience*), *bambini in stato di abbandono* (*neglected children*), *bambini in difficoltà* (*distressed children/children in distress*), *diritto di primogenitura* (*right of primogeniture*), *studio di coppia* (*couple's study*). These specialised terms can be found in those sections where the psychologist discursively displays his/her professional expertise; these sections clearly show that the translator's task is not limited to the replacement of single technical terms with their English counterparts, but covers the processing and interlinguistic transfer of more creative expressive solutions. Notably, the adoption of syntactic reformulation strategies (Hatim 2001, 70) appears to lie at the heart of the quality translation of these recurrent passages in which the psychologist gives free rein to his/her writing skills and to his/her will to argue in favour of the PAPs.

ST	TT
1) Entrambi ritengono un aspetto fondamentale la promozione del patrimonio culturale del bambino che adotteranno *per il pezzo di vita precedente e per il radicamento alla terra*.	Both X and Y believe that the promotion of the adopted child's cultural heritage is essential *considering the years lived by the child in another country, in which s/he inevitably took root*.
2) Il *pensiero adottivo* li accompagna da *tempo*, *ripreso dai coniugi in ripetute fasi*.	X and Y *have long thought* about adoption, *and they have considered it regularly*.

Table 3

Broadly speaking, Table 3 suggests that syntactic reformulation in the HSR can be viewed as an obligatory shift in translation which is "dictated by differences between linguistic systems" (Baker and Saldanha 2009, 271) but also as an optional shift "opted for by the translator for stylistic […] reasons" (Ibid.).

In particular, excerpt 1) shows that reformulation often results in the explicitation (Baker and Saldanha 2009, 104) of inelegant and/or ambiguous assertions, as the translator re-expresses "*per il pezzo di vita*

precedente e per il radicamento alla terra", which sounds rather vague, by means of the clause "*considering the years lived by the child in another country, in which s/he inevitably took root*", whereby the Italian nominal constructs are verbalised and made explicit. Examples of this kind proliferate in the corpus, where ambiguous sentences, such as "*I signori dimostrano di essere desiderosi di divenire genitori ma non bisognosi in questo stesso senso*", are regularly reformulated – thanks to the knowledge of contextual information – in order to produce unambiguous renditions, such as "*However, they are willing to become parents exclusively for the sake of the child*". The translator is, therefore, engaged in a constant effort of interpretation of the *vouloir dire* of the psychologist.

Excerpt 2) further suggests that syntactic reformulation in the HSR generally leads to stylistic elevation (Toury 2012, 137). The Italian past participle "*ripreso*" actually refers to "*il pensiero adottivo*" but initially appears to refer to the noun "*tempo*", thereby jeopardising readability. Opting for transposition, "where an SL word is rendered by a TL word of a different word class" (Baker and Saldanha 2009, 270), the translator turns "*il pensiero adottivo*" into "*have long thought about adoption*", shifts from hypotaxis to parataxis and manages to formulate a more transparent sentence.

However essential to ensure clarity and correctness in the TT, the translators' recourse to reformulation strategies raises the issue of respect for the stylistic devices of the psychologists, who often display a certain linguistic creativity. The contrastive analysis of the corpus shows that there is a constant tension between two choices: preserving the stylistic features of the ST, on the one hand, or reducing creative expressions to their literal meanings, on the other. Here are a couple of examples. Faced with the sentence "Pensano che il racconto [di come il bambino è stato adottato] dovrà essere *annegato nella quotidianità*", one translator opted for reducing the expression to its literal meaning and wrote "They believe that the narration [of how the child was adopted] will have to be *full of references to everyday situations*". Another translator, instead, when confronted with the creative "si è presto sentita accolta e benvoluta pur con il suo *pesante zainetto di esperienze sfavorevoli infantili* che portava con sé", probably felt that the psychologist's expressive fervour should be preserved; that's why s/he opted for the following translation: "X […] soon felt welcomed and appreciated, despite *the heavy little rucksack of unfavourable childhood experiences* she brought along".

The need to systematically implement syntactic reformulation strategies that arises from the analysis of the parallel corpus is instrumental in the translation of other documents in the dossier, especially the reference letters written by friends or acquaintances of the applicants. In one of

them, for instance, an inelegant sentence characterised by lack of agreement between two nouns and the respective adjective was corrected and reformulated by the translator, turning from "I loro occhi brillavano di *contentezza e commozione* quando ce l'hanno raccontato, *che è stata* subito contagiosa nei nostri cuori" into "Their eyes were shining with *joy and emotion* when they told us the news; *this joy* automatically filled our hearts, too". Notably, with the exception of not being specialised texts, the reference letters present the same discursive characteristics as the sections in which the psychologist fosters the eligibility of the PAPs. In this respect, the translator working for an international adoption agency must always be prepared to make sensible decisions before incorrect or ambiguous sentences and creative expressive solutions that reflect the arguer's view on the prospective adoptive parents.

Medical Terminology

Medical terms proliferate in the HSR, for example in those passages where the adoptive parents' inability to procreate is said to constitute the basis of the decision to adopt. If the sections in which the family is observed through a psychological lens generally enable the translators to reformulate the propositional content, the "medical" sections are decidedly more technical. Table 4 shows one of such sections and its translation; it also suggests that technical dictionaries are needed if the translators are not specialised in the field of medical translation, especially considering that they are typically not provided with specific glossaries by the international adoption agency.

ST	TT
Dopo la nascita di X nel 2011 alla signora viene riscontrato un *invecchiamento precoce delle ovaie* e *quantità e mobilità bassa degli spermatozoi* a carico del signor Z. Lo specialista propone loro l'*ovodonazione* alla quale non aderiscono preferendo da subito l'adozione.	After the birth of X in 2011, Mrs Y was diagnosed with *early ovarian ageing*; at the same time, Mr Z's fertility situation was reported to be characterised by *low spermatozoon quantity and mobility*. The specialist suggested *egg donation* but the applicants immediately opted for adoption.

Table 4

Table 4 shows that medical terms are used throughout most of the HSRs, every time the psychologist deals with how the lives of the applicants have been affected by a *diagnosis of couple infertility* (*diagnosi di infertilità di coppia*). Against all odds, medical terms are not primarily

found in section p) of the HSR, entitled "Health conditions (physical and psychical)". This passage is generally very brief and condensed in the sentence "Entrambi i coniugi godono di buona salute; nessun familiare soffre di patologie particolari", which is standardly translated into "The applicants both show good health conditions; no relatives suffer from any specific diseases". If one of the applicants suffers from a specific disease, this is specified in the section that, however, remains very concise (e.g. "X è una donna in salute; il marito Y sta bene pur soffrendo di diabete che tiene sotto controllo assumendo insulina 4 volte al giorno." = "X is in good health conditions; her husband Y feels well despite diabetes, as he takes insulin 4 times a day").

Medical issues are, instead, systematically addressed in section g), entitled "Desired child and comments on prospective special needs", where the psychologist lists the medical conditions that adopted children may have. Among the most frequently mentioned conditions are *epatite B* (*hepatitis B*), *palatoschisi* (*cleft palate*), *piede torto* (*clubfoot*), *labbro leporino* (*harelip*), *malnutrizione* (*malnutrition*), *deficit dell'udito non evolutivo o evolutivo* (*non-progressive or progressive hearing deficit*), *lievi malformazioni agli arti superiori o inferiori* (*slight upper- or lower-limb malformation*), *bambino nato sottopeso o nato prematuro* (*child born prematurely and/or underweight*), *difetto cardiaco che non necessiti operazione chirurgica* (*heart disorders that do not require surgery*), *bambino con vista debole o con strabismo lieve* (*visually impaired or slightly cross-eyed child*), *ritardo lieve nello sviluppo, negli apprendimenti o nel linguaggio* (*slight development retardation and/or slight learning or speech difficulties*).

Medical terms can, thus, be observed in the HSR, but they are also found in the dossier, especially in the medical certificates issued by the applicants' doctor after they have undergone a mandatory medical examination. Entitled "Certificato del medico curante per l'idoneità sanitaria all'adozione" ("Medical certificate of health suitability for adoption"), it is a standardised certificate compiled by the family physician to inform Indian authorities about the health conditions of the future parents. At the outset of the certificate, the doctor specifies whether "Non sussistono patologie croniche, contagiose o incurabili, clinicamente rilevabili che controindichino la funzione genitoriale" ("No chronic, contagious or incurable diseases have been observed which hamper parenthood") or "Le patologie clinicamente rilevate non inducono riduzione della capacità di lavoro, di guadagno, di relazione e consentono di attendere, dal punto di vista sanitario, alla funzione genitoriale" ("The diseases observed clinically do not determine a reduction in the patient's ability to work, earn

money or relate to others, thereby enabling parenthood, as far as health conditions are concerned"). A list of diseases follows (e.g. "patologie dell'apparato cardiocircolatorio" = "cardiovascular diseases", "patologie dell'apparato respiratorio" = "respiratory diseases") and the doctor ticks YES or NO depending on whether the patient suffers from the related diseases or not. In the former case, the doctor writes the name of the specific illness (e.g. "tiroidite di Hashimoto" = "Hashimoto's thyroiditis", "diabete di tipo 1" = "type 1 diabetes"). Notably, the international adoption agency also asks their freelance professionals to translate all the propositional content of the various stamps that are regularly found on the medical certificate. Acronyms, terms and phrases to be translated include *ASL* (*Local Health Authority*), *ATS* (*Agency for Health Protection*), *ASST* (*Territorial Socio-Sanitary Company*), *Cod. Reg. Med. Gen.* (*Regional Code of Family Doctors*), *Specialista in Medicina del Lavoro* (*Specialist in Occupational Medicine*), *Dirigente Medico* (*Chief Physician*) and other less frequently occurring lexical items, which, however, do not appear to be problematic in the translation context under analysis. As a general rule, the *Mehala* translators appear to be at ease with medical terms, as they are meticulously translated; in this respect, observation of the corpus suggests, again, that carrying out terminological enquiries (using either technical dictionaries or online resources) is an integral part of the translation of the HSR and the dossier.

Pragmatics

Despite the presence of technical terms pertaining to different professional domains, the main translational difficulties posed by the HSR do not stem from specialised vocabulary. Besides displaying the technical nature of the document, the previous paragraphs suggest that it presents itself as a very emotional text, in which sensitive bioethical issues are continuously dealt with.

In reading the HSR, the considerable presence of adverbials of stance (Biber and Finegan 1988) stands out, indicating that the psychologist is continuously engaged in the effort to praise the qualities of the PAPs in an attempt to promote their eligibility for adoption. In particular, "*generally* adverbials" and "*surely* adverbials" (Biber and Finegan 1988, 7) can be observed. The former are most often found in the form of *in generale*, which mostly performs the function of introducing statements that denote general conditions, attitudes and/or feelings of the applicants, as in "*In generale* la coppia sente di disporre di una rete familiare supportiva e presente". As regards translation, the Italian adverbial *in generale* is

translated with either *in general* or *broadly*, as shown by the translation of the sentence reported above: "*In general*, husband and wife feel they can rely on a supportive and present family network." "*Surely* adverbials" recur far more frequently and perform the more crucial pragmatic functions of highlighting the psychologist's stance towards the applicants' entitlement to adoption and reassuring the reader, i.e. Indian authorities, about the safety of the adopted child's new environment.

ST	TT
1) È *sicuramente* positiva la mia valutazione su di loro.	My assessment of the couple is *undoubtedly* positive.
2) In una fase successiva, potranno *certamente* contare sul supporto della madre di X.	Then, they will be able to rely on the help provided by X's mother.

Table 5

Table 5 shows that *sicuramente* and *certamente* are the most frequently occurring adverbs but it especially sheds light on the sporadic "disappearance" of stance adverbs in the TTs. In excerpt 2), the adverbial *certamente* is not translated into English, providing the English-speaking reader with a slightly less convinced version of what the applicants will offer to the child. In light of the fundamental institutional role of the HSR, the meticulous translation of "*surely* adverbials" is paramount if the translator wishes to faithfully reproduce the psychologist's discursive endeavours to persuade Indian authorities of the applicants' suitability for adoption.

Regarding the translator's duty to consider issues of pragmatic quality (Newmark 1991, 125) when translating the HSR, a further comment is in order. Among the various thematic sections into which the text is divided, section g) "Desired child and comments on prospective special needs" is particularly touchy, as the psychologist reports on the adoptive parents' expectations towards the adopted child and, especially, their feelings, wishes and hesitations with regard to the possibility of adopting a child with special needs. "Special needs" is a term used to describe "'hard to place' children, a category that includes older children, sibling groups, disabled children, and biracial or minority-racial children" (Post 2004, 69). As a result, this section of the HSR is not only strewn with medical terms denoting the health conditions of the desired child; it is also characterised by a significant recourse to hedging, understood as a "manipulative non-direct strategy of saying less than one means" (Hübler 1983, 23). Hedges are used by the psychologist precisely to mitigate the impact of those utterances regarding the health conditions that the adoptive parents would

like their future child to present or *not* to present. Table 6 shows two excerpts drawn from the section in question and their translations into English.

ST	TT
1) I coniugi XY *desidererebbero* accogliere nel loro nucleo familiare uno o più minori. *Appaiono* flessibili sull'età, *disponibili ad accogliere due fratelli dai 4 agli 8 anni*. Sono consapevoli del significato di bambino special needs e mostrano *alcune aperture* dando *disponibilità* ad accogliere un bambino che non abbia handicap psichici o fisici o con problemi sanitari gravi e invalidanti come una sieropositività, un autismo, problemi cardiaci gravi.	Mr X and Mrs Y *would like to* welcome one or more minors in their family. *They are* flexible as regards the age of the child/children, as they are *ready to adopt two siblings aged between 4 and 8*. They are aware of the notion of "child with special needs" and show *openness*, as they are *ready* to welcome a child who does not have psychic or physical handicaps or serious and invalidating health problems, such as HIV positivity, autism or serious heart disorders.
2) I coniugi sono *disponibili ad* accogliere un solo minore entro i 4 anni di età.	Mr X and Mrs Y are *willing* to adopt one child who does not exceed 4 years of age.

Table 6

Table 6 indicates that the conditional mode (*desidererebbero*) is frequently used to report the applicants' feelings and desires about their future child without making them sound too direct or prescriptive; this is a strategy of which the translators seem to be aware (*would like to*), as attested by the renditions of other verbs in the conditional mode, such as *valuterebbero l'eventualità di* (*they would ponder over the possibility to*) and *accoglierebbero* (*they would welcome*).

A recurrent hedging verb is *apparire*, used by the psychologists to take precautions against the possibility that the applicants are not as eligible as they seem to be or, more broadly, to take their distances from certain utterances regarding the PAPs or their biological or previously adopted children. Excerpt 1) of Table 6 shows one occurrence of *apparire* (*appaiono*) in the ST column and the failed rendition of this pragmatically crucial verb (*They are*) in the TT column. Actually, the observation of the corpus indicates that this verb is seldom translated. For instance, "X […] *appare* intelligente ed è molto loquace" turns into "X *is* […] clever and very talkative" and "La relazione tra i due coniugi *appare* positiva e sincera" is translated into "The relationship between X and Y *is* positive and sincere". However trivial these shifts may appear at first glance, these

translations actually end up betraying the cautious verbalisations of the psychologists' assessments of the PAPs.

The psychologists' habit to resort to "strategies aimed at modulating or reducing the [...] writer's commitment to the truth or the illocutionary force of an utterance" (Garzone 2006, 73) is also revealed by the significant presence of the adjective *disponibile* and the noun *disponibilità*, reiterated in the corpus. The meaning of the Italian adjective is specified below:

> Riferito a persona, non occupato, libero da legami o impegni o impedimenti, che può quindi eseguire il lavoro o il compito eventualmente richiesto, o *accettare* una proposta, un incarico, un'offerta di collaborazione, *un'assunzione di responsabilità*, e sim.[5] (author's emphasis)

Even though the adjective and noun in question have a positive connotation, the context in which they are inserted clarifies that they actually serve the purpose of diverting the reader's attention from what the adoptive parents do *not* want and emphasise the positivity of their authentic, albeit restrictive, desires. Being *disponibile* entails *accepting*, *taking on responsibility* and the adjective conjures up a certain enthusiasm; however, the utterances displayed in Table 6 actually set a limit on the age of the desired child. In case 1), if it is true that the applicants would welcome two siblings aged between 4 and 8, it is also true that they would not be glad to welcome younger or, especially, older ones. The same holds true for case 2), where the parents would only be pleased to welcome a child aged 4 or less. In this respect, the psychologists seem to skilfully use the adjective *disponibile* for "softening" purposes. Faced with this pivotal Italian adjective, the translators must choose between different English qualifiers, having different connotations. In the first case the translator opts for *ready*, while in the second s/he opts for *willing*, with the former denoting a moderately higher degree of reluctance than the latter. Table 6, thus, shows that *disponibile*, a stylistic feature of the STs, is translated in different ways in the TTs, and this is relevant to the debate on the translator's leeway in modifying the psychologist's stance. A certain alteration can also be observed in the translation of the Italian noun phrase *alcune aperture*, turned into *openness* in the TT: while the Italian adjective *alcune* (*a few*) indicates that the parents want a child but with certain

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[5] *Vocabolario Treccani* online, s.v. DISPONIBILE: Referred to a person, not busy, free from bonds, commitments or obligations, who can therefore accomplish the job or task required, or *accept* a proposal, an assignment, a collaboration offer, *take on a responsibility*, and sim. (author's translation).

reservations, the English noun evokes total willingness and, therefore, provides a slightly distorted picture of the parents' wishes. Notably, the challenges to the attainment of pragmatic quality outlined in this section are not only encountered in the HSR but can crop up throughout the whole dossier, especially in the reference letters written by the employers, friends or acquaintances of the applicants.

Conclusions

In light of the analytical findings, the HSR can be said to pose terminological challenges to the translator, as the different sections into which it is divided address themes that pertain to different professional domains. In particular, financial, psychology and medical themes are continuously dealt with, testing the translator's specialised knowledge and terminological preparation.

Over and above the challenges posed by specialised lexicon belonging to different genres and LSPs, however, the HSR appears to offer fertile ground for the study of hedging in a discursive and translational perspective. In particular, the results suggest that translating this initial document of the international adoption dossier imposes the use of pragmatic strategies (Baker and Saldanha 2009, 284) to take care of the illocutionary force of the psychologist's report, whose translation will be read and judged by the authorities in the child's country. The focus on the Italian lexical items used to promote the applicants' eligibility sheds light on the crucial pragmatic function performed by verbs such as *apparire* or verbs in the conditional mode. Moreover, emphasis on the terms harnessed to mitigate the force of the parents' expectations towards the child triggers the debate about the sensitiveness of concepts such as preparedness, readiness, inclination, willingness and openness. Therefore, the analysis stresses the need for the translator to identify and weigh up those "quality words that state the feeling of the text", because they need to be "retained precisely to maintain the pragmatic quality" (Newmark 1991, 125). More broadly, because of its double technical and emotional nature, the home study report can be considered illustrative of the whole dossier: it anticipates the themes that will subsequently be expanded in the latter text, and it introduces the translator to an adventurous but treacherous translation terrain, which offers invaluable research opportunities in academic contexts.

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DISCURSIVE DIFFERENCES IN NATIVE AND TRANSLATED CORPORATE SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY REPORTS: A CORPUS-BASED COMPARISON OF STANCE

SARA CASTAGNOLI

Introduction: Corporate Social Responsibility Discourse and Its Translation

The unprecedented economic globalisation that has characterised the recent decades, the internationalisation of business practices and the need to get access to new markets have driven more and more companies worldwide to publish disclosures in English as a *lingua franca* of the international business community. Although such documents can sometimes be the result of multilingual text drafting – that is, the process whereby parallel (viz. comparable) versions of a text are produced simultaneously and independently in several languages, especially by large multinational corporations – English versions of corporate texts are most often obtained through translation. Economic translation has thus become central in translation practice and has increased in volume and impact since the mid-1990s (Biel and Sosoni 2017). Besides regulatory disclosures addressing international investors and institutional stakeholders, such as annual financial reports, a range of text types targeting varied categories of stakeholders are nowadays the object of translation, including press releases, product descriptions and manuals, promotional texts and Corporate Social Responsibility reports, which constitute the focus of the present research.

Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) can be described as a concept whereby companies integrate social, environmental, ethical, consumer and human rights concerns into their business strategies and operations, taking responsibility for their impact on society and providing their contribution to sustainable development, over and above their legal obligations (European Commission 2011). CSR reporting has gathered momentum in

the last 20 years and, in spite of its non-obligatoriness, it has become standard practice for companies of all sizes, aiming to ensure that their CSR activities are clearly and effectively communicated. Implementing and sharing a CSR strategy today is necessary for companies for both socio-normative and economic reasons. On the one hand, a company's commitment towards indisputable ideological and moral principles – such as environmental protection, labour standards, equal employment, fair trade, corporate ethics etc. – and its social utility, favour its social legitimation (Van Leeuwen 2007; Breeze 2012; Fuoli 2012; Hart 2014; Bondi 2016a). In turn, such commitment improves a company's image and reputation, enhancing its trustworthiness and its relationships with stakeholders (Breeze 2013, 84; Malavasi 2010, 212; Fuoli 2018); this provides the business with a competitive market advantage and ultimately contributes to achieve better long-term performance (Hartman *et al*. 2007; Bruhn and Zimmermann 2017, 3).

The increased production of self-standing CSR reports has spurred interest in and research on the discursive features of this textual genre. Several scholars have pointed out that, while descending from traditional financial reports, CSR reports are not just referential texts providing objective, factual accounts of corporate sustainability-related actions, but constitute a hybrid discourse genre (Fuoli 2018; Bondi 2016b; Bhatia 2012; Malavasi 2011). In fact, discourse-analytic studies focusing on the genre's specific lexico-grammar have observed that the language of CSR reports is often overtly promotional, with features that would be more usually associated with public relations and advertising, including self-praise, use of evaluative and emotionally-loaded words, superlatives and other items contributing to generate a positive public image (Breeze 2012; Bhatia 2012; Catenaccio 2012; Goletiani 2011; Malavasi 2011). Therefore, in functionalist terms, while being *informative* on the surface, CSR reports can probably be best categorised as an *operative* text-type, aimed at inducing a response from recipients.

Common self-representation strategies aimed to construct and promote a positive corporate image in English CSR reports were identified by Fuoli (2018) through a corpus-based comparison of annual and corporate social responsibility reports. The study was based on the analysis of *stance*, i.e. of the linguistic encoding of "personal feelings, attitudes, value judgments and evaluations" as described by Biber *et al*. (1999) and Conrad and Biber (2000). Fuoli found that English CSR reports make extensive use of resources expressing attitudinal and epistemic stance – that is, attitudes, emotions, judgments, intentions, desires and standpoints – whose aim is to convey commitment, integrity and benevolence, thus playing an important

part in the discursive construction of corporate identity and the negotiation of interpersonal relations. In addition, confirming previous research on other business communication genres (Garzone 2004; Breeze 2013), the study indicated a pervasive use of first-person plural narratives, which contribute to building and conveying a corporate persona which takes responsibility for its actions and results, sharing its ethical commitment and establishing a dialogic relationship with its stakeholders.

Considering the crucial role of stance in the characterisation of the CSR genre in English, and assuming that the recipients of CSR reports may have related discursive expectations, the aim of this study is to assess whether CSR reports translated into English from Italian share the same discursive features as native reports or, on the contrary, to what extent they are set apart by differences in the use of stance devices. Discursive aspects of economic translation have been largely under-researched (Biel and Sosoni 2017), possibly because this is often perceived as a technical field where terminology has the lion's share and which is characterised by limited cross-cultural issues. As an exception, studies on marketing and advertising translation (De Mooij 2004; Torresi 2010) have highlighted the importance of culture-related values and culturally appropriate communication in these creative and promotional subfields, which frequently require cultural adaptation and mediation. Setting out from the assumption that CSR reports constitute a hybrid genre, more ritualised than promotional texts but still dynamic and culture-sensitive (see the next Section), this paper investigates whether reports translated into English as a lingua franca (ELF) display culture-related discursive differences compared to native English reports. Besides reporting on a corpus-based comparison of native and translated English CSR reports, the paper also sets out to examine which extra-linguistic and extra-textual factors may contribute to shaping the linguistic make-up of translational products, in an attempt to discuss their explanatory value (De Sutter and Lefer 2020).

Background Research

Understanding how CSR is communicated in different linguistic and cultural contexts is essential in order to plan effective multilingual communication which takes into consideration stakeholders' needs and expectations in different countries. However, while comparative research on business-related aspects of CSR is extensive – for example its links to managerial and consumer attitude, legal and institutional requirements, etc. (see review in Williams and Aguilera 2008) – fewer studies have set out to

explore the influence of national cultural norms on the more textual and linguistic aspects of CSR discourse, especially in a contrastive perspective.

As a result of several standardising efforts – of which the Sustainability Reporting Standards issued in 2018 by the Global Reporting Initiative[1] arguably represent the most successful example – the CSR report constitutes nowadays a rather standardised genre in terms of communicative purposes, disclosure contents and textual structure (Yu and Bondi 2017; Bondi and Yu 2018). Nonetheless, some studies have observed that cross-linguistic/cross-cultural differences do exist. Bondi and Yu's (2018) contrastive analysis of Italian, Chinese and English reports, for example, shows that in spite of substantial universality in terms of common rhetorical structure and moves, cross-cultural variations can be observed in the actual scope and length of the different sections of the report. Lexical-terminological differences, on the other hand, were found by Hartman *et al.*'s (2007) comparison of English CSR reports issued by US-based and EU-based multinationals: according to the authors, these were due to the tendency for the former to focus on financial justifications for CSR, whereas European companies tended rather to emphasise moral and sustainability reasons – besides financial ones – in their reports. No information is provided about the nativeness or non-nativeness of the reports included in the analysis.

Because of the relative newness of the CSR genre and its closeness to a more traditional reporting genres such as the annual financial report – and more particularly with the section known as 'CEO Letter' or 'Letter to Shareholders', which is similarly hybrid in nature (Hyland 1998; Garzone 2004; Breeze 2012) – it also seems sensible to draw on existing contrastive literature in that sub-domain. Focusing on lexical-grammatical differences between native English and comparable ELF texts, Garzone (2004) found that corporate statements written in English by Italian companies were characterised by a lower frequency of the pronoun *we* and a higher occurrence of impersonal and passive forms than texts produced by multinationals located in other countries, arguably due to interference from specialised discourse conventions in the Italian language. Similarly, De Groot (2008) observed cross-cultural differences concerning moves and rhetorical strategies across English annual reports of Dutch and British corporations, including a significantly larger use of first-person plural pronouns in British texts; and Huang and Rose's (2018) contrastive analysis of CEO letters in English from Chinese and Western banks revealed significant variations in the use of metadiscourse markers.

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[1] https://www.globalreporting.org/

In a previous study which the present paper draws upon, Castagnoli and Magistro (2019) investigated the use of first-person plural deixis (henceforth *we*-references) in a corpus of native English and Italian CSR reports, and found the latter to be characterised by a much less extensive use of *we*-references (normalised frequency of 2.5 per thousand words, against 26.5 instances ptw in English texts). The lower degree of personalisation of Italian reports also "shined through" in their respective English translations (3.3 occurrences ptw), suggesting that the translated reports under scrutiny were characterised by more distant self-representation forms than their comparable native counterparts. In a subsequent study, Castagnoli (in print) further noticed differences in verb collocational patterns for the personal pronoun *we* in native and translated reports, which therefore appear to use different corporate presentation strategies.

Analysing Stance in Native and Translated Reports: The Study

This paper sets out to complement the findings presented in Castagnoli and Magistro (2019) and Castagnoli (in print) through a more comprehensive analysis of discursive resources that can be used in CSR reports to express corporate commitment and position-taking (i.e. stance). The aim is to detect a wider range of textual realisations of these communicative functions besides first-person narratives (exemplified by (1a) below): for the sake of example, (1b-1d) illustrate cases of third-person narratives where the subject is, respectively, the corporate name (1b), the noun *group* (1c), or a longer noun phrase synecdoche referring to the company (*our environmental initiatives* in (1d)).[2]

> (1a) We **believe** that delivering on our seven sustainability principles will allow our business and our communities to prosper in a changing world. [Hydro Tasmania 2016, AUS]
> (1b) Royal Mail **is committed** to equality, diversity and fairness. We expect UK suppliers to support this commitment… [Royal Mail 2016, UK]
> (1c) The group **aims** to build a culture and people capabilities to manage the ongoing diversified growth and transformation of the business. [Santam 2015, ZA]

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[2] First- and third-person narratives may even co-exist within the same report, as shown in (1b).

(1d) Our environmental initiatives **aim** to protect the planet while improving efficiency, reducing costs and preserving our ability to do business in the future. [Abbott 2016, US]

As shown by the above examples, although the level of personalisation is lower in third-person narratives, it is the semantic meaning of the chosen verbs (in bold) that ensures the expression of involvement and commitment, through the rhetorical strategy of personification. Consequently, third-person narratives do not necessarily convey images of more distant, less committed companies.

Based on literature and preliminary remarks (Scarpa 2008, 179-182; Castagnoli (in print)), it is further hypothesised that third-person narratives of the type epitomised by examples (1b) and (1c) represent very common realisations of stance in English CSR reports translated from Italian, because of discourse transfer from their Italian sources. A high frequency of third-person and impersonal narratives might explain the significantly lower level of personalisation vis-à-vis native reports previously observed by Castagnoli and Magistro (2019).

The study is based on the specialised corpus fully described in Castagnoli and Magistro (2019), which contains English and Italian CSR reports published between 2012 and 2017 by large and medium companies working in a variety of sectors, most notably energy, financial services, food and beverage, and construction. The corpus comprises four subcorpora: native English reports (CSR-EN-REF), translated English reports (CRS-EN-TT), native Italian reports representing the source texts for CSR-EN-TT, and reference native Italian reports. Each subcorpus is about 2 million tokens in size. Table 1 provides summary information about the two English subcorpora that will be considered for the purposes of this contribution.

Sub-corpus	Description	No. texts	Tokens
CSR-EN-REF	Original English reports (30 UK, 25 US, 10 AUS, 7 ZA, 6 NZ, 4 IRL)	82	2,221,236
CSR-EN-TT	Translated English reports	59	2,125,489

Table 1: Summary corpus information

Before carrying out the analysis of stance proper, an exploratory comparison of native vs. translated English reports on the basis of their respective keywords was performed using the dedicated function on the Sketch Engine platform.[3] The native and the translated corpus were

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[3] http://www.sketchengine.eu/

compared to each other to identify the words which are significantly more frequent in one corpus than in the other, with a focus on common words (in order to avoid the extraction of both proper names and domain-specific terms – which would depend on the sectors in which the companies included in the two sub-corpora operate). As shown in Figure 1, the extracted keywords lend tentative support to the hypothesis that third-person narratives are more prominent than first-person narratives in CSR reports translated from Italian: indeed, the words *Group* and *company*, as well as the possessive adjective *its*, stand out as distinctive of translated CSR reports, whereas *we*-references like *our*, *we* and *us* turn out to be characteristic of native texts.

Word		Word		Word		Word	
1 the	•••	11 system	•••	1 our	•••	11 more	•••
2 of	•••	12 for	•••	2 we	•••	12 a	•••
3 Group	•••	13 Italian	•••	3 have	•••	13 across	•••
4 in	•••	14 its	•••	4 business	•••	14 performance	•••
5 with	•••	15 project	•••	5 report	•••	15 this	•••
6 company	•••	16 plant	•••	6 to	•••	16 or	•••
7 Italy	•••	17 service	•••	7 that	•••	17 us	•••
8 which	•••	18 i	•••	8 help	•••	18 as	•••
9 by	•••	19 order	•••	9 program	•••	19 review	•••
10 activity	•••	20 main	•••	10 include	•••	20 be	•••

Figure 1: Lemma keywords for translated (left) and native reports (right)

Method

For the purposes of the study, the frequency of selected attitudinal and epistemic stance markers identified by Fuoli (2018) as the most distinguishing for the genre is compared across the native and translated subcorpora;[4] these were integrated with additional stance markers –

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[4] A number of items included in Fuoli's original lists were discarded because they were considered less relevant in the framework of this study. For example, while he subsumes ability adjectives (e.g. *able/unable*) and willingness adjectives (e.g. *committed/determined/eager*) under the same category, the present analysis only focuses on the latter set of adjectives – which overtly express commitment, while

mainly nominal forms – derived from exploratory analyses of the corpus. Tables 2 and 3 provide the complete list of items included in the analysis, accompanied by illustrative examples taken from the corpus. Focusing on the listed lexical markers rather than on the subjects expressing them allows for the identification of both first-person and third-person narratives, and possibly of passive and impersonal forms too (see examples).

Communicative Function: expressing desire, intention, willingness	
	Lexical markers, with example(s)
desire/intention verbs	aim, commit, crave, dedicate, hope, intend, look, mean, necessitate, need, plan, require, seek, strive, try hard to, want, wish, work hard to, would like [+ *to/that* complement clause] • *We* aim *to be transparent in reporting of our targets and performance.* • *We* work hard *to build enduring relationships with our suppliers and take an honest approach to communication.* • *We* hope *that these factory-led solutions will do more to address the root problems and will be more earnestly adopted…*
desire/intention nouns	aim, goal, hope, intention, objective, purpose, wish • *Our ultimate* aim *is to ensure that every employee can bring their best each day, and that our employee make-up reflects the customer base that we serve.*
willingness adjectives	committed, dedicated, determined, eager, willing [+*to*-complement clause] • *AIB is* dedicated *to supporting today's budding entrepreneurs…*
willingness nouns	attention, commitment • *Our* commitment *to providing our employees with a safe, enjoyable, rewarding and inclusive work environment drives the overall diversity program.* • *Particular* attention *is dedicated to the topic of innovation.*

Table 2: Attitudinal stance markers, used to express desire/intention/willingness

the others are mainly exploited to underline a company's achievements and capabilities. In other cases, items were excluded from the analysis after a preliminary examination of concordance lines revealed that they were used in irrelevant contexts: for instance, verbs like *imagine, suspect, suppose* were not included in the search for perspective-taking verbs after assessing that they were never used with that function in the corpus.

Communicative Function: expressing standpoint	Lexical markers, with example(s)
perspective-taking certainty verbs	know, realise, realize, understand [+ complement clause] • *We* know *that fuller lives are also made possible through a passion for scientific exploration.*
perspective-taking likelihood verbs	believe, consider, expect, think [+ complement clause] • *We also* believe *that our employees and the people or organizations acting on their behalf must engage in high standards of ethical and transparent business practices.*
certainty adverbs	actually, admittedly, assuredly, avowedly, certainly, clearly, decidedly, definitely, doubtlessly, evidently, incontrovertibly, indeed, indisputably, irrefutably, manifestly, obviously, patently, plainly, surely, unambiguously, unarguably, undeniably, unequivocally, unquestionably, veritably • *This challenge is* certainly *pivotal for the future of Gruppo...*
likelihood adverbs	allegedly, apparently, arguably, conceivably, formally, hypothetically, ideally, likely, maybe, officially, ostensibly, outwardly, perchance, perhaps, possibly, potentially, presumably, purportedly, reportedly, reputedly, seemingly, superficially, supposedly, technically, theoretically, unlikely • *But* perhaps *our most consistent effort has been in the launch of the first year of the European Press prize to encourage quality...*
certainty adjectives	apparent, certain, clear, confident, convinced, definite, evident, impossible, inconceivable, incontestable, incontrovertible, indisputable, indubitable, irrefutable, manifest, possible, obvious, patent, plain, positive, sure, true, unambiguous, unarguable, undeniable, undoubted, unmistakable, unquestionable, untrue, well-known [+ *that*-complement clause] • *We are* confident *that BMI Healthcare remains well positioned to...*
likelihood adjectives	alleged, arguable, conceivable, disputable, doubtful, dubious, imaginable, improbable, indefinite, likely, not certain, not clear, not sure, possible, presumable, probable, questionable, reputed, supposed, uncertain, unclear, unlikely, unsure [+ post-predicate complement clause] • *However, given the uncertainty in the estimation process, it is* likely *that the final outcome will prove to be different from the original....*

evaluation adjectives	[it is] crucial, essential, fundamental, imperative, important, necessary, paramount, vital
	• *It is* crucial *that our employees are able to work in a safe and healthy workplace.*
certainty nouns	certainty, conviction, no doubt [+ *that*-complement clause]
	• *Our Group has chosen to accept this challenge, in the* conviction *that business development cannot be separated from sustainable...*
likelihood nouns	belief, view [+ *that*-complement clause]
	• *This ambition is deeply rooted in the* belief *that gender diversity improves decision-making, inspires our people and ....*
modal verbs	must, should, will

Table 3: Epistemic stance markers, used to express standpoint

The procedure for the identification and quantification of stance markers in the corpus relied on a combination of semi-automatic techniques and manual analysis. The Sketch Engine was used for all the steps. First, the items included in the lists were searched for in the corpus using the Concordancing function: items belonging to the same category were first searched simultaneously (to get overall numbers), then the relative and normalised frequency of the most salient markers was computed. The search was done for lemmas, in order to retrieve all inflected forms. Then, pairwise Log-Likelihood tests were performed to determine whether the differences observed in the frequency of stance markers between the native and translated subcorpora were statistically significant. Log-Likelihood values were considered to be statistically significant when equal or greater than 15.13, corresponding to a significance level of $p<0.0001$. Effect size – i.e. the percentage difference of the frequency of a word in two corpora – was also assessed using the %DIFF measure (Gabrielatos and Marchi 2012).[5]

No manual pruning of concordances was performed: given the relatively large size of the corpus used for the study, this would have required time and resources far beyond those available. A cursory examination of concordance lines suggests that this decision might have an impact on the reliability of modal verb counts (modal verbs often being used not only to talk about companies' actions and decisions), while the

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[5] All tests were performed considering raw frequencies, with the aid of the tool developed by Lancaster University (UK) and available at http://ucrel.lancs.ac.uk/llwizard.html. Negative %DIFF values indicate that the particular word has a higher normalised frequency in the translated corpus, which is used as 'reference' corpus.

number of irrelevant hits appears to be lower with respect to the other items. This will be considered in the next section, which summarises the results of the analysis.

Results

This section examines the distribution of items expressing stance in the two subcorpora, starting with overall counts for each category and then proceeding to analyse in more detail the frequency of markers used to realise specific communicative functions.

Figure 2 shows that stance markers expressing desire/intention/ willingness (i.e. 'attititudinal' markers in the graph) represent the prevailing category in both subcorpora, with essentially similar frequencies. Larger differences can be observed as regards the use of 'epistemic' markers (i.e. items used to express standpoint and to take position) and modal verbs, which appear to be significantly more frequent in the native subcorpus (LL 298.65 and %DIFF 95.93, LL 231.05 and %DIFF 39.20 respectively). In the next sections we will take a closer look at each category in order to gain a deeper understanding of these differences and of how stance markers are used in native and translated reports.
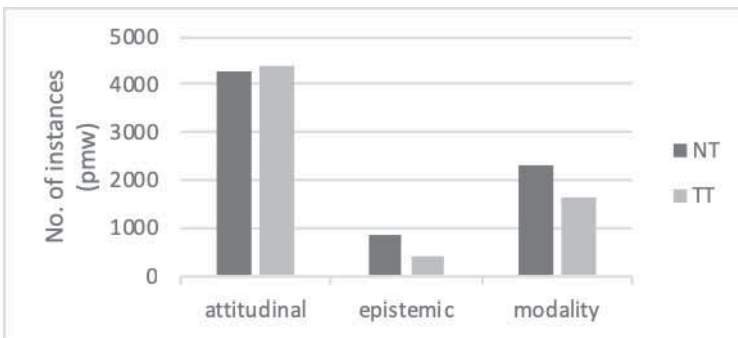
Figure 2: Distribution of stance categories across corpora

Expressing desire/intention/willingness

Fig. 3 shows the frequency and distribution of the different types of attitudinal markers in CSR reports. Desire/intention verbs and nouns represent the most frequent categories in both native and translated reports; however, while verb markers are more frequent in native reports, translated reports display a higher frequency of noun markers, and in both

cases differences are statistically significant (LL 177.62 and %DIFF 39.34, LL 50.88 and %DIFF -16.17 respectively). Willingness adjectives appear to be similarly represented in the two subcorpora, while willingness nouns are statistically more frequent in translated reports (LL 95.51 and %DIFF -27.60).

The two noun categories were integrated into the analysis after examining the search results for the verbal and adjectival items included in Fuoli's original lists, which highlighted some surprising findings. In particular, the frequency of the willingness adjective *dedicated (to)* appeared to be unusually high in translated reports, as shown in Figure 4 (LL 406.33, %DIFF -83.36).
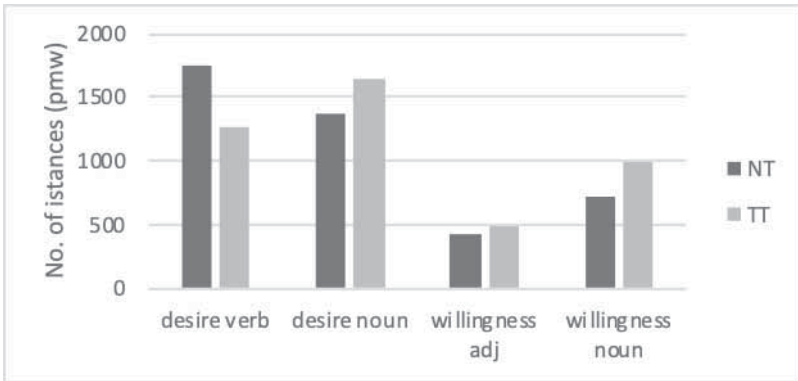
Figure 3: Frequency and distribution of attitudinal stance markers
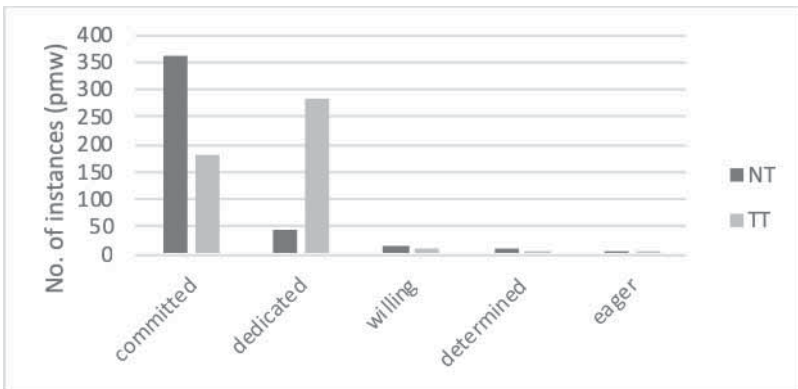
Figure 4: Frequency and distribution of willingness adjectives

In order to investigate how the word was actually used in the translated subcorpus, I extracted Concordances and observed that it often appeared in contexts like (2a-2b), which I believe can be considered as expressions of attitude and commitment, but also in less relevant contexts mainly referring to the objective of some corporate product/programme/action (2c-2d) or in irrelevant contexts introducing the contents of specific parts of the reports (2e).

(2a) A great deal of *attention* is also **dedicated** to the monitoring of specific indicators indirectly correlated to the number of injuries. [Autogrill 2016, IT]

(2b) The utmost *attention* is **dedicated** to the human and professional profiles of these customer service professionals. [Banca Generali 2016, IT]

(2c) There is a significant increase in the average number of *hours* **dedicated** to training courses per employee with respect to past years (…), due primarily to the activation of an important training plan… [Fastweb 2016, IT]

(2d) Wind Tre has *departments* **dedicated** to digital innovations and the partnerships necessary to implement them for both residential customers (consumers) and, above all, business customers. [WindTre 2016, IT]

(2e) The Report includes five chapters **dedicated** to the "Electricity Service", the "Environment" and "Personnel". [Terna 2016, IT]

Examples (2a) and (2b) illustrate a recurrent strategy to express attitude in translated reports, which consists in using the collocation *pay/dedicate/ devote attention to* – especially in its passive form – in order to convey a company's willingness to care about specific aspects. Hence, the decision to carry out separate searches for the nouns *commitment* and *attention*: while the lemma *commitment* appears with similar occurrences in both subcorpora, *attention* can be found in the native subcorpus with much lower frequencies and a wider collocate range, and thus appears to be a distinctive trait of translated reports. Whether examples (2c) and (2d) can be considered equally relevant is less obvious: in fact, while they refer to corporate actions which are indicative of guiding principles and intentions, this connection is not explicit but needs to be inferred by readers.

A much clearer indicator of discursive differences is the item *committed (to)*, whose frequency in translated reports is less than half the frequency in native reports (LL 126.71, %DIFF 96.29). This suggests that this expression, which is typical of the CSR genre in native English and

carries meanings of willingness but also accountability, is largely underused in translated reports.

A similar trend can be noticed with respect to desire/intention verbs, most of which are significantly underrepresented in translated reports compared to native reports (see Figure 5). The verb *strive* – which is typical of CSR reports as it "expresses a genuine and earnest effort towards a goal (and) evokes positive evaluative meanings of determination, tenacity and humbleness" (Fuoli 2018) – is the one with the largest significance difference (LL 139.82, %DIFF 384.19). However, even the most frequent item in the group, i.e. the verb *aim* – which is used to emphasise objectives and ambitions for the future, is significantly underused in translations (LL 23.52, %DIFF 36.24). Exceptions to the trend include the verbs *wish* (whose difference is not statistically significant) and *would like* (whose difference is significant only at p<0.01), while *to intend* is significantly more frequent in translations (LL 34.83, %DIFF -57.55). As emphasised by Fuoli (2018), the verb *intend* is a more neutral stance verb, which conveys definite commitment and rationality: its higher frequency in translated reports may depend on the preference for impersonal forms in subject position – indeed the verb is usually preceded by subjects like *the company, the Group* or a corporate noun – for which the choice of "emotionless" verbs might be considered more appropriate. Vice versa, the higher degree of personalisation of native reports might explain the larger use of verbs which have some emotional connotation, like *aim*, *want*, *strive, commit* and *hope* (all significantly more frequent in native reports).
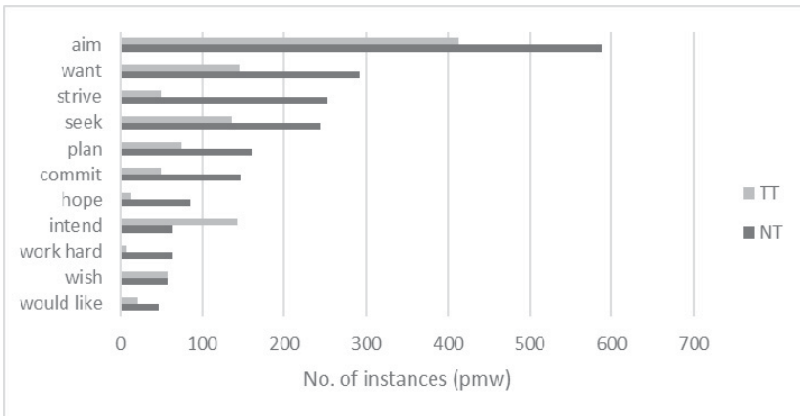
Figure 5: Frequency and distribution of desire/intention verbs

Summing up, considering that the figures concerning the adjective *dedicated* are likely to distort the overall count of attitudinal stance markers in Fig. 2, it seems that the rhetorical strategy of expressing desire/ intention/willingness in order to highlight the "human side" of companies and display commitment – which is typical of native English reports – is not fully exploited in translated reports.

Expressing Standpoint

The second category of stance expressions under examination includes so-called epistemic markers, used by companies to articulate the beliefs and principles which guide their actions and to express their standpoint on the topics covered in their CSR reports. For the purposes of the analysis, the category includes verbs, adjectives and adverbs expressing either certainty (e.g. *to know*, *obvious* and *clearly*) or likelihood (e.g. *to believe*, *probable* and *maybe*).

As shown in Figure 6, the communicative function of taking position is mainly realised in both subcorpora through verb constructions belonging to the likelihood class. Among these, the verb *believe* – which is used to communicate the company's credo and commitment to CSR – accounts for more than 70% of occurrences in native texts, whereas it is significantly underrepresented in translated texts, where it accounts for slightly more than 50% (LL 349.77, %DIFF 479.34).
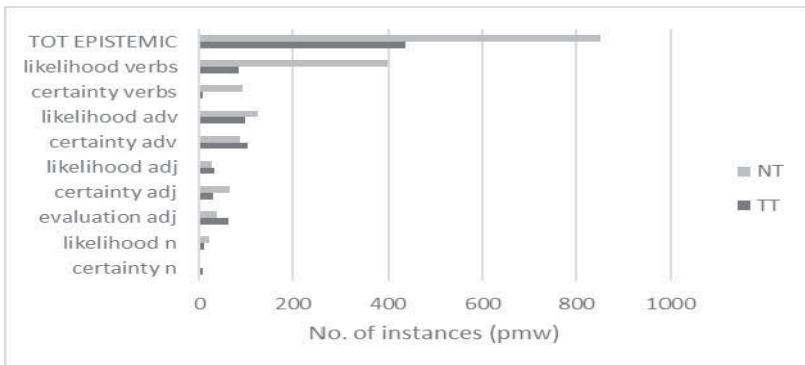
Figure 6: Frequency and distribution of epistemic stance markers

The hypothesis that this difference might be compensated by a larger use of the nouns *belief* and *view* (as in the expressions *our belief/view that*) is not supported. Similarly, while the verb *expect* is often used in native

reports to emphasise expected CSR-related actions by company's stakeholders (see example (3)), which are also indicative of the company's principles, this rhetorical strategy is never used in translated reports.

> (3) We require high standards of behaviour from all our employees and **expect** them to act with courageous integrity in the execution of their duties at every level. [HSBC 2013, UK]

Certainty verbs like *know, understand* or *realise* – which were also found by Fuoli (2018) to be distinctive of CSR reports – are used to acknowledge the risks and challenges inherent in corporate activities and to show that stakeholders' concerns are taken into due consideration, as exemplified by (4a-4c). In this way companies present themselves as attentive and caring organisations. Again, these items are significantly underrepresented in translated reports (LL 175.90, %DIFF 989.80), which therefore might sound less sympathetic and less keen on establishing and conveying commonality of interests.

> (4a) Cromwell **understands** that it is important for employees to have the flexibility required to effectively manage their work and personal commitments whilst maintain an effective work/life balance. [Cromwell 2016, AUS]
>
> (4b) We **know** that we need to put people first, and that human rights is our number one material issue. For these reasons we invest in our communities. [Kathmandu 2016, NZ]
>
> (4c) While we view physical health as critically important, we also **realize** that supporting emotional and financial health is equally vital in meeting the needs of a diverse and multi-generational workforce. [State Street 2016, US]

The lower frequency of epistemic verb constructions in translated reports is partly compensated by a higher occurrence of impersonal sentences including an evaluative adjective like *important, vital, essential*, exemplified in (5a-5b). However, the frequency difference between native and translated reports has a lower level of significance (LL 13.18, corresponding to $p < 0.001$, and %DIFF -39.64), and usage differences can also be observed. For instance, the expression *it is necessary* – the most common of the surveyed constructions in translations – is never used in native reports, where items like *it is critical/imperative/vital* are found in larger numbers than in translated reports.

(5a) To pursue the company objectives, it is **essential** to develop forms of dialogue and constant interaction with both internal and external stakeholders, in order to understand their needs, interests and expectations of various kinds. [CIR 2016, IT]

(5b) In this race, hectic at times, it is **necessary** for companies to base their roots on three basic pillars for a credible and sustainable development: innovation, people and curiosity. [Piaggio 2016, IT]

Finally, considering the modal verbs *must*, *should* and *will*, which express obligation/necessity and volition/prediction, they do not appear to display a different trend: while *must* – which is used to underscore the "moral side" of companies and to portray themselves as authoritative, responsible supervisors (Fuoli 2012) – has approximately the same number of occurrences in native and translated reports, both *should* and *will* appear to be significantly underused in translations. The discrepancy is particularly marked for the modal *will* (LL 243.08, %DIFF 47.76), in spite of the fact that forward-looking statements play an important part in the discursive construction of a positive corporate identity and in the discursive legitimation of companies (Bondi 2016a). Due to the impossibility to manually clean all occurrences and to space limitations, the actual behaviour of modal verbs will not be analysed here in detail (but see Castagnoli (in print) for comments on the different distribution of *we will (not)* in native and translated reports).

Discussion

This study has compared the expression of stance in native English CSR reports and in English CSR reports translated from Italian, with a view to investigating differences in the way this discursive strategy is used to construct and convey corporate identity.

The analysis has confirmed that companies use a variety of stance resources in their CSR reports in order to build their corporate identity and portray themselves as committed and caring corporate citizens, as described in existing literature: the frequent expression of desires/intensions underscores their involvement and commitment, while the use of epistemic stance markers allows them to highlight their corporate credo and their standpoint on important CSR issues, aiming in particular at showing commonality of interests with stakeholders.

However, the analysis has also revealed that these discursive strategies, which favour corporate legitimation, are used to a much lesser extent in English CSR reports published by Italian companies: in fact, while Italian companies largely draw on the same pool of discursive resources, their

frequency in translated reports is significantly lower compared to native counterparts. While the lower level of personalisation of translated reports (Castagnoli and Magistro 2019) might explain the lower frequency of stance markers expressing desires and beliefs, which imply a "human" subject, the hypothesis that these could be compensated by a parallel increase in third person narratives and more impersonal markers because of the influence of Italian discursive preferences (Garzone 2004) was disproved. Impersonal sentences (e.g. *it is necessary that*) and nominal markers (e.g. *the attention dedicated to*) are indeed more frequent in translated texts, which suggests that Italian companies make larger use of less explicit, indirect representations of commitment; however, the total frequency of stance expressions remains significantly higher in native reports. Close concordance analysis has also highlighted usage differences.

Looking at possible motivations for the observed peculiarity of translated reports, discourse transfer from Italian source texts appears as the most likely explanation. However, and in spite of the negative aura usually surrounding the word *transfer* (and *interference*) in translation studies, where the concept is often associated to poor translation quality and translator inexperience, I would like to conclude this paper by taking into consideration a range of extra-textual, social factors which might explain, or even justify, this observed "fidelity" to the discursive practices of Italian source texts.

As part of the study reported in Castagnoli and Magistro (2019), a short survey was circulated among the Italian companies whose CSR reports were included in the corpus in order to obtain very basic information about their translation practices. More precisely, they were asked a) who had been in charge of the translation – i.e. whether internal personnel or external translators, and whether to their knowledge the translator was a native-speaker of English, and b) if a translation brief including the company's stylistic preferences had been provided. Responses were received from 27 (out of 59) companies. With respect to the first question, 18/27 companies answered that translations had been entrusted to external translators or agencies (of these, only 3 were specified to be native); 7/27 reports had been translated by external translators and subsequently revised by internal personnel (internal editors or managers, both native and non native); 2/27 reports had been drafted/partly translated internally, and then completed/revised externally. As regards the second question, 16/27 companies did not provide any translation brief; in 4 cases, it was further specified that it was not deemed necessary because the translator/agency had previously collaborated with the company; in 2 cases, no guidelines were provided but the text was then

"carefully revised" by internal staff. On the contrary, 10/27 companies did provide a brief, mainly concerning terminology (4) or coherence with other corporate documents/previous translations (3).

Although stylistic guidelines were mentioned explicitly only by few companies, interesting remarks emerged which suggest that positions in this respect are considerably varied. On the one hand, some companies commented that translators were given "*freedom of expression to make sure that the translation reads well*",[6] showing at the same time awareness of the importance of target language appropriateness and reliance on translator competence. The importance of style was also explicitly acknowledged in three answers which, however, emphasised the importance of editorial intervention by internal staff, one of which is reported below because it is particularly insightful:

> *what we ask the agency is to* produce a translation which is extremely faithful to the Italian text*, because it's during the drafting phase that we define the "voice" of our narration. After receiving the translation, a team of internal managers read it to make sure that it respects our stylistic preferences and the tone we chose in the writing phase.*

At the other end of the spectrum, comments like "*it was not necessary to provide guidelines because the translator had already worked with us and* the text was not particularly difficult", and "*the English report is* simply *the translation of the Italian report*", suggest limited awareness of the complexities of translation and cross-cultural communication. In the light of the above remarks, it appears that Italian companies most often (explicitly or implicitly) expect translators to hand in English versions of CSR reports which faithfully reproduce the corresponding source texts with respect to both contents and discourse features.

Another reason why translators might decide to produce close renditions is that, when translating for the international corporate community, it is not possible identify a monolithic target audience with well-defined discursive expectations: the readership is undefined, fragmented. In addition, the differences brought to light by the study are unlikely to result in real cultural misunderstanding, so it is possible that translators believe that no 'intercultural mediation' is needed to improve access to the text (Katan 2004): sticking to the source text, especially in the absence of a translation brief, would thus represent the safest option (Pym 2015).

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[6] All translations and emphases are mine.

Concluding Remarks

The study has shown that English CSR reports translated from Italian do not fully exploit and conform to the discursive features of the CSR report genre in English. As expressing stance is not as common in translated as in native English reports, further research is necessary to understand which other strategies are used in CSR reports produced by Italian companies to construe corporate identity, convey corporate image, and ultimately enhance legitimation. Reception studies would also be needed in order to evaluate whether such partial compliance with genre-related discursive expectations can have repercussions on text effectiveness, target-reader response and, ultimately, corporate image and performance (see e.g. De Groot 2008).

From the perspective of Translation Studies as a discipline, the paper has also emphasised a number of factors and constraints that can have an impact on the translation process and ultimately determine features observed in translated texts, namely the use of English as a lingua franca, (explicit or implicit) translation brief, multiple authorship, editorial intervention, translator expertise and risk avoidance: investigating their influence is essential to reach more insightful levels of description.

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Phraseological Patterns in Specialised Translation: Improving the Quality of Translated Texts

Francesca L. Seracini

Introduction

Phraseology has been defined as the study of "phraseological word combinations" (Kjær 1990, 4), i.e. of the co-occurrence of linguistic elements that form one semantic unit (Gries 2008, 5-6). It is an interdisciplinary area of research (cf. Kjær 2007, 514) which is developing into an independent "sub-discipline of linguistics" (Hoffmann, Fisher-Starcke, and Sand 2015, 1).

Despite the fact that there is no clear consensus among scholars as to what constitutes a formulaic sequence, the following features identified by Gries (2008, 5-6) can be considered as distinguishing factors: 1) co-occurrence of a word-form with two or more linguistic items; 2) above-average frequency of that co-occurrence; 3) possibility of adjacency or discontinuity between the linguistic items in the sequence; 4) possibility of various degrees of flexibility as regards the linguistic items in the sequence; 5) the sequence forms one unit of meaning.

Phraseological patterns are, in Wray's (2002, 9) words, "pre-fabricated: that is, stored and retrieved whole from memory at the time of use, rather than being subject to generation or analysis by the language grammar". In language learning, becoming familiar with phraseological units represents a challenge for students since "unknown chunks can be harder for a learner to recognize as unknown than, for example, unknown words" (Wible 2008, 173). As Wible (2008, 173) points out, one of the difficulties is represented by the fact that there is "no indication in text that a particular string of words constitutes a chunk", nor that two or more single words should be considered as bundles rather than single units (Wible 2008, 167). Research has also highlighted how students find it difficult to re-use previously

learned phraseological sequences in written production (cf. Jones and Haywood 2004; Coxhead 2008, 157). Phraseology therefore presents a challenge for language teachers, who strive to encourage students to learn language as formed by phraseological units rather than single words (cf. Coxhead 2008, 158).

These difficulties pose a further challenge when students are faced with the task of translating a text from their native language into English. Using appropriate collocations in the translated text has been identified as a potential source of problems for translators regardless of their experience (Newmark 1981, 180; Hatim and Mason 1990, 204; Baker 1992, 54; Garzone 2007, 218-219; Mossop 2014, 94), mainly due to source language interference (Hatim and Mason 1990, 204). Consequently, phraseology can be considered as a key criterion to determine the quality of a translation (Gouadec 2007, 24; Colson 2008, 201; Prieto 2015, 24).

Studies into phraseology have widely applied corpus linguistics as a methodology since its focus on association patterns (Biber, Conrad, and Reppen 1998, 5) in language, as well as its interest in recurring patterns in texts, are well suited for research in this field. Association patterns, i.e. the "ways in which groups of linguistic features commonly co-occur in texts" (Biber, Conrad, and Reppen 1998, 7), are identified on the basis of their frequency in a corpus (cf. Granger and Paquot 2008, 28-32; Goźdź-Roszkowski and Pontrandolfo 2018).

Considering the relevance of corpus linguistics in phraseology, the present work addresses the issue of how corpus-based materials can be used with students in the translation classroom. A series of corpus-based tasks that aim at developing an awareness of specialised and semi-specialised collocational patterns are proposed and discussed.

These tasks adopt a corpus-aided discovery learning (CADL) approach, i.e. an approach where students take on an active role in the learning process and engage in activities that lead them to identify recurrent patterns and formulate hypotheses as regards their use in a corpus. In order to establish whether these activities can be beneficial to students, a study was carried out with Italian postgraduate students of English attending a 30-hour course on specialised L1-L2 translation in the area of international management and tourism. The present work is structured into three parts: the first part provides an overview of background theories and research, the second part outlines the framework and the method; the third part presents the tasks and reports on the results of the study.

Corpus-aided Discovery Learning

Since the late Eighties, corpora have been widely used in lexicography (e.g. COBUILD) and in applied linguistics as a source of language teaching materials and for syllabus design (cf. Higgins 1988; Flowerdew 1993). In a situation where the linguist draws on corpus-based research to produce tools and materials for the learner, "the applied linguist acts as a filter between the corpus and the learner" (Gavioli 2001, 108). With a corpus-aided discovery learning (CADL) approach, instead, "learners are given or asked to come up with a relatively unstructured task involving corpus analysis" (Bernardini 2004, 102) and formulate their own hypotheses as regards language use based on direct observation of the corpora (cf. Reppen 2010).

Johns's (1991, 2) data-driven learning (DDL) approach, based on the idea that "the language-learner is also, essentially, a research worker whose learning needs to be driven by access to linguistic data" is at the basis of CADL. In Johns's (1997, 100) view, language learners are as "language detective[s]" who have to "recognize and interpret clues from context" and "take part in [their] *own* profiles of meaning and uses" (Johns 1994, 297, emphasis in the original). By means of this inductive learning process, students develop the ability to perceive "similarities and differences" and to form and test hypotheses (Johns 1994, 297). The importance of noticing the features of a linguistic item and recognizing patterns when learning a language is highlighted by Schmidt (1990, 139), who observes that "[i]f noticed [a linguistic form] becomes intake".

The benefit of this approach can also be seen in terms of transferable skills since the students develop an ability to research and learn, which goes beyond the mere language issue, as Huang (2011, 113) observed in her study of the CADL approach applied to English grammar in an undergraduate-level course. Similarly, Nesselhauf (2004, 140) points out that "asking learners to look for mistakes, or rather for differences in learner and native speaker language, can increase learner autonomy and train the learners' general ability to notice such differences" (cf. also Bernardini 2004, 108).

Research has shown that, despite the emphasis of CADL on the student's own analysis and interpretation of the data, the role of the teacher for the success of this approach is crucial. As Huang (2008, 26) points out,

> corpus-learner interactions are not replacements for learner-to-learner and teacher-learner interactions. Teachers have a special role in corpus-aided learning and must facilitate access to the online corpora, help students pose appropriate questions, and ensure that the focus remains on the learning objective.

In their study conducted on a class of Indonesian undergraduate students of English, Yanto and Nugraha (2017) found that concordance lines were perceived as difficult to analyse by students at first, and that the CADL approach required guidance from the teacher. The need for the teacher's support in CADL does not only concern the use of the tools, but also the analysis and interpretation of the data (Bernardini 2001). Thurstun and Candlin (1998, 278), however, have found that the degree of mediation needed from the teacher can vary depending on the student: some students require more guidance from the teacher, while others prefer independent study. According to Johns (1997) the teacher should mediate between the student and corpora by providing ready-made corpus-based materials. Similarly, Sripicharn (2010, 375) recommends using handouts with data extracted from the corpus prepared by the teacher rather than asking the students to access the corpus directly until they become familiar with data observation. Students may also benefit from working with small corpora which will display a more limited number of concordance lines for each query, compared to a larger corpus (Sripicharn 2010, 376). As regards student engagement, Huang (2008, 23) suggests that students work most effectively with a CADL approach when they are guided towards questions that they feel are particularly relevant for them. Thurstun and Candlin (1998, 278) recommend varying the type of concordance-based activities in order to avoid weariness.

As Flowerdew (2009, 328) points out, "[t]he power of the corpus approach lies in the combination of frequency data regarding all the words in a corpus and the verbal environment in which these words occur". It is therefore not surprising that various scholars have emphasised the usefulness of corpora in teaching and learning collocations (Sun and Wang 2003; Gaskell and Cobb 2004; Kizil and Kilimci 2017). Ward (2007, 28) calls attention to the fact that

> [t]eaching collocations as a class involves two steps. The first is raising students' awareness of the existence and frequency of collocations. […] The second step is teaching the process of reading collocations as chunks.

As Flowerdew (2009, 331) observes, in concordance lines students are able to recurrently *see* a word combination, which is more effective than merely being told about it by the teacher. One additional benefit of using corpus-based approaches when teaching formulaic sequences is that they also provide support to non-native teachers who may at times feel insecure about collocational patterns (Flowerdew 1996).

Various studies have investigated the use of the CADL approach in ESP teaching and learning. Based on his study of the phraseological patterns in a corpus of Introductions from cancer research articles, Gledhill (2000, 131) observes that "[p]hraseology is part of the defining characteristics of the discourse community" and that "[c]ommunicative competence in the LSP includes a subconscious knowledge of collocations". Consequently, this knowledge is something that must be acquired by the members of a discourse community (Gledhill 2000, 131). Ward's (2007, 20) study of the relation between collocation and technicality in a corpus of academic engineering texts led to the consideration that what students require most in terms of vocabulary is knowledge about the collocational behaviour of key specialised lexis.

Flowerdew's (1993) study based on a corpus of transcriptions of biology lectures provides an example of how the identification of the most frequent phraseological patterns of key vocabulary in a corpus can be used to design a course syllabus and materials. Thurstun and Candlin (1998) developed materials and activities for students unfamiliar with English for Academic Purposes based on the concordances of key vocabulary. Their study confirmed that corpus-based tasks are effective in addressing the vocabulary specifically needed for academic writing, as well as its collocational patterns.

As regards translation teaching and learning, the value of corpus-aided practice for translation students has been highlighted by various scholars. Bernardini (2004) emphasises the fact that translation pedagogy and language pedagogy should be complementary, and that, consequently, translator training should share aims and methods with language teaching. As Postolea and Ghivirigă (2016, 53) point out, "a very important part in the making of specialist registers and texts is played by specialised collocations" and "helping students acquire competences relative to the identification and processing of collocations should become an important objective in specialised translation classes". Similarly, Kübler, Mestivier, and Pecman (2018, 816) maintain that collocations are among the most frequent mistakes that students can avoid making by using corpora.

Combining various types of corpora with the use of the Web as a corpus has also been explored in translator training. Kübler's (2003) experiment carried out on a group of undergraduate and postgraduate students studying specialised translation and language engineering, shows that using the Web as a corpus for translation practice can be particularly effective in specialised domains where neologisms are frequent. Moreover, this type of training provides future translators with the skills required by the labour market.

Corpus Design and Method

A monolingual corpus comprising 37 texts in English in the field of international management and tourism was compiled in order to develop *ad hoc* practice materials. Based on the definition of a corpus as a "large and principled collection of natural texts" (Biber, Conrad, and Reppen 1998, 4), articles from British/US scientific journals, extracts from specialised books and popularised articles from magazines/websites were included in the corpus. These texts reflect the text-type, genre and specialised language of the passages that the students were given to translate from Italian into English throughout the course.

The size of the corpus, which totals 778,856 tokens and 17,706 types, is relatively small. However, according to Sinclair (2004, online) the lexical distribution of specialised corpora is more "concentrated" compared to general language corpora, "and therefore […] a much smaller corpus will be needed for typical studies than is needed for a general view of the language". Similarly, Zanettin (2012, 43) maintains that "the more specialized a corpus, the more likely it will be that a typical term or phrase from the domain in question will recur in it". Moreover, considering Sripicharn's (2010, 376) view that it's easier for students to carry out tasks on small corpora and on a limited number of concordance lines, the small size of the corpus provided more workable materials.

The focus of the corpus-based tasks was on the translation into English of prepositional phrases, multi-word terms and term embedding collocations in the domain of international management and tourism. Multi-word terms are intended as "collocates of a generic term which form more specific multi-word terms of varying degrees of terminologicality" (Biel 2014, 180). Typically, they are formed by 'adjective + noun' or 'noun + noun' structures. Term embedding collocations indicate what can be done with the object expressed by the noun (Biel 2014, 180). Their structure is typically 'noun + verb'. The practice materials were developed with the aid of AntConc 3.4.3m concordance software[1] using the following functions of the tool: Concordance, File view, Clusters/N-Gram, Collocate.

As regards the study carried out with the students, a CADL approach was adopted. The tasks were used either to pre-teach collocations before a translation task, or to guide students to self-correct their translational choices (cf. Watson Todd 2001), or as a basis for class discussion. The activities were based either on the problem areas concerning collocational

[1] AntConc 3.4.3m developed by Laurence Anthony, https://www.laurenceanthony.net/software/antconc/.

patterns that emerged from the translation tasks the students were given each week throughout the course, or on typically critical areas in L1-L2 translation. Given the limited amount of time, and based on the theories illustrated in the previous section whereby the CADL approach is more effective when students are guided by the teacher in their analysis and interpretation of the data (cf. Johns 1997; Bernardini 2001; Yanto and Nugraha 2017), the concordance lines and the tasks were prepared beforehand and given to the students as handouts. The students were given an overview of corpus linguistics tools and methods, but they were not given direct access to the corpus or the concordancer.

In order to assess the students' progress, they were asked to translate three different specialised passages with the aid of an Italian/English bilingual dictionary and an English monolingual dictionary at three different stages of the course: 1) at the start (prior to the CADL activities), 2) half way into the course and 3) at the end of the course. The student's translations were corrected and the mistakes as regards collocational patterns were classified into set categories and calculated separately in the three translation tasks. The results were compared and the ratio between correct/wrong answers in the three translation tasks was compared to measure the students' progress.

Corpus-based Practice Materials

In this section the practical activities that the students were asked to carry out in class each week throughout the course are presented. The following tasks were developed from the corpus: 1) analysing concordance lines and formulating hypotheses concerning the collocational patterns; 2) completing gap fill exercises; 3) combining corpus-based tasks with a monolingual dictionary; 4) combining corpus-based tasks with a bilingual dictionary; 5) using the World Wide Web as a corpus. As mentioned previously, these tasks were presented to the students as handouts and they were asked questions that drew their attention to specific linguistic items. These types of tasks are what Johns (1997, 101) defines as 'closed' tasks, since the answers are known by the teacher in advance, similarly to what happens in a science class where the students conduct an experiment.

Task 1: analysing concordance lines and formulating hypotheses concerning the collocational patterns

This type of task was based on the source texts in Italian that the students were asked to translate into English. For example, the students were asked to identify the appropriate term-embedding collocation to translate *"puntare su un mercato"* found in the following sentence: *"Walmart iniziò a puntare sui due mercati di maggiore dimensione: Brasile e Argentina"*. Prior to the corpus-based exercise, the students suggested the following possible translations for the verb *puntare*: *to point/to bet/to target/to focus on/to concentrate on.* In order to highlight how the choice of the correct translation for *puntare a* in this sentence is dictated by the term *mercato*, the concordance lines for each of the above-mentioned verbs were presented to the students (e.g. see Fig. 1 and 2 below).

Hit	KWIC		File
1	the skin of their teet	point, he only had about $40m left. "I	BBC_2018.txt
2	hultz. With hindsight	point out that few of the names, while	BBC_2018.txt
3	at Aegon Asset Mana	point, I'm not very concerned." Not only	CNN_2018.txt
4	ask – it's your	point on. Simple guidelines are to be fair	Doing Busine
5	rket segment. The mid se	point seems to be unexplored. A firm that	Doing Busine
6	ty, yet it has major i	point in the right direction. Time will te	Doing Busine
7	. Food and beverage	point when they claim it is one factor	Economist_Ar
8	to other forms of sp	point to children's vulnerability; market	Economist_Ar
9	velop agri-food as a focal	point of growth," says Philip Cross, an ec	Economist_Co
10	Brent crude was hurtling	point this week to $42 a barrel, a price	Economist_It
11	elting capacity lies	point out that the Department of Defence	Economist_Pr
12	more and more countr	point at which gadgets are affordable. Eri	Economist_Th
13	tech firms. HTC	point. The company shipped over 22m phones	Economist_Th
14	as become: the main meeting	point for all European marketing academics	Multiculture
15	le cultures converge at one	point of concurrent interaction, while als	Multiculture
16	as Craig and Douglas (2011)	point out, there is also vast potential ir	Multiculture
17	a r e m E at one	point of concurrent interaction, while als	Multiculture
18	dings constitute a starting	point for international marketers to consi	Multiculture
19	marketplace. A few studies	point to the complexity of the problem for	Multiculture
20	imensional and at any given	point in time, individuals may manifest di	Multiculture
21	person bears. Cynics would	point out that it also relates closely to	Organization
22	the best of times they can	point to incipient dangers that have to be	Organization
23	rporate executives when the	point came to decide on the investment rec	Organization

Fig. 1. Concordance lines for the verb *point*

Hit	KWIC		File
24	...s, and social structures of your	target markets. Access to local	Short_Course
25	t to actually "sophisticate" the	target market by raising its 1	Short_Course
26	ter, commented on the company's	target market in a 1999 Washington	Short_Course
27	ice providers in Iridium's primary	target business market: the mobile	Short_Course
28	ring plant in Hambach, France. The	target was later cut to 100,000 car	Short_Course
29	-far short of even the new reduced	target. Germany led the sales thrc	Short_Course
30	According to Brown, the company's	target market for the three-door, f	Short_Course
31	that a cursory study of the	target US demographics of Daihc	Short_Course
32	product to market on time and on	target aren't the only crucial comp	Short_Course
33	to who is on-site in the	target market to ensure that the "w	Short_Course
34	the home country, the other in the	target market.	Short_Course
35	ate geographic locations. In the	target market, the company must mor	Short_Course
36	and the distributor in the	target market. This relationship	Short_Course
37	forward a message by mail to a	target person in Massachusetts. Thi	Social_Netwc
38	the progress of the message to the	target. Individuals who received th	Social_Netwc
39	put a path of acquaintances to the	target person. To help in the proce	Social_Netwc
40	and so on – were given about the	target, a Boston stockbroker. Altho	Social_Netwc
41	of the chains actually reached the	target, who was also relatively eas	Social_Netwc
42	the fact that peers are similar to	target the friend of an adopter, ev	Social_Netwc
43	, when deciding which customers to	target in a marketing campaign, soc	Social_Netwc

Fig. 2. Concordance lines for the verb *target*

    The concordance lines revealed that, while none of the verbs formed term embedding collocations with the noun *market*, there were, however, several occurrences of the noun phrase *target market*, which suggested to the students that the verb *target* could be an appropriate collocate of *market* to translate the Italian expression *puntare a un mercato*.

    A typical difficulty that Italian students face when translating into English is the decision whether to use pre- or post-modification to qualify a head noun. One example from a translation task is the phrase "*fattori [critici] di successo*" in the sentence "*mantenere e sfruttare fattori critici di successo e conquistare posizioni di vantaggio competitivo*". The concordance lines for both *factors of success* and *success factors* were searched in the corpus and the concordance lines were shown to the students. The fact that *success factors* occurred three times in the corpus (see Fig. 3), while *factors of success* had no occurrences provided the students with an indication that the former is a more idiomatic translation.

Concordance Hits	3		
Hit	KWIC		File
1	Please frame your answer using the	success factors described above and	Social_Network
2	oviders? See also the viral marketing	success factors in Appendix A to frar	Social_Network
3	Rees describes the most important	success factors in detail: 1. They de	Social_Network

Fig. 3. Concordance lines for the noun phrase *success factors*

This type of task proved beneficial in raising the students' awareness that certain terms form fairly fixed phraseological units and that the translation of each linguistic element forming this unit cannot be treated independently. Moreover, tasks based on concordance lines helped the students to notice that certain translational choices are more idiomatic than others, based on their frequency in natural language.

Task 2: completing gap fill exercises

This type of exercise was used mainly to pre-teach the collocational patterns in English needed to successfully carry out a translation task. For example, the students were asked which collocational patterns the following terms form: *work/employment/labour/job/occupation*. *Ad hoc* gap fill exercises were developed by extracting passages from the corpus where these terms occurred in order to provide guidance to the students in finding the correct answer (see example 1 below).

> (1)
> "The strength of Britain's _____ market stands out. America may have a lower official unemployment rate, but nearly a fifth of people there aged between 25 and 54 are not even looking for _____, meaning they are not counted in the figures. Not so in Britain, where the _____ rate for this age group is 84%, among the highest of large economies."[2]

The purpose of this exercise was to raise the students' awareness of the subtle differences in meaning between near-synonyms in English. Moreover, it proved effective in showing that, despite the many possible translations for an Italian term, the translational choice is often dictated by the phraseological unit it forms.

Task 3: combining corpus-based tasks with a monolingual dictionary

Two different corpus-based tasks that were integrated with the use of a monolingual dictionary will be presented here. The first type of task was

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[2] Extract retrieved from "British productivity is rising at last. But Brexit looms over the economy", *The Economist*, 14 April 2018: https://www.economist.com/leaders/2018/04/14/british-productivity-is-rising-at-last-but-brexit-looms-over-the-economy (last accessed 16 July 2021).

developed from passages containing key terms which were extracted from the corpus to create gap-fill exercises. Starting from extracts from a translation task in Italian, the students were asked to form suitable phraseological units in English choosing the appropriate term from a list of near-synonyms given. For example, considering the following extract *"Le importazioni della Cina nel 2014 hanno raggiunto il 10% del totale mondiale, una quota doppia rispetto a quella del Giappone"*, the students were asked to choose between the terms *quota/amount/share* as the base term to form a collocation in this context. The activity involved two steps: in the first step, the students were asked to complete the gap-fill exercise (example 2 below).

> (2)
> a) "Furthermore, the government's eliminating or reducing import _____, tariffs, and requirements over the past 20 years has provided the fuel for increased economic growth." (Spillan and King 2017, 203)
> b) "Rewards can be specific to individuals or they can be group based. The most collective reward would be an equal, annual _____ of company profits." (Child 2015, 15)
> c) "According to Kotler, Armstrong, Wong, and Saunders (2008), price is the _____of money charged for a product or service." (Spillan and King 2017, 214)

The passages were selected from the corpus with the specific aim of guiding the students to notice the different contexts in which the three near-synonymous terms are used. On the basis of their answers, the students were then asked to formulate hypotheses to account for the different usage of the three terms in collocational patterns. In the second step of the activity the students were asked to confirm or disprove their hypotheses with the aid of an English monolingual dictionary.

The second type of corpus-based task which was used in combination with a monolingual dictionary was developed around concordance lines. For example, the following extract from a translation passage was considered: *"L'altro fenomeno turistico di rilievo a livello globale è l'arrivo sul mercato di Cina e India"*. The students were presented with a list of alternatives (i.e. *At a … level / On an … level / At the … level / On the … level*) as a translation for the prepositional phrase *'a livello globale'*. The task involved studying the concordance lines for 'level' (see Fig. 4), formulating hypotheses as regards its use, and then looking up 'level' in a monolingual dictionary to confirm or disprove the hypotheses.
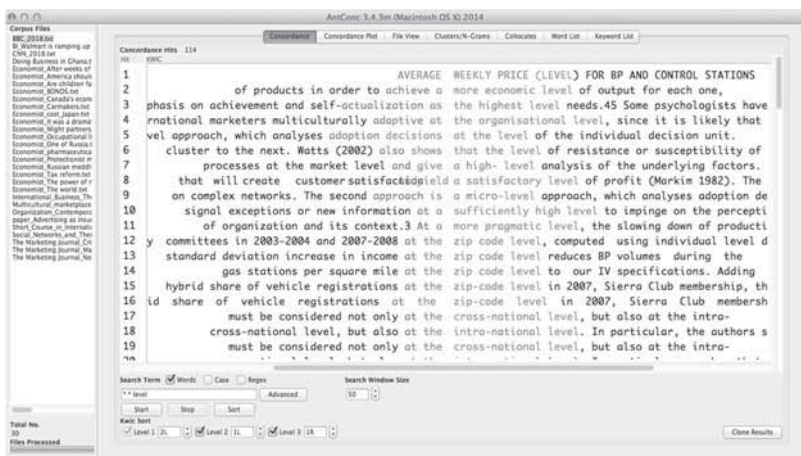
Fig. 4. Concordance lines for the term 'level'

In order to provide guidance to the students in the first step of the activity, two questions were asked: 1) Which construction with 'level' is more frequent in the concordance lines? 2) Does the construction change depending on the meaning of 'level'? In the second step of the activity, the students were asked to verify whether the monolingual dictionary provided information concerning the use of 'level' and whether their hypotheses were confirmed.

These types of activities were used both to pre-teach selected terms and their collocates prior to a translation task and for error correction. Since students are often tempted to avoid using a monolingual dictionary and to rely solely on a bilingual dictionary when translating, these tasks also aimed to raise the students' awareness concerning the use that they can make of the monolingual dictionary.

Task 4: combining corpus-based tasks with a bilingual dictionary

This type of task was based on the phraseological units in the source texts that the students were asked to translate. For example, the following extract was presented to the students: *"profondi cambiamenti dovuti alla progressiva apertura agli scambi commerciali internazionali"*. First, the students were asked to provide an appropriate multi-word term in English to translate *scambi commerciali internazionali* with the aid of an Italian/English bilingual dictionary. The students' suggestions (e.g.

international trade) were then searched in the corpus by the teacher. As mentioned earlier, it was decided not to give direct access to the corpus and corpus tools to the students, so the teacher acted as a mediator. The File view function in AntConc was used for this search, since it provided the students with enough context for them to be able to establish whether the multi-word chosen was a suitable translation (Fig. 5 below).

Fig. 5. File view for the multi-word term 'international trade'[3]

Task 5: using the World Wide Web as a corpus

As mentioned above, research has demonstrated that the Web can be effectively used as a corpus in translation training. The task presented here also draws from studies into the use of the Web as a corpus in language learning (Gatto 2014) and the use of Google as a tool for corpus-based activities (Hubbard 2005; Han and Shin 2017). For example, the students were asked to decide whether 'high autonomy' or 'high degree of autonomy' would be more appropriate to translate *elevata autonomia* in the following extract from a source text: *"nella promozione di strategie globali di produzione, a causa dell'elevata autonomia delle divisioni nazionali"*. In order to establish this, they were asked to use the Web as a corpus to compare the number of occurrences of the two phraseological units and to consider the context in which they were used.

Assessment

In order to establish whether the CADL activities had been effective, the students' progress in translating phraseological units was assessed. Three

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[3] Extract retrieved from "Donald Trump mulls restrictions on steel and aluminium imports", *The Economist*, 24 February 2018, https://www.economist.com/finance-and-economics/2018/02/22/donald-trump-mulls-restrictions-on-steel-and-aluminium-imports (last accessed 16 July 2021).

different translation tasks were given to the students at three different moments: 1) one translation at the beginning of the course, with no practice using CADL activities, 2) one translation half way into the course and 3) one translation at the end of the course.

The three source texts were all passages within the specialised domain of economics/management, they presented similar difficulties, similar length and the same number of phraseological units in Italian (16 units in each passage). The students were asked to translate them with the aid of an English monolingual dictionary and an Italian/English bilingual dictionary. In order to establish specifically to what degree the CADL activities had had an impact on the students' ability to translate collocational patterns, the assessment only took into consideration the phraseological units selected in each translation passage, while no other mistake was evaluated. The mistakes concerning collocational patterns in the translated texts were classified into 5 different categories as follows: 1) wrong base term (e.g. using *under-occupied* in place of *under-employed* to translate *sotto-occupate*); 2) wrong collocator/order (e.g. *less-occupied* to translate *sotto-occupate*); 3) wrong use of pre-/post-modification (e.g. *products macro-categories* in place of *macro-categories of products* to translate *macro-categorie di prodotti*); 4) untypical collocations/wrong context (e.g. *figures related to employment* to translate *dati sull'occupazione* in place of *data on employment/employment data*; 5) wrong translation (e.g. *exploited* to translate *sotto-occupate*). A total of 89 translations were included in the assessment (31 at the beginning, 28 halfway into the course, 30 at the end). Chart 1 below shows the results of the assessment.

At the beginning of the course, 63% of the students' translational choices for the phraseological units in the source text were correct. Half way into the course, this percentage increased to 79% and remained stable at the end. As the chart shows, there was an improvement in all the categories considered, although in some cases the decrease in the number of mistakes was not steady and some results were more positive in the mid-term assessment compared to the end-of-course assessment. The areas where there was particular progress are the choice of the collocate accompanying the base term and the choice between pre- and post-modification in the phraseological unit.
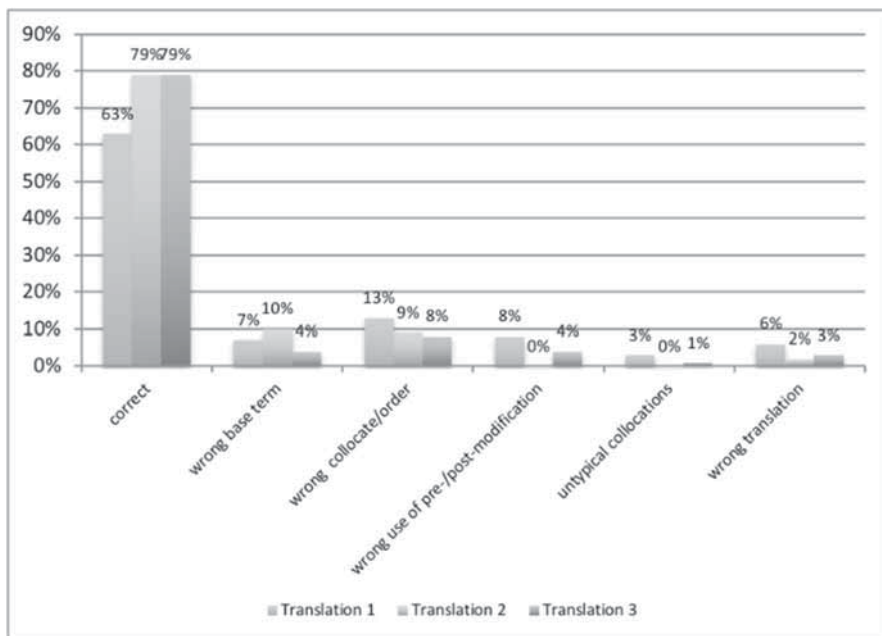
Chart 1. Assessment: comparison between the three translation tasks

Conclusion

This paper aimed to show how a CADL approach can be adopted in the translation classroom by means of a series of corpus-based activities focusing on specialised and semi-specialised collocational patterns. The tasks presented indicate that corpora are a useful source of varied materials; not only do they encourage students to have a proactive approach in the learning process, but they are also engaging (cf. Huang 2008, 26). The activities proposed showed that CADL can help students to develop greater awareness of the importance of considering words as parts of clusters rather than in isolation, as well as improving their understanding of the subtle differences of meaning in different collocational patterns. The activities can also help students realize how they can improve the quality of their translations and this can strengthen their motivation to learn. The integration between corpus-based tasks and other translation tools can also offer students the opportunity to improve the way they use, for example, dictionaries and the Web.

As regards the role of the teacher in the CADL approach, the study confirmed what previous research found, i.e. that until students are familiar with the CADL approach, it is more effective for them to work on ready-made corpus-based materials and to be guided by the teacher in the analysis of the concordance lines (cf. Johns 1997; Bernardini 2001; Sripicharn 2010; Yanto and Nugraha 2017). In terms of the way the students responded to the CADL approach, considering how quickly they got used to this learning method, the study confirms what Johns (1997, 103) observed, i.e. that "[s]tudents adapt rapidly to the idea of working from data. It soon becomes normal – neither particularly threatening nor particularly 'exciting'".

Despite the encouraging results, further research is needed to establish how the CADL approach can be adopted in the translation classroom most effectively. Further investigation could also indicate why, in certain categories, the results in the present study were more positive in the mid-term assessment than in the end-of-course assessment. Moreover, in order to assess if – and to what degree - this approach can be more successful than traditional teaching methods, it would be interesting to conduct studies taking other linguistic elements into consideration and comparing the results with a control group.

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CHAPTER FOUR:

MULTIMODALITY

REFLECTING ON STYLE AND SURTITLES: THE CASE OF *FALSTAFF* BY GIUSEPPE VERDI

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Presentation of the Case Study: The Choice of *Falstaff*

Starting from the definition by Yves Gambier (2003, 74), who labelled surtitling as a "particularly challenging" type of audiovisual translation,[1] the aim of this work is to integrate a more traditional description of what opera surtitling is – a professional practice first and foremost, relatively recently turned into the object of academic research, which deserves further attention from scholars and professionals alike, especially due to its strategic importance in terms of social inclusion and accessibility – with a reflection on style in translation: in other words, this paper intends to verify whether, and to what extent, opera surtitles should be "condemned" to be a highly summarised and abridged form of translation, or whether, instead, they can be respectful and accurate in reproducing the stylistic features and rhetorical effects of the original libretto, in spite of their brevity and concision.

The linguistic materials are taken from *Falstaff* by Giuseppe Verdi, based on Arrigo Boito's libretto because, due to the sparkling creativity and huge variety of Boito's lexical and stylistic choices, producing English surtitles from this libretto is a stimulating task which requires not only a sound professional background, but also a refined artistic sensibility. Therefore, many significant examples are available to those who want to investigate such issues as surtitling and stylistics, since these surtitles are a successful illustration of a stylistically-oriented translation.

This study was made possible thanks to the courtesy of Mauro Conti from Prescott Studio in Florence, who was very generous in making the English surtitles he realised for the production of *Falstaff*, together with Aloma Bardi and Elisabetta Babbucci, accessible for this research project. The opera, conducted by Riccardo Muti and directed by Cristina Muti Mazzavillani, was performed in 2015, at the Teatro Alighieri in Ravenna,

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[1] Together with scenario/script translation, intralingual subtitling, live (or real time) subtitling and audio description.

during the XXVI edition of the Ravenna Festival, a high-profile international summer meeting active since 1990. Hence the necessity to introduce surtitles in English for most of their productions,[2] as reported by Angelo Nicastro, the Artistic Director of the Ravenna Festival, in a personal communication by email (6 July 2020). This is both a marketing strategy, but also a cultural policy tailored to fit each theatre-goer's needs and taste: he explains how they have experimented with and implemented a service of multilingual surtitles via smartphone as well, in collaboration with the Lyri company, in order to seek out more flexible and personalised systems that have little or no impact on the scenic design and do not cause inconvenience to those spectators who dislike surtitles.

The Art of Surtitling

Since 1983, when the Canadian Opera Company was the first to introduce the practice of surtitling during the performance of *Elektra* by Richard Strauss,[3] surtitles have come a long way: traditionalists soon scorned them,[4] as the editor of the London monthly *Opera*, who described them as "loathsome" (Low 2002, 109) or the former Director of Productions at English National Opera who bluntly compared surtitles to "a prophylactic between the opera and the audience" (Burton 2010, 181). Yet, although some purists may still be annoyed, surtitles are now extensively used by opera companies for their foreign-language productions and it is easy to understand why: they are audience-friendly in that they facilitate the intelligibility of the texts and are perceived as essential in attracting a younger audience,[5] with positive economic outcomes for theatres themselves. It is not far from the truth to claim that surtitling is today a vital necessity for mediating between people and the operatic message, thus enabling the audience to fully enjoy a total aesthetic experience.

Owing to its peculiarities, this innovative mode of language transfer has been immediately associated to the more traditional process of subtitling, and the word "surtitle" itself is an adaptation from "subtitle", a late 20th

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[2] Surtitles in Italian are also used, above all in operas that are sung in a foreign language.
[3] As reported by Sergio Sablich (1986), it was the Maggio Musicale Fiorentino that, on the 1st June 1986, during the performance of *Meistersinger von Nürnberg* by Richard Wagner, conducted by Zubin Mehta, first introduced the practice of surtitling in Europe, and, of course, in an Italian theatre.
[4] For more details, see also Desblache (2007, 164).
[5] Especially in the case of same-language surtitling, assuming that young people may not be used to read and get acquainted with the libretto prior to the performance.

century coin made possible by the technological growth in the audiovisual field, which evidently expanded the translators' tasks and possibilities. Both techniques need to produce a legible version, in the form of a written translation, of the audible words, which should be "easily digestible" (Low 2002, 101), quickly readable and comprehensible to spectators. Since economy is the leading principle in both cases, some standard conventions are shared, such as avoiding ambiguity, making each title a self-contained semantic and logical unit, paying attention to how to break syntax, avoiding clumsy line-breaks, using basic punctuation, omitting repetitions or verbal information which can be supplied by visible gestures or other communicative channels (Low 2002, 101).

Actually, many more constraints are involved in "the art and craft" (Burton 2010, 179) of surtitling and are responsible for the translation choices and for the editorial policies found in surtitles (timing, action on stage and props, music, vocal line, director's demands etc.): undeniably, a challenging task for a surtitler is to minimise those incongruities that may arise between the original libretto and a modernised production, with some annoying inconsistencies between what faithfully-translated surtitles should say and what the audience actually sees on stage. This is the case reported by Aleksandra Ożarowska (2017, 269-70), speaking of Charles Gounod's *Faust* staged by the Metropolitan Opera House and directed by Des McAnuff in 2011. Since the story is updated to the 20th century, the production differs from the original French libretto: for example, Méphistophélès is described in his traditional apparel (a cloak, a hat with a feather and a sword), but the audience is faced with a character wearing contemporary clothes, in particular a cane, a Panama hat and a suit. For this reason, surtitlers decided to adapt the libretto to that production, with the result that the audience read a modernised version of the description of the devil, while the bass impersonating Méphistophélès still continued to sing what was written in the original libretto. Many years earlier, a similar case had occurred during the production of Georges Bizet's *Les Pêcheurs de perles*, for Canterbury Opera, in New Zealand, in 1999. As described by Peter Low (2002, 107), the French libretto contained such words as tents, sand, canoe and incense, but those elements had been removed from the staging, thus making their presence in the English surtitles totally senseless. Some adjustments were also necessary for translating the word *épée* in a consistent way, as some pearl-fishers on stage were carrying rifles and not swords.

Other crucial factors are related to the peculiar "nature of the ST, the way in which the genre uses words, and also to the whole context of an operatic event and its staging" (Low 2002, 102). As the spirit of opera is essentially and powerfully unrealistic and fabulous, opera libretti show a set

of distinctive features which, in turn, make some surtitling choices almost compulsory. Differently from most filmscripts, they are written in a refined literary style characterized by archaisms, repetitions, wordy and ornate passages, an inclination towards verbiage, not to mention rhymes and a certain musical quality in the language which is essential for a smooth musical setting. Indeed, what really dominates is music, both vocal and instrumental, to such an extent that all the other semiotic codes (acting and sometimes dancing, lights, costumes, staging, sets) seem to be strictly dependent on it.

Surtitles and Stage Setting in the 2015 Production of *Falstaff*

Similarly to what happens in surtitling for theatrical performances,[6] surtitles can also vary from performance to performance because of different timing (with slight changes due to the conductor's mood), but also because of the director's individual artistic preferences: operas can be staged in a traditional or in a modernised way, which has a huge impact on the linguistic choices. This means that surtitling is production-specific, since surtitles are tailor-made for that particular performance, thus making the role of the surtitler/translator akin to that of an adaptor: as explained by Riitta Virkkunen (2004, 92),

> [s]urtitles come to life in the performance and are a situational text by nature: they are only created for the performance, and without it they lose their intended meaning. It is inappropriate to read them without the performance.

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[6] Theatre translation is a complex translation practice which has started to be investigated only recently, since the 2000s, and which still needs further research. More and more widespread today in many international theatre festivals, it consists in "the oral and written translation of foreign language theatrical productions to be shown to audiences of different languages" (Griesel 2005, 2). In this kind of translation, the whole production is the source text, and it can be experienced only once, within the limited temporal span of its performance; it is easy to understand why theatre translation depends on a particular situational context, showing some similarities with the interpreting process. It possesses a multimodal dimension because different translation modalities are possible: surtitling, simultaneous interpreting, written synopsis (or summarising translation) and other integrated forms, which can be both oral and written. A thorough investigation of this branch of research – which is autonomous and independent from both subtitling and opera surtitling – goes beyond the purposes of this work; for further information, see Griesel 2005.

With regard to the 2015 staging of *Falstaff* by Cristina Muti Mazzavillani, what soon emerges is a total and well balanced harmony between surtitles and scenic design; no contradictions are observed between the libretto and the performance as it is not a modernised interpretation of the opera, but rather a faithful and "classical" transposition of Verdi's artistic intentions. Interestingly, the director decided to respect what Verdi wrote to his publisher, Giulio Ricordi, two years before the premiere of his final masterpiece: *Falstaff* would be better performed at Villa Sant'Agata, in a private and domestic environment, rather than at La Scala theatre. This clarifies her choice of preferring a traditional staging, made even more precious and evocative by the introduction of new light technologies, in particular the high-definition projections of places linked to Verdi's life[7] (his childhood home at Le Roncole, Villa Sant'Agata with its park, pond and small bridge, the small opera house in Busseto, the ancient inn in Roncole). The refined stage costumes are traditional and set the action in the late Renaissance; as for props, they accurately portray what the libretto describes, and function as further elements to convey a general impression of stylistic cohesion and logical coherence to the whole opera.

In line with the faithfulness of Cristina Muti Mazzavillani's stage setting to Verdi and Boito's artistic conception of their work, the surtitles too remain close to the original libretto and at the service of the director's choices, showing that they are inspired by the same stylistic and poetic principles: for example, the magic of photo projections combines with the dreamlike atmosphere of some scenes, skilfully supported by surtitles which change in register and style according to what is happening on the stage. The emotional climax of the third act, represented by the air sung by the Queen of the Fairies (alias Nannetta), can be considered, where the magic created by lights and colours finds its linguistic counterpart in the pure lyricism of the English surtitles.

As already mentioned, opera surtitles are production-specific, and it could not be otherwise; so, the only deviation from Boito's libretto in the 2015 production of *Falstaff* occurs in the "scena del cicaleccio", at the end of Act I, characterised by Riccardo Muti's brilliant and rhythmically-sustained musical direction: here the quick *tempo* of the melodic line and the four female voices intertwining in a lively manner are such that the surtitled version cannot keep pace with the enthusiastic and energetic rhythm of this performance. Inevitably, a substantial textual reduction is necessary, with the omission of many original lines, in order to safeguard

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[7] These are the winning pictures of a photo contest dedicated to Giuseppe Verdi and called "VerdiWeb2012", addressed to young people coming from all regions of Italy.

the intelligibility of the surtitles and to offer a scrolling speed that is acceptable and comfortable for the audience.

Arrigo Boito's Libretto

Arrigo Boito (1842-1918), now regarded as a crucial representative of the artistic movement known as "Scapigliatura", was not only a composer, but also a poet, a journalist, a novelist and a librettist. In spite of his dual nature as both musician and man of letters, today the Paduan artist is best known and appreciated as a poet rather than as a musician, in particular for the libretti he wrote for Amilcare Ponchielli's *La Gioconda* (1876), for Giuseppe Verdi's two last masterpieces *Otello* (1887) and *Falstaff* (1893), and for his own opera *Mefistofele* (1868, drastically revised in 1875).

As revealed by his letters, Boito felt an unconditional admiration for William Shakespeare all through his life and it is no coincidence that his first libretto was *Amleto* (1865), for an opera in four acts by his lifelong friend Franco Faccio. Great admiration for the Bard of Avon was similarly expressed by Giuseppe Verdi too, who, as is well known, used to have two copies of the English playwright's complete works on his bedside table, worn out by use and with many annotations: a prose version by Carlo Rusconi (1838) and a later translation, both in prose and verse, by Giulio Carcano. Verdi did not hide his perplexities about the difficulty that the frequent scene changes in the Shakespearean works might cause when writing an operatic adaptation, and this is the reason why he did not draw inspiration from them so often: before *Otello*, the only other work inspired by Shakespeare was *Macbeth* (1847, later reworked in its final version in 1865), while his long-pursued dream of writing an opera based on *King Lear* never saw the light.

William Shakespeare, and specifically the farcical character of Falstaff as portrayed in the two parts of *Henry IV* and in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, was the source of inspiration for the realisation of Verdi's final work, a comic opera in three acts that premiered at La Scala in 1893 (incidentally, his second comedy after the unsuccessful *Un giorno di regno*, in 1840). As claimed by Buroni (2013), Boito reached his artistic peak in the libretto for *Falstaff*, where the search for an easy creativity, a certain taste for the bizarre and for linguistic expressionism are at their height. If these aspects are unsurprising in an artist belonging to the Scapigliatura movement, Boito was able to play with several registers at once, blending provocation and *pastiche* with more traditional features of the melodramatic style, such as poetic flair and an erudite tone.

Without a doubt, Boito loved the plot of *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, especially because it seems to have been adapted from Italian sources, especially *Il Pecorone* by Ser Giovanni Fiorentino, a XIV century writer from Florence; this may also account for the choice to use an Italian language full of deliberate archaisms, in an attempt to give life to the play's ancient Tuscan sources. An in-depth analysis of the similarities and dissimilarities between the Shakespearean comedy and Boito's libretto goes beyond the scope of this work; suffice it to say that he trimmed the plot and heavily reduced the number of characters, turning the fat Falstaff from the simple buffoon of *The Merry Wives of Windsor* into a more complex and ambiguous character, as he is portrayed in some passages in *Henry IV*.

Throughout his career as a poet and musician, Boito himself tried to consciously renew the linguistic and compositional codes of Italian *melodramma*: dramaturgically speaking, he pursued the idea of opera as a total art form, where the two sister arts, poetry and music, were involved in a mutual debate, integrating and complementing each other; this explains why he was interested in writing a verbal text which was to be both smooth and musical, trying to imagine how the musical setting could sound and even adapting his poetic style to the needs of rhythm and harmony as well as drama. Boito offered an excellent libretto to Verdi who, in turn, was eager to transpose his own art towards the close relationship between music and words.

The process of setting words to music was made easier also by the great pliancy of Boito's metrical structure – with each hemistich having seven syllables, the so-called *martelliani*, named after the seventeenth century Italian poet Pier Jacopo Martello – a metre that he had already successfully used in *La Gioconda*. He took advantage of the versatility he so deeply admired in the alexandrine lines of heptasyllabic hemistichs, thus giving life to that astonishing variety in the verbal text which was so suited to Verdi's musical inventiveness. It is worth noticing the presence of many enjambements and different syntactic structures: from paratactic and hypotactic sentences which exceed the boundaries of one line to single clauses corresponding to one alexandrine or to one hemistich, and even clauses formed by a single linguistic unit, which is typically a nominal element used to offend a specific character. Moreover, the mid-line break or caesura does not always appear regularly between the two hemistichs, but can be introduced at any other point in the line, almost giving the impression of reading prose more than verse.

The Analysis of the English Surtitles
for the Ravenna Production

Never forgetting the lesson of Scapigliatura, Boito took the conventions of Italian *opera buffa* to extremes, preferring a poetic text characterised by the mimesis of oral dialogues and an informal register, thus introducing many deictics, phatic elements, epithets, insults, invectives and interjections which add realism and pragmatic force to verbal exchanges. Other elements contributing to make the libretto more colloquial are idiomatic expressions – such as "Dobbiam pigliare il topo mentre sta rodendo il cacio", which becomes "Let's catch the rat while it's gnawing the cheese" – and proverb-like sayings, variously transformed by the writer: for example, "L'uomo ritorna al vizio, la gatta al lardo...", which alludes to the Italian proverb "Tanto va la gatta al lardo che ci lascia lo zampino", literally translated as "Man returns to his vice like a cat to cream...", with the comparison between man's and the animal's behaviour made explicit by the simile around "like", and many others as well.[8]

Furthermore, the lexical level is uncommonly rich and colourful if compared to other comic operas of the same years, largely due to the introduction of a wealth of elements related to food and money which were traditionally excluded from the melodramatic code. But the colloquial register is not the only register in *Falstaff*, even though it represents the most typical and distinguishing feature: in the courtship scenes, for example, the main character speaks with a more poetic and refined language, in line with his seduction efforts. It should not be forgotten that Boito loved introducing archaisms, precious and literary words – this is the case of many epithets addressed to Falstaff which derive from Boccaccio's *Decameron*, or which are neologisms (as "scanfardo" and "scagnardo", Buroni 2013) – to say nothing of his inclination for the bizarre, for inventive calembours and wordplays, for funny clusters of terms which sound almost nonsensical, especially in Falstaff and Ford's bursts of rage.

One of the most striking and hilarious aspects to cope with is the multitude of highly colloquial and expressive epithets and insults, as can be observed in the following examples, mostly taken from the final part of the third act, the so-called judgment scene:

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[8] "E poi gliele cantiamo in rima", translated as "And then we'll pay him back"; "Chi semina grazie, raccoglie amor", which refers to the saying "Chi semina vento raccoglie tempesta", translated as "Who sows favours, harvests love" for the English surtitles; "Messer Ford, l'uom avvisato non è salvo che a metà", which is the first half of the Italian proverb "uomo avvisato mezzo salvato", literally translated as "Master Ford, a man forewarned is but half saved".

Boito's libretto	English surtitles
- Beone!	- Tosspot!
- Codardo! Sugliardo!	- Coward! Vermin!
- Scanfardo!	- Rogue!
- Pappalardo! Beon…	- Glutton! Sot…
- Scagnardo! Falsardo! Briccon!	- Cur! Forger! Villain!
- Cialtron! - Poltron! - Ghiotton!	- Rogue! - Poltroon! - Glutton!
- Pancion! - Beon! - Briccon…	- Pot-belly! - Tosspot! - Knave…
- Pancia ritronfia! - Guancia rigonfia!	- Bloated belly! - Flabby jowls!
- Sconquassa letti! - Spacca farsetti!	- Bed crusher! - Seam splitter!
- Vuota barili! - Sfonda sedili!	- Barrel emptier! - Chair breaker!
- Sfianca giumenti! - Triplice mento!	- Mare crippler! - Triple chin!
- Uom frodolento!	- Fraudolent wretch!
- Uom turbolento!	- Trouble maker!
- Capron! Scroccon! Spaccon!	- Old goat! Sponger! Braggart!
- Globo d'impurità	- Globe of filth
- Monte di obesità	- Mountain of obesity
- Otre di malvasia	- Wineskin of malmsey
- Re dei panciuti! Re dei cornuti!	- King of corpulence! King of cuckolds!
- Naso vermiglio! Naso bargiglio! Puntuta lesina! Vampa di resina!	- Scarlet nose! Wattle-nose! Pointed awl! Blazing resin!
- Salamandra! Ignis fatuus! Stecca di sartore!	- Salamander! Will-o'-the-wisp! Wooden ruler!
- Schidion d'inferno! Aringa secca! Vampiro! Basilisco! Manigoldo! Ladrone!	- Hell's roasting-spit! Dried herring! Vampire! Basilisk! Assassin! Thief!

The abundance of word aggregations and lists was certainly a feature of *opera buffa*, but here Boito gave full vent to his poetic imagination and to his stylistic skills: the presence of many tricola – a rhetorical figure he had always loved and already experimented with, consisting of a succession of three parallel words in a sequence as in "Capron! Scroccon! Spaccon!" – alliteration, internal rhymes, compound words, rapid series of adjectives and nouns based on the principle of alteration (always new spiteful epithets as in "Naso vermiglio! Naso bargiglio") and composition (namely the creation of lively images by juxtaposing a noun and an adjective as in "Pancia ritronfia", a verb followed by a noun as in "Sconquassa letti", a noun followed by a prepositional phrase as in "Monte di obesità"). The English surtitles are able to reproduce the lexical complexity of the source text: it is a careful and thoughtful literal translation which avoids repeating the same item in English (the word *beone* translated first as "tosspot" and later as "sot"; *briccon* as "villain" and "knave"; *re dei panciuti* as "king of

corpulence", instead of repeating "belly") and which tries to offer the same accuracy as the original in the choice of the right word (the neologisms *scanfardo* and *scagnardo* translated as "rogue" and "cur"; the archaic word *sugliardo* as "vermin").

Boito's distance and independence from the rules emerge also in some morphosyntactic elements such as left dislocations, cleft sentences, and the so-called *che polivalente*, which are highly marked structures and typical indicators of a colloquial/informal register in use, but unusual to find in the language of nineteenth century Italian opera:

Boito's libretto	English surtitles
- Ma quel risparmio d'olio tu lo consumi in vino.	- But what is saved on oil you consume in wine.
- L'onore lo può sentir chi è morto?	- Can a dead man feel honour?
- Son trent'anni che abbevero quel fungo porporino!	- For thirty years I've watered that purple fungus!
- Son io… che vi fa scaltri.	- It is I… who make you clever.
- Sir, sarò gaio il dì ch'io ti veda dar calci a rovaio!	- Sir, I'll enjoy to see you hanged, kicking in the air!
- Che, se non galleggiava per me quest'epa tronfia… certo affogavo!	- If this paunch had not kept me afloat… I should surely have drowned!

One left dislocation has not been kept in the English translation, which offers a normalised grammatical pattern for the question "Can a dead man feel honour?" (modal verb + subject + verb), but the other occurrence is turned into a what-clause working as object in theme position, which is a highly marked choice in English ("But what is saved on oil you consume in wine"). As for cleft sentences, the English surtitles follow the syntactic markedness of the original verses: one cleft construction is literally translated as "It is I…who make you clever" – with a process of theme predication, introducing what is technically a second clause because the elements "it is" have their own mood structure and become a theme for the whole sentence – while the other example presents a marked theme/rheme pattern: the Italian cleft sentence has been transformed into a duration form with the temporal prepositional phrase in thematic position ("For thirty years I've watered that purple fungus!").

Finally, the use of *che polivalente* has been normalised in two occurrences found in Boito's libretto: the first sentence has been deeply reorganised from a syntactic point of view, because "sarà gaio il dì ch'io ti veda" has simply become "I'll enjoy to see you hanged" and the meaning of the Italian figurative expression ("dar calci a rovaio"), which refers to hanged people, has been clarified in the English translation as "kicking in

the air!". In the second example, the hypothetical sentence in Italian is a second conditional, but characterised by a colloquial/informal use of the imperfect tense instead of the imperfect subjunctive ("se non galleggiasse") in the condition clause; the same tense, the imperfect, appears in the main clause instead of a conditional mood ("certo affogherei"), which would be grammatically correct. In the English surtitles, the conjunction *che polivalente* has been deleted and the Italian if clause (type II) has been translated as a perfect third conditional construction in English, with the introduction of the modal verb "should" expressing obligation. It is also interesting to observe the thematisation of place deictics in two marked sentences, "Là c'è qualcun che spia" and "là c'è una donna ch'alla vostra presenza chiede d'essere ammessa", which are translated as "There's someone spying on us" and "There's a woman asking to be admitted to your presence", with the omission of deictics in both cases.

Stylistic Issues

The art of surtitling is not a mere act of translation; instead, the term *adaptation* is best suited to describe what it actually is, namely cultural and linguistic mediation inspired by what Mauro Conti defines "la sua vincolante natura di servizio", a service offered to the audience and, indirectly, to performers and to the whole production (Conti 2007). Hence the tendency to condense the original libretto, with the unavoidable simplifications which may appear in textual adaptations, which should not be perceived in negative terms, if it is true that "[s]emplificare non è necessariamente banalizzare" (Conti 2013). This is what happens in the following examples from *Falstaff*, where the audience can read English surtitles formulated in a contemporary language, whose function is to allow an immediate understanding of the nineteenth-century Italian language of the original libretto:

Boito's libretto	English surtitles
- E il suo desir in lei fulgea, sì al mio congiunto, che parea dir…	- And her desire so burned in her, as mine does, that she seemed to say…
- La Dea vibrava raggi di specchio ustorio su me…	- The Goddess shone rays of burning mirror on me…
- Lo adeschi all'offa d'un ritrovo galante con me. - Quest'è gaglioffa!	- Snare him with the bribe of an encounter with me. - This is a saucy trick!
- Noi sarem due gemine stelle unite in un ardor.	- We will be like two twin stars united in one glow.

- Se l'attiro nell'inganno, l'angue morde il cerretan.	- If I draw him to deceit, the snake bites the charlatan.
- Qui più non si vagoli.	- No more dawdling.
- Trilla ogni fibra in cor; l'allegro etere al trillo guizza…	- Every fibre in the heart vibrates; the gay breeze, at the trill, quivers…

If condensation, simplification and language modernisation are one pole of the continuum, on the other hand the audience can experience a poem-like libretto translation, in which surtitles follow the operatic text to a considerable degree, with satisfying results in terms of poetic, stylistic and rhetorical effects:

Boito's libretto	English surtitles
- Già vedo che il tuo naso arde di zelo.	- Already I see your nose glowing with zeal.
- Questa tua vecchia carne ancora spreme qualche dolcezza a te.	- This old flesh of yours can still squeeze out some sweetness for you.
- In me vedete un uom ch'ha un'abbondanza grande degli agi della vita.	- In me you see a man who has a goodly abundance of the comforts of life.
- E voi, coi vostri cenci e coll'occhiata torta da gatto pardo, avete a scorta il vostro onor!	- And you, with your shifty mountain-cat looks and stinking sniggers, keep company with honour!
- Perché a torto lo gonfian le lusinghe, lo corrompe l'orgoglio, l'ammorban le calunnie.	-For flattery falsely inflates it, pride corrupts it, slanders taint it.
- La corona, che adorna d'Atteòn l'irte chiome, su voi già spunta.	- The crown which adorned Actaeon's locks is sprouting on you.
- Nell'iri ardente e mobile dei rai dell'adamante, col picciol pie' nel nobile cerchio d'un guardinfante…	- In the fire of your eyes, like the gleam of diamonds, with your tiny feet nobly encircled by a farthingale…
- Danzate, e il passo blando misuri un blando suon…	- Dance, and let your soft steps fit the soft music…

The analysis of the translation strategies adopted by the Prescott Studio team for the performance of *Falstaff* at Teatro Alighieri in Ravenna (2015) has revealed a skilful balance between opposite poles; when necessary, surtitlers have avoided information overload, thus choosing a condensation strategy so that the audience can grasp the general meaning: "È come una tempesta! Strepita, tuona, fulmina / si dà dei pugni in testa, scoppia in minaccie ed urla", translated as "He's like a tempest! He's shouting, roaring /

striking his forehead, breaking out in threats", with the omission of one verbal element ("fulmina") and a nominal one ("urla") in the source text; "Ma, per tornare a voi, furfanti / ho atteso troppo, e vi discaccio", where the textual reduction has been addressed to the vocative "furfanti", as commonly happens in subtitling too: "But to return to you, I've been patient / too long, and now I'm throwing you out"; "E vi chiedo perdono se, senza cerimonie, qui vengo e sprovveduto di più lunghi preamboli", whose surtitled version omits the if clause and simplifies the syntactic structure: "And ask your pardon for coming here without ceremony, not providing a longer introduction".

The need to help the audience understand what the singers say without diverting people's attention to the written surtitles has produced many cases of reordering (Malone 1988), namely syntactic reformulations into English:

Boito's libretto	English surtitles
- D'un tuo pronostico m'assisti.	- Help me with a prescription.
- M'ardea l'estro amatorio nel cor.	- Love's ardour flared up in my heart.
- Vedremo a rigagnoli quell'orco sudar.	- We'll see that ogre in rivulets of sweat.
- Che il vago gioco sanno d'amore….	- That know the sweet game of love…
- Udrai quanta egli sfoggia magniloquenza altèra.	- You will hear how he flaunts his haughty bombast.
- Sir John, m'infonde ardire un ben noto proverbio popolar.	-Sir John, a well-known popular proverb emboldens me.

But in the most lyrical passages the surtitles show great adherence to Boito's libretto, more specifically to his theme/rheme patterns. This is what can be observed in the following examples, when Nannetta, at the end of Act III, disguises herself as the Queen of the Fairies and starts to sing an enchantingly, mellow tune: "Fra i rami, un baglior cesio d'alba lunare apparve", which becomes "Through the branches appears the blue gleam of the rising moon", with a marked syntactic choice in English plus the inversion of the verb phrase. Although the surtitlers have generally endorsed the principle of non-intrusiveness, some marked choices in the English syntax combined with the lexical accuracy and variety, especially in the translation of insults and epithets, show the degree to which they have captured the richness of Arrigo Boito's libretto. Some poetic solutions reveal an artistic awareness which gives added value for the audience: this is the case in the lines "Sul fil d'un soffio etesio, scorrete, agili larve" translated as "On the breath of a fragrant breeze fly, spirits", with the alliterations in "breath" and "breeze" and the fricative "f" repeated in "fragrant" and "fly"; "Danzate, e il passo blando misuri un blando suon…", characterised by the repetition of the adjective "blando" in the source text,

carefully surtitled as "Dance, and let your soft steps fit the soft music…", in which the adjective "soft" is similarly repeated twice.

Final Remarks

An opera performance is a complex example of textual and cultural multimodality where different semiotic codes are at work simultaneously: sung, spoken and written words – if there are surtitles – not to mention music, gestures and visual elements; in the words of Rędzioch-Korkuz (2016, 10), "opera [is] a word-sound-image compound", in which all the ingredients need to be well integrated and artistically balanced. In this context, the translation activity of creating surtitles is a special branch of Audiovisual Translation, whose constraints and limitations are dictated by the features of the operatic genre itself, first and foremost the presence of music which determines the overall *tempo*,[9] as occurs in the above-mentioned "scena del cicaleccio" in *Falstaff*, where a great amount of textual reduction was a forced solution for surtitlers. Staging seems to be another crucial factor in operatic performances, to the extent that it should be considered a sort of source text in the surtitling process. As claimed by Lucile Desblache (2007, 165),

> [o]pera and theatre surtitles require flexibility of timing as they are issued for each performance and also, to some degree, of meaning, as each production and at some level, each performance gives a new meaning to the work interpreted.

Therefore, in some cases, surtitles cannot be a word-for-word translation, nor an integral one, but rather a condensation and an adaptation of the original text, keeping in mind its destination and its function, trying to synchronise it to music and staging. The libretto itself is not an independent, autonomous and self-contained text;[10] it is not meant to be so, because it acquires meaning within the context of an operatic performance, being simply one of the many elements of such a complex whole. Thus, surtitles cannot be separated from the context in which they are born, namely a specific performance, and do not totally signify without images and action on the stage that, all together, co-work to generate their final meaning: they

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[9] For a more detailed investigation of constraints in the specific domain of surtitling, see Rędzioch-Korkuz 2018.

[10] This is the reason why surtitles do not have a life of their own and are neither published in traditional paper format, nor diffused in electronic format.

are just "another element of the stage interpretation process" (Rędzioch-Korkuz 2016, 228).

The analysis of the English surtitles produced for the *Falstaff* production has revealed how they can be perfectly integrated with all the other communicative channels of the opera, so that the linguistic apparatus is not ancillary to music; this is also the result of Riccardo Muti's commitment and efforts in underlining the extraordinary importance of each single word in such a difficult opera as *Falstaff*. Indeed, in a documentary film[11] he shot for the 2015 staging of the opera, he claimed that music must basically emphasise the meaning of words, and not vice versa, because the musical phrase should follow the syntax of the text and contribute to give each word value within the opera. At 1:37 of the documentary, Muti affirms that "[L]a parola, come dico io, in Verdi, è una parola michelangiolesca, come scolpita da Michelangelo", in the sense that it is not sufficient for singers to simply articulate words in an intelligible manner, but it is essential that words be filled with the thoughts and meanings they carry. He suggests that singers should not forget to "colorire gli aggettivi" (1:34), that is to convey the expressive weight of adjectives. It is not surprising, then, that Prescott Studio tried to pay the same attention to words in their English surtitles, through a keen analysis of the semantic nuances in Boito's libretto, which allowed a faithful reproduction of all the register changes and stylistic implications of the source text.

Opera surtitling is an example of specialized translation, whose most successful strategies are skopos-based: the goal of the surtitler is not set once and for all, but can vary according to the specific purpose that the target text intends to achieve. Surtitles have a pragmatic and functional goal – being at the service of the audience in order to enhance understanding of the plot and of the overall performance – but at the same time expressing a profound responsibility towards the poetic and stylistic nature of the original libretto. So far, mainly "technical" problems have been explored by researchers and professionals working in the field – the alleged intrusiveness of surtitles, their better positioning on the stage, their most suitable colours and fonts, their synchronisation with the libretto words, the possible mismatch between surtitles and modernised operas, the amount of textual condensation, the new technologies trying to offer alternative solutions to the "classic" surtitles projected on the stage and the like – but other topics, such as the question of style, have been left aside.

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[11] It was produced by RMMusic Srl, 2015, and contains clips of the rehearsals with all the artists who took part in the production of *Falstaff*: singers, members of the Italian Opera Academy and the Orchestra Giovanile "Luigi Cherubini".

To conclude, the time is ripe for a systematic and in-depth investigation of stylistic issues in surtitling for opera. The case study of *Falstaff* can help pursue this field of enquiry further, since it is a good illustration of how even an exquisitely sophisticated and polished libretto, like that of Arrigo Boito – a work of art in its own right due to his strong inclination towards formal and prosodic experimentalism, combined with a keen attention for lexical richness and phonic features of his verse, not to mention his rather unique mixture of colloquial and literary styles – can be adequately reduced into English surtitles without losing its literary quality or destroying its complex structure. Thus Verdi's final opera could serve as a model for further research, in order to overcome the traditional categories that are still used to evaluate surtitles: while, on the one hand, they should be as unobtrusive as possible, merely one of the many ingredients in an operatic performance, on the other hand it is of paramount importance not to sacrifice linguistic refinement and accuracy in style. It is to be hoped that the field of opera surtitling will soon benefit from other academic contributions which could eventually lead to the development of a stylistics-based framework for the analysis of surtitles, thus inaugurating a new way of looking at this well-established professional practice: not just an instrumental translation in which surtitlers pursue the art of invisibility in their work, but also a form of translation in which practitioners may gain visibility thanks to their stylistic choices, artistic creativity and remarkable skilfulness.

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Translation Goes *Live-Tweeting*: An Analysis of Multilingual and Multimodal Narration of Football Events

Francesco Meledandri

Introduction

In Knowledge Management System theory, information is conceived as the structuralisation of "raw", unstructured data which undergoes interpretation and a proper encoding-decoding process. More generally, this term is associated with the human necessity to retrieve knowledge but also to disseminate notions for different purposes (Thierauf 1999). In our contemporary society, the lemma acquires new facets in the light of an innovative scenario that involves a growing use of information for a wide range of interests and communication purposes. It is no surprise that our society is part of the so-called *Information era*, a perspective that acquires a precise significance when framed within the huge possibilities offered by media tools. In particular, the Internet proved to be a breakthrough in connecting people, favouring the development of a true global community in which different users take part in the creation of a potentially unlimited and interconnected gathering.

The Internet, in its diversified forms, is only an infrastructure that allows for the proliferation of protocols resulting in different platforms for online communication. Some promising devices, which have changed the traditional way of representing information and interconnecting users, are represented by social media networking tools, also known as *social networks* (Novick and Steen 2014). Here, a horizontal platform is created to provide users with the possibility to share contents and allow direct communication in order to 'feel' part of a given community. Indeed, there are some language-related devices that create *de facto* sub-communities gathered around common interests or language practices (Herring 2015).

Framed within a specific domain, that is football, this study aims at providing an overview of the way teams – to be perceived as global brands – provide real-time information during live events in order to keep their audience or community up-to-date, especially during football matches. In order to deliver prompt and effective information, such information needs to meet some criteria, which depend not only on the communicative purpose of the language event, but also on the specific features of the digital medium used. Indeed, considering the range of available online platforms used to develop such communities, the nature of the information provided may change since it relies on multimodal possibilities to different extents.

The study analyses football-related information and language, focusing on the translation strategies implemented to deliver multilingual messages. Many professional football teams have been embracing a multilingual policy in their social media activities due to the growing interest sparked by fanbases outside their respective national boundaries. This is particularly true for teams that have an international appeal, with the consequence that constant and interesting information needs to be provided. Fans all over the world are eager for information about their favourite sides, and the opportunity provided by social networks to overcome spatial constraints gives such teams a huge potential to penetrate new markets. This is why well-managed multilingual policies are needed when delivering immediate and useful information.

After outlining the main characteristics of sports, with a more detailed focus on football and its language that combines both specialised and common terms meant for a global audience, the study also provides a comment on the main features of social media, with particular emphasis on the characteristics of the platform analysed for the empirical part, that is Twitter. This social media platform has unique variables to be taken into account when delivering messages that make it a suitable tool for certain kinds of information even in a multilingual perspective. In this framework, the object of the study is to investigate how the Twitter accounts of some top Italian football teams translate live-tweets during matches almost simultaneously into English, considering the particular communication act (rapid, up-to-date information about a match-related event) and the peculiar features of the tool used (limited number of characters allowed by Twitter). The analysis also considers other tool-specific elements that can be used, such as hashtags or *emojis* (graphic elements) which have come to represent a 'universal' code to be used both in the source tweets and in their resulting translation(s). The empirical section of this study takes into account some examples from actual messages posted by Italian football

teams during live-tweeting sessions. The difference in terms of the translation strategies used, depending on the above-mentioned variables (use of limited number of characters, unique hashtags to label a specific match or to highlight the name of the team) emphasises the need for proper translation policies in order to provide real-time and effective communication via social media tools.

Football: a Global Debate in the Language of Sport

Among the different topics that spark online debate, sport is considered one of the most fruitful subjects for a global audience. Indeed, sport-related activities exert great influence on societies and can be considered a properly "pervasive social institution[s]" (Delaney and Madigan 2012, 3) that shapes cultural and social conventions. Sports define cultures and societies and vice versa, as in the case of the revolutionary 'total' vision of football envisaged in the Netherlands from the 1960s on, as the result of the cultural shift of that time, represented by the long-standing vision of the idea of space reinterpreted by the Dutch, and readapted on the football pitch (Winner 2012). Sports can also have moral implications, and depending on social frameworks it can have repercussions on other socially-bound topics such as religion, politics, ethics. Metaphorically, such topics can be associated with sporting activities, to such an extent that sport fans worship their teams – irrespective of the discipline involved – similarly to religious practices, and sport is also used by political figures (especially within totalitarian regimes) as instruments of national power.

In particular, football (in its American variant *soccer*, not to be confused with American football) is the eponym for 'the global sport' since its diffusion and fanbase reach the four corners of the earth (Goldblatt in Bergh and Olander 2012). For this reason, football can be considered a worldwide activity which is experienced both actively (extemporising a football match is relatively easy: you only need a flat ground, a group of people and a ball – or even a ball-like object) and passively, as billions of people are engaged in watching local or international games. Irrespective of the degree of direct involvement in football games, the experience of football is without equal: as Simon Critchley puts it, football "is a truer drama than theatre" and actually "drama lives in and as football" (Critchley 2018, 60).

As a direct consequence, football is characterised by a specific discourse that gathers people into a community sharing the same interest and passion. Notwithstanding its popularity, it is important to understand that communicating football events depends on several variables, such as

the type of act to be delivered and the text type created in compliance with writing conventions and reception (Nord 2005, 20-21). In this sense, the language of football may play a relevant role in descriptive texts (the narration of football events) but also in informative texts (a newspaper football report) or expressive texts (any language act conveyed by passive vs. active stakeholders in football events such as players or fans).

Football is therefore perceived as an all-encompassing phenomenon which can be described and narrated from different perspectives. For example, it can be framed as a physical activity, thus focusing on the gameplay; but there is a growing attitude towards its representation as a verbal activity, exemplified by the phrase 'football talk', dealing with comments and opinions expressed by different users from industry professionals to 'simple' fans. Verbal activities, in turn, function on different sub-levels, including direct football-related interactions (such as on-the-pitch language events) but a large proportion is represented by non-direct interactions or off-the-pitch verbal acts. As a result, the range of possible football-related texts differs in terms of the kind of purpose and also the level of shared and unshared knowledge, which leads to the use of general vs. specialised terms. Furthermore, the rise of hybrid forms can be observed, characterised by the introduction of highly specialised lemmas and ideas meant for general audiences and for popularisation purposes (Meledandri 2019).

Football Talk and Media Exposure: The Ever-growing Need for Real-time Communication

The dissemination of football-related communication acts benefits from the pluralisation of media devices and forms of transmission. As a matter of fact, such messages can be broadcast and sent across different channels such as print media outlets and new media such as blogs, websites but mostly social media (Rowe 2011, 94), strengthening the relationship between new forms of communication and sport-related activity, which is part of a framework defined by Rowe as "media sports cultural complex" (Rowe 2004, 4).

Given its relevance and status, it is important for sport teams and/or competitions – and football is no exception – to take full advantage of the potential offered by these tools to increase their visibility and to establish closer contact with their supporters. The ultimate aim is to consolidate their affiliation, thus opening up new markets and economic opportunities also for non-sport-related interests (Bruns, Weller and Harrington 2014). For this reason, international teams need to implement social media-

oriented language policies, but they also need to look for multilingual policies in order to pursue this strategy (Meledandri 2014).

All these language-related variables show an interesting intra- and interlinguistic potential which can be exploited by sport stakeholders to generate involvement in their activities. However, in order to create the so-called 'engagement' and to involve the fanbase, some strategies need to be considered at an early stage by making the most out of the potential offered by online media platforms (Matejic 2015).

Social Media Tools for Discourse-based Communication

In the light of the above-mentioned framework, an empirical approach considers examples of multilingual interactions carried out by football teams in order to provide communication effectively, not only to provide their users with prompt information, but also to include them in the affiliation process. As stated above, structured language policies should be implemented. Such policies depend on several variables, such as the digital, online tools used – e.g., official Website vs. Social Media Networks – the latter needing further classification since they are designed for specific purposes, depending on the kind of community users they aim to develop. The social networking tools which have been experiencing a constant rise in the number of users are Facebook, YouTube, Instagram, Tumblr, TikTok, Weibo, Twitter, and Pinterest, among others. Though similar in their structure (users create personal accounts and share interactions with other users), they differ in terms of the modality of primary interactions (texts, pictures, videos, etc.), which in turn shape the resulting major community in terms of gender, age, social class, and geographical areas. One example is represented by Weibo, a popular social networking tool mostly used by Chinese users because of China's digital censorship policies (Ng 2013, xiv). Other platforms focus instead on specific purposes to develop a well-defined community such as Anobii, typically designed "to share your passion for reading".

Another popular social networking platform is Twitter, whose main aims are to "follow your interests, hear what people are talking about, and join the conversation".[1] Once they have created a personal (or business) account, users can adopt a twofold approach: as active users, they can write or post multimodal messages by using words combined with pictures, videos or non-written interactions such as picture-like symbols –

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[1] This claim is found in Twitter's Home Page (in English): https://www.twitter.com.

emojis – or animated sequences called *Gifs* (derived from the IT file extension used to create such animations), thus providing their contribution within a certain topic. On the other hand, they could be passive users (called 'following' users) and take advantage of the messages written by other users from the accounts they want to follow or look for any conversation based on a desired keyword.

   Twitter proves to be an interesting platform due to some interesting and distinctive features. First of all, it is almost public: all data and messages can be freely browsed and retrieved even from third-party websites such as search engines,[2] apart from private accounts, which represent a minor share. Secondly, the kind of personal networks developed on Twitter are less likely to be acquaintance-based, favouring a network of following-follower users based on personal interests or topics, or institutions/personalities (indeed, the terms 'following' and 'follower' differ from the idea of 'friends', which is used to label digital relationships on other social networking platforms such as Facebook). A third feature lies in the use of device-specific tools. One is represented by retweets, or the possibility to repost a user's message in one's own sequence of messages, thus broadening the reach of the original message by making it available to the new user's followers; the other tool is represented by hashtags, which are used to classify and categorise information according to specific topics or keywords. It is interesting how an IT-based symbol, the hash (#) is used as a language and discourse instrument; indeed, hashtags can be used as pragmatic markers (Zappavigna 2017, 445) defined as "linguistically encoded clues which signal the speaker's potential communicative intentions" (Fraser 1996, 168). Similarly, using hashtag means providing both semantic relevance and retrievability to conversations in digital, online environments that somehow could label and guide users in retrieving any desired contents, in what Zappavigna called "the searchable talk" which "affords the possibility of new forms of social bonding" (Zappavigna 2015, 90), resulting in the proper achievement of discourse of social media (Bouvier 2015).

Social Media Policies to Raise Brand Awareness

Before carrying out an analysis of some of the translation policies adopted by the social media sites of some Italian football sides, it is important to describe the language and translation strategies that can be used when *posting* digital contents. Such a consideration emerges when focusing on

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[2] https://help.twitter.com/en/safety-and-security/public-and-protected-tweets.

the twofold nature of digital contents: on the one hand, any information provided is volatile in its fruition, especially in the progression of tweets that aim at narrating a rapid moment in the succession of events. On the other hand, this kind of content has a permanent (though virtual) location, therefore it can be retrieved at any time: for this reason, it is important to ponder the kind of information to be shared. In this sense, an emblematic tweet is the one posted by the English official account of an Italian football team, AS Roma, in response to a Twitter content by the official account of one of their rivals, Juventus FC. On November 9, 2018, the Turin-based team stated that a new Team store had opened for all Juventus fans in Rome. In response, AS Roma replied by stating that *Finally,* [there was] *something in Rome you DON'T need to see*:[3] here, the sarcastic tone of the message could easily be detected (especially in the use of capital letters, which are interpreted as 'shouting' or used to emphasise a word or phrase (Frehner 2008, 50), but it is also true that prosodic means are less likely to be conveyed in written interaction, though prosodic means in this mode do exist (Lehtonen 2000, 52). The message was surely aimed to 'attract' the team's own followers, but due to its nature (a public, provocative message retrievable by any users) it also sparked an online debate with controversial reactions by common users, thus perpetrating examples of *hate speech*, which has proved to be a growing trend on platforms such as Twitter (Miro-Llinares and Rodriguez-Sala 2016). Football in particular has been indicated as a divisive topic which can lead to the proliferation of discriminatory content (Sharma and Brooker 2016). Teams should also consider that language quality, especially in terms of the translation of contents or language in multi-lingual environments, is crucial to raise *brand awareness* and to keep interest and trust high among their users (de Run *et al.* 2012). In this sense, the English account opened by SSC Napoli in February 2017 initially lacked a professional translation policy since the tweets posted in its early period were a clear word-for-word translation from Italian. An example is represented by the use of colligational patterns which proved to be wrong in English (especially in cases such as *pass/shot/goal + of + Player's Name*) but, more generally, the final communicative intention was perceived to be linguistically inadequate for a professional institution.

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[3] https://twitter.com/ASRomaEN/status/1068097579416731654

Real-time Events to Prompt Communication:
Live-tweeting Football Events

Considering its above-mentioned distinctive features, Twitter is undoubtedly an interesting platform on which discourse-related investigations can be carried out (Squires 2016). Previous studies highlighted the role of this platform for language-oriented aims, such as language and ideological stances (Razfar 2019), language learning (Hattem and Lomicka 2016) or discourse-oriented affiliation (Zappavigna 2011) and audience (Marwick and Boyd 2010), proving that the bulk of communications posted on this platform do have a certain linguistic relevance in the observation of language in action for several purposes.

Twitter is used for a diversified range of communicative aims, such as declarations, personal thoughts, or advertising, among others. The opportunity of resorting to multimodal communication creates further diversification to reach different audiences in terms of age, gender, or social class. In the analysis that follows, an interesting example is represented by *live-tweeting*, a neologism that draws on the peculiar nature of Twitter, which proves to be very effective for multi-language purposes, thus opening up a translation-based perspective for this analysis. Live-tweeting is located at the intersection between a narration of reality and the tool used to represent it. Indeed, the word *tweeting* comes from the platform (Twitter) which is most likely to be used to produce such language acts, that is *tweets*. Considering the topic of this analysis, football *live-tweeting* is more likely to be used to provide very rapid messages with a certain conciseness, aimed at describing a given sport-related activity – similarly to play-by-play commentary (Bergh 2011) – in order to reach its fanbase as rapidly as possible, providing them with prompt information and giving them the opportunity to spark interactions in many digital and non-digital forms. It is no surprise that live-tweeting on Twitter is one of its most popular features (Stofer *et al.* 2019) and proves to be very effective for sport narration (Nicholson *et al.* 2015) in digital, online contexts.

Live-tweeting proves to be an interesting sub-genre in which the narration of events depends on both language- and non-language-related variables, such as the effectiveness and rapidity of the message provided as well as the use of a limited number of words due to the space constraints imposed by the platform (Zappavigna 2012). Nevertheless, the latter variable may not be a constriction in this particular kind of sub-genre, since rapid information to describe a single football-related event does not need many characters.

The analysis that follows aims at identifying some of the translation strategies adopted in order to provide multilingual social media contents. The investigation considers contents provided by some Italian football teams that share their activities – including live-tweeting events – in other languages, with English playing the most relevant role, being the *lingua franca* used to reach a global audience and access international markets.

As stated before, live-tweeting does not need many characters to describe a specific episode during a football match. Parallel translations may represent the most straightforward way to translate such 'direct' interactions without the need to use complex reformulations in terms of syntax or lexis, provided that such equivalence generates a fully-fledged message in the target language. Complex reformulation or reordering is not needed also due to its effectiveness in describing actions to be shared rapidly. In this sense, SSC Napoli enhanced its language quality (especially in English, if compared with the examples mentioned above) in providing live-tweeting contents in both Italian and English:

> Official SSC Napoli (sscnapoli). "Cross di @FabianRP52 che trova @arekmilik9 in area ma la sua girata di testa viene bloccata da Walke ⚽ #SalisburgoNapoli 0-0 🏆 @EuropaLeague #UEL 🏆 #ForzaNapoliSempre". 7:06 PM · Mar 14, 2019 Tweet[4]
> Official SSC Napoli (en_sscnapoli). "@FabianRP52's cross finds @arekmilik9 in the area but his header is saved by Walke ⚽ #SalzburgNapoli 0-0 🏆 @EuropaLeague #UEL 🏆 #ForzaNapoliSempre". 7:08 PM · Mar 14, 2019 Tweet[5]

In other words, equivalence in terms of lexis is a preferred strategy (in case a similar source text pattern is found, such as player substitution, a slight difference in translation can be carried out), as the following examples from the same account show:

> Official SSC Napoli (sscnapoli). "Cambio per il Napoli ☞ Malcuit 🖐 Chiriches ⚽ #SalisburgoNapoli 2-1 🏆 @EuropaLeague #UEL 🏆 #ForzaNapoliSempre". 8:29 PM · Mar 14, 2019 Tweet[6]
> Official SSC Napoli (en_sscnapoli). "Change for Napoli ☞ Malcuit 🖐 Chiriches ⚽ #SalzburgNapoli 2-1 🏆 @EuropaLeague #UEL 🏆 #ForzaNapoliSempre". 8:30 PM · Mar 14, 2019 Tweet[7]

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[4] https://twitter.com/sscnapoli/status/1106255194776616961
[5] https://twitter.com/en_sscnapoli/status/1106255805651791872
[6] https://twitter.com/sscnapoli/status/1106276088685252609
[7] https://twitter.com/en_sscnapoli/status/1106276406600916996

Official SSC Napoli (sscnapoli). "Cambio per il Salisburgo ☞ Leitgeb 🔄
Szoboszlai ⚽ #SalisburgoNapoli 2-1🏆 @EuropaLeague #UEL 🏆
#ForzaNapoliSempre" 8:25 PM · Mar 14, 2019 Tweet[8]
Official SSC Napoli (en_sscnapoli). "Another switch for Salzburg ☞
Leitgeb 🔄 Szoboszlai ⚽ #SalzburgNapoli 2-1 🏆 @EuropaLeague #UEL
🏆 #ForzaNapoliSempre". 8:27 PM · Mar 14, 2019 Tweet[9]

In some other cases, the narration of football-related events relies on a
shared, widespread and popularised lexis used to describe this discipline
(Lavric *et al.* 2008), therefore multilingual contents do not need to be
drastically changed. Furthermore, the use of non-verbal acts such as
pictures (like the visual representation of the teams' starting lineup) or
icons (the so-called *emoticons* or *emojis*) help in creating a sort of
'universal' message that only needs minor language-specific adaptation:

Official SSC Napoli (sscnapoli). "⚽ #SalisburgoNapoli 📌 XI 🏆
@EuropaLeague #UEL 🏆 #ForzaNapoliSempre". 5:15 PM · Mar 14, 2019
Tweet[10]
Official SSC Napoli (sscnapoli). "⚽ #SalzburgNapoli 📌 XI 🏆
@EuropaLeague #UEL 🏆 #ForzaNapoliSempre". 5:38 PM · Mar 14, 2019
Tweet[11] (In both tweets the same picture showing the faces and names of
Napoli's starting lineup is shown).

Another interesting strategy involves the reformulation of source text
messages to improve translation quality. In some cases, a short message in
the source text – such as the description of the most exciting on-the-pitch
event, that is scoring – is revisited and amplified with further descriptions
or additions (such as dedicated or brand-related hashtags, or non-verbal
signs such as *emojis* or symbols), thus broadening the intention with
emphasised effectiveness:

JuventusFC (juventusfc). "85' -
GOOOOOOOOOOOOOOOOOOOOOOOOOOOOOOOOOOOOO
OOOOOOOOOOOOOOOOOOOOOOOOOOOOOOOOOOOOOOL!!
!! Rigore perfetto di @Cristiano E SONO TRE! #JuveAtleti 3 - 0 #UCL".
10:45 PM · Mar 12, 2019 Tweet[12]

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[8] https://twitter.com/sscnapoli/status/1106275217603731456
[9] https://twitter.com/en_sscnapoli/status/1106275709583011842
[10] https://twitter.com/sscnapoli/status/1106227463548473347
[11] https://twitter.com/en_sscnapoli/status/1106233171585261568
[12] https://twitter.com/juventusfc/status/1105585614676787200

JuventusFC (juventusfcen). "86' G⚽⚽⚽ALLLLLLLLLLLLLL!!!!!!!!!
IT'S A HAT-TRICK FOR @Cristiano!!!!!!! COOL AS YOU LIKE
FROM THE SPOT!!!!!!!!!! 💧💧💧 #JuveAtleti [3-0] #UCL #ForzaJuve".
10:45 PM · Mar 12, 2019 Tweet[13]

This implies the fact that translators (or proper copywriters, in this
case) make the most of the device used in order to provide a more detailed
narration of such an important event. This confirms that multilingual *live-
tweeting* stems from the same communicative intention – an important
match-related episode to be shared with Twitter's community – but the
ways through which it can be conveyed show marked differences in terms
of composition and structure.

Bologna FC 1909 (BfcOfficialPage). "33' | ERICK NON SBAGLIA ⚽ 1
- 0 PER NOI #BolognaCagliari #WeAreOne". 1:06 PM · Mar 10, 2019
Tweet[14]
Bologna FC 1909 (BolognaFC1909en). "34' ❄❄❄ @ErickPulgar ❄❄❄
CALM AS YOU LIKE FROM THE SPOT. SENDS CRAGNO THE
WRONG WAY AND WE'RE IN THE LEAD! FORZAAAAAAAAA
❤🍺❤🍺❤🍺 #BolognaCagliari 1-0". 1:05 PM · Mar 10, 2019 Tweet[15]

The reverse process can be observed, too, with English tweets being
more concise but conveying the same involvement originated in the source
text:

JuventusFC (juventusfc). "E' FINITA! AMICI, E' FINITA! La Juve ha
completato la rimonta con una partita STRAORDINARIA! Tripletta di
@Cristiano, grandissima prova di squadra e siamo ai quarti!
COMEBACK... COMPLETE! #JuveAtleti 3 - 0 #UCL". 10:55 PM ·
Mar 12, 2019 Tweet[16]

JuventusFC (juventusfcen). "FT: COMEBACK COMPLETE ✅
#GETREADY FOR THE QUARTER-FINALS!!! 💪💪💪 #JuveAtleti
#UCL #FinoAllaFine #ForzaJuve". 10:56 PM · Mar 12, 2019 Tweet[17]

In other cases, match-related events are described by means of
syntactic reformulation that results in an inversion in the emphasis put on

[13] https://twitter.com/juventusfcen/status/1105585662617620480
[14] https://twitter.com/BfcOfficialPage/status/1104715051569766405
[15] https://twitter.com/BolognaFC1909en/status/1104715001636507648
[16] https://twitter.com/juventusfc/status/1105588256211636226
[17] https://twitter.com/juventusfcen/status/1105588503566581761

the different stakeholders involved (the referee ruling out a goal vs. the team being ruled out of a goal), in order to achieve a higher degree of neutrality with no team-related, inclusive reference especially when controversial episodes are involved:

> AS Roma (OfficialASRoma). "88': Maresca aveva convalidato un gol dell'Empoli, ma il VAR lo richiama per il fallo di Oberlin: si riparte con la punizione per noi #RomaEmpoli 2-1". 10:20 PM · Mar 11, 2019 Tweet[18]
> AS Roma English (ASRomaEN). 89' | VAR 🖥 | Empoli think they've equalised but, after a long check with VAR, the referee rules out the goal for a handball from Oberlin in the build-up. 2-1 | #RomaEmpoli". 10:20 PM · Mar 11, 2019 Tweet[19]

Reformulation can be used to omit culture-specific concepts associated with some SL expressions (the idea of Dante's *bolgia* used with an unusual positive prosody as a moment of celebration) or more informal references (e.g., nicknames commonly given to players are more likely to be used in SL contexts):

> Juventus FC (juventusfc). "5' - Subito bolgia all'Allianz Stadium! Proprio Giorgione @chiellini va in gol ma la rete viene annullata per un fallo in attacco. #JuveAtleti [0]-[0] #UCL". 9:06 PM · Mar 12, 2019 Tweet[20]
> Juventus FC (juventusfcen). "4' SO NEARLY THE DREAM START! @chiellini has the ball in the back of the net from a Bianconeri corner but it's ruled out by the referee. #JuveAtleti [0-0] #UCL #ForzaJuve". 9:06 PM · Mar 12, 2019 Tweet[21]

Another important strategy adopted involves the use of parallel contents within the same communication space, that is the same tweet. This all-encompassing strategy allows for a direct transposition of the contents generated in the SL and gives social media accounts a sort of international echo; at the same time, the risk is that of creating an interaction that merges two different languages, thus not differentiating between the specific audiences the account is addressing. The general trend, as seen in the previous examples, is represented by the creation of dedicated accounts in different languages with semi-autonomous policies in terms of the contents to be created in real-time communication. By means of this communication strategy, different and tailored fanbases can

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[18] https://twitter.com/OfficialASRoma/status/1105216831541989376
[19] https://twitter.com/ASRomaEN/status/1105216892137029634
[20] https://twitter.com/juventusfc/status/1105560744119189506
[21] https://twitter.com/juventusfcen/status/1105560783864455173

be reached and everyone can choose the language account they are interested in. Nevertheless, a multilingual content embedded in the same space can be conceived also thanks a recent decision by Twitter developers to extend the maximum number of characters from 140 to 280.[22] In this new scenario, the possibility of providing rapid multilingual messages can be fulfilled, since the 'message+translation space' allows for this twofold juxtaposition, once again favoured both by the use of non-verbal acts (pictures, icons or symbols) that are interposed between the messages in Italian and English and the translation strategies observed in the previous examples. This is the strategy used by AC Milan, in which hashtags are used as a connector for both languages, and texts may also contain external references (e.g., links to the official Website) to direct fans towards their desired multilingual information:

> AC Milan (acmilan). "#MilanInter ⏳ From Milanello to San Siro: the derby countdown begins! ☞ http://bit.ly/weekly-schedule-derby
> Da Milanello a San Siro: inizia il conto alla rovescia verso il Derby ☞ http://bit.ly/agenda-derby". 11:13 AM · Mar 11, 2019 Tweet[23]
> AC Milan (acmilan). "Turn it up a lil bit more! Let's relive the #ChievoMilan win in 1 minute 🎞
> Bigliaaa! Piątekkk!! Alzate il volume e riviviamo in 60 secondi il 2-1 al Bentegodi". 1:05 PM · Mar 10, 2019 Tweet[24]

> AC Milan (acmilan). "Always on target! 🎯 ⚽ Sempre a bersaglio! #ChievoMilan #ForzaMilan

Final Remarks

Social media communication can be used for different purposes, which have favoured the development of many sub-genres. In the light of the opportunities offered by this promising form of digital interaction, multilingual policies need to be implemented to ensure efficient communication. In this rapid overview, live-tweeting has been considered as an effective way to create engagement and enhance the loyalty of a team's fanbase. Within a multilingual and global scenario, Italian football teams with an international reach need to implement language strategies in order to provide this kind of narration. The most interesting feature lies in the fact that in many cases translation is not limited to a word-for-word

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[22] https://twitter.com/jack/status/928005317668913152
[23] https://twitter.com/acmilan/status/1105049051010138113
[24] https://twitter.com/acmilan/status/1104714929842634752

rendering of short messages in a target language, but undergoes a rational process of re-creation of contents in order to improve the quality of the content both in terms of wealth of information and intelligibility. Further studies may provide quantitative and/or qualitative analyses of the translation strategies adopted by focusing on the actual 'translation spaces' (Meledandri 2018) used – also in the light of the character constraint offered by the platform analysed which, however, does not seem to hamper this form of transmission of ideas – in a comparison between Italian and English tweets. Other approaches may focus on the use of tool-specific devices such as hashtags, mentions, or the growing role of non-verbal elements such as pictures, *emojis*, or any graphic, non-verbal signs which can be used interchangeably. Furthermore, in recent times teams have been creating dedicated social media accounts in other languages (other than English) to address specific fanbases, areas, and markets; this also allows for a potential multilingual comparison of contents in terms of the translation strategies adopted.

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Audiovisual Translators' Strategies in the Pragmatics of (Im)politeness: Insights from Dubbing

Vittorio Napoli

Introduction

Through this contribution, I pick up on the notion of translation equivalence (Vinay and Darbelnet 1958, Nida 1964, Newmark 1981) and more specifically on pragmatic equivalence (Koller 1979, Baker 1992, House 1997) to coin the label "(im)politeness equivalence" obtained at the speech act level. Since audiovisual texts are the object of the investigation, "(im)politeness equivalence" refers to whether on-screen characters' polite or impolite speech, when making requests, was distorted in the translation process or, on the contrary, was successfully reproduced in the target text by dubbing translators. Linguistic politeness and impoliteness play a special role in shaping judgements towards the people we interact with in real life (Spencer-Oatey 2005) and, likewise, they contribute to the characterization of film characters (Culpeper 1998, 83; Mandala 2011, 211). Moving from this assumption, if we bring audiovisual translation into the scene, it becomes clear how maintaining, in the translated film version, the same degree of (im)politeness in characters' speech is critical if the same type of characterization is to be preserved for target-language viewers. Notwithstanding, securing (im)politeness equivalence can be a daunting task for translators: grammatical and typological differences between language systems can require substantial departures from the original utterance, with the consequence that pragmatic shifts can ensue, especially in speech acts rich in (im)polite import. When it comes to linguistic manipulations of the source language text, translation for dubbing places itself at the forefront, with translators having to obey audiovisual constraints typifying audiovisual translation (Whitman 1992; Herbst 1997). To forestall contingent shifts in the illocutionary force, and consequently in the (im)polite load of a speech act, which are occasioned by linguistic manipulations and are likely to alter the characterization of the same

character in the translated film version, translators should resort to compensatory pragmatic strategies. The study focuses on requests in English film dialogue and in dubbing translation into Italian and investigates how their pragmatic force and their (im)polite import, attained through direct/indirect realization strategies and through mitigation/intensification pragmatic modifiers, are successfully maintained in the target language notwithstanding linguistic changes.

Theoretical Background: The Speech Act of Requesting

Within the framework of Speech Act Theory (Austin 1962; Searle 1969), requests have been defined as "attempts by the speaker to get the hearer to do something" (Searle 1969, 71), where this "something" has to benefit the speaker and be at the cost of the hearer (Leech 2014, 136). Following Speech Act Theory, requests have been analysed through the lens of Politeness Theory (Brown and Levinson 1978/1987) which includes them among face-threatening acts (FTAs) because they attack the hearer's negative face, namely "the want of every competent adult member that his actions be unimpeded by others" (Brown and Levinson 1987, 62). The speech act of requests can be broken down into two components: the "head act", which is the main utterance conveying the speaker's directive illocutionary intent and determining its degree of (in)directness, and pragmatic modification which comprises grammatical or lexical/phrasal strategies that mitigate or intensify the request's illocutionary force (among others, Blum-Kulka and Olshtain 1984; Trosborg 1995; Sifianou 1999). The head act determines whether a request is delivered through a direct or indirect realization strategy (e.g. "close the door" vs "can you close the door?"), while pragmatic modification, when present, is attained by means of mitigating or intensifying strategies called downgraders and upgraders, respectively (Trosborg 1995; Rue and Zhang 2008; Flöck 2016). For instance, in "can you please close the door?", *please* acts as a downgrader, while in "close the door, now", *now* acts an upgrader. Going back to Politeness Theory, it has been argued that, when speakers intend to be polite, the illocutionary force of an FTA should be mitigated through favouring (1) indirect over direct strategies (Searle 1976, 76; Leech 1983, 131-132) and (2) downgraders over upgraders (Economidou Kogetsidis 2008; Martínez-Flor 2008). (In)direct realization strategies and downgrading/upgrading modification are the two parameters exploited in the present study to gauge the pragmatic force and the potential (im)polite import of original and translated requests.

Pragmatic Equivalence in Translation Studies

Debates around what constitutes translation equivalence has characterized Translation Studies since the very inception of the discipline (Holmes 1988) and, even before that, the notion of equivalence had been at the centre of controversies revolving around the concept of sameness and fidelity between source and target text (Vinay and Darbelnet 1958; Catford 1965; Nida and Taber 1969; Newmark 1981). Theories which looked at equivalence at the lexical and sentential level (Vinay and Darbelnet 1958; Catford 1965) slowly branched out to include more pragmatic and functional perspectives (Reiss and Vermeer 1984/2014; House 1997; Emery 2004) where the communicative context (Reiss and Vermeer 1984/2014), as well as the text unit as a whole (Hatim and Mason 1990) took increasing prominence. However, with the exception of a few empirical and theoretical contributions (Gutt 1998; Aijmer 2010; Kranich 2019; Tripton and Desilla 2019), Translation Studies has so far admittedly neglected pragmatic phenomena (e.g. implicatures, im/politeness, deixis, information structure, stance, among others) and a profitable dialogue between pragmatics and TS has only recently started. A possible reason for this gap is that pragmatics, being the study of language in context, has always focused on spoken discourse and only recently has it turned to the written mode (Emery 2004, 146). If pragmatic equivalence is still nowadays a concept in need of more systematic scrutiny, it comes as no surprise that (im)politeness equivalence, which can be considered as a subset of pragmatic equivalence, represents new ground in TS.

Compensation as a Translation Strategy

Closely intertwined with translation equivalence is the notion of compensation as a translation strategy. Compensatory strategies are resorted to by translators whenever the target language system does not offer an equivalent term or expression for the source language lexical/phrasal item or idiomatic expression. In particular,

> where any conventional translation (whether literal or otherwise) would entail an unacceptable translation loss, this loss is reduced by the freely chosen introduction of a less unacceptable one, such that important ST effects are rendered approximately in the TT by means other than those used in the ST. (Hervey and Higgins 1992, 43)

Zooming in on audiovisual translation, Heiss (2004) contends that in order to preserve characters' distinctive speech style also in dubbed film

versions, translators often employ compensatory strategies at the level of syntax, lexis and pronunciation. Always in the domain of dubbing translation, Ranzato (2015, 93) finds that cultural references are sometimes introduced in dialogues translated into Italian, even though these were not present in the original dialogues, to compensate for the loss of other, untranslatable realia elsewhere in the source language text. Dore (2016) observes that the inevitable standardization, occurring in dubbed dialogues, of dialects which serve to mark the speech of youngsters in original film versions is compensated for by the addition of slang and swear words in translated versions. Hervey and Higgins (1992, 47) deal with puns untranslatable in the TT and reveal how their absence is compensated for by the addition of other puns somewhere else in the text. Bonsignori (2009) shows that Italian dubbing translators use pragmatic compensatory strategies to preserve, in the TT, the function of some question tags, very much used in spoken English but non-existent in Italian, through alternative linguistic gimmicks. Bonsignori's study, especially relevant for the present research because it is the first one (to my knowledge) to address translation compensatory strategies at the pragmatic level, shows that the function of some English tag questions, including marking cultural background, challenging the hearer and indexing informal register, is reproduced in Italian dialogues through creative strategies (pronominal redundancy, use of emphatic verbs, exclamative utterances, etc.). To the best of my knowledge, however, pragmatic compensation strategies involving (im)politeness have not been empirically investigated. As audiovisual constraints largely shape translators' linguistic choices and severely limit their leeway (Whitman 1992; Herbst 1997; Chaume 2004), dubbing translation represents a particularly enticing field within TS, for the study of compensatory strategies, both in general and as regards (im)politeness-related language aspects.

Research Methodology

One thousand two hundred and twenty-seven instances of requests[1] were collected from twelve English films and from their counterparts dubbed into Italian. Original and dubbed films were sampled from the Pavia Corpus of Film Dialogue (Pavesi *et al*. 2014). As the study adopted an onomasiologic, function-to-form methodology, the data being collected and categorized according to pragmatic function and not to linguistic form, all films were

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[1] The sample is massive because the present study is part of a larger PhD research project involving quantitative methods, for which a conspicuous amount of data was necessary.

watched entirely and requests were collected every time they were uttered by characters. Performing a lexical or phrasal query for routinized formulae typically employed in requests (e.g. "can you…?") or for politeness marker like "please", would have left out instances of indirect requests (e.g. declarative utterances like "it is cold in here" to mean "close the door").

After annotation on an Excel spreadsheet, requests were codified following the two parameters which determine their illocutionary force and, consequently, their potential (im)polite load: realization strategies and pragmatic modifiers. Direct requests (e.g. "<u>hand</u> me the glass") were separated from indirect requests (e.g. "<u>can you</u> drive me home?"), whereas requests mitigated by downgraders (e.g. "can you <u>possibly</u> hand me the glass?") were separated from requests intensified by upgraders (e.g. "hand me the glass, <u>I said</u>"). Direct strategies, together with upgrading modification, were associated with higher illocutionary force and so with higher potential for impoliteness, whereas indirect strategies, together with downgrading modification, resulted in mitigated illocutionary force and so in more politeness. The identification of direct and indirect strategies, on the one hand, and of downgraders and upgraders, on the other hand, was carried out following well-established taxonomies used in past studies of requests (Blum-Kulka *et al.* 1989; Trosborg 1995; Felix-Brasdefer 2007; Ogiermann 2009). These taxonomies were collapsed so that the final taxonomy could be as comprehensive as possible.

After data collection and codification, I considered for analysis only original English requests pragmatically modified by downgraders or upgraders which do not have a counterpart in Italian. From the sample thus narrowed, I focused on translated requests to verify whether (and how) translators had managed to maintain the same, or similar, (im)polite import as the original utterance, notwithstanding the lack of a literal translation for the downgrader(s) or upgrader(s) which give the original utterance its (im)polite import. More specifically, I focused on the adverb "just", the adjective "fucking" and question tags (e.g. "will you?", "can you?", etc.). As for "just", when it accompanies an imperative form in English, it can both downgrade or upgrade the request illocutionary force, depending on contingent contextual information, like prosody (Beeching 2017, 467). For example, in "<u>just</u> have a look at my picture" it acts as a downgrader, while in "<u>just</u> stop!" it acts as an upgrader. The second instance is represented by the adjective "fucking" pre-modifying an adverb (e.g. "You are <u>fucking</u> nothing compared to me") and which, in the case of requests, acts as an upgrader. The third instance includes question tags that, having the function of eliciting the hearer's opinion, are considered as downgraders: "You can't help me with the shopping, <u>can you</u>?". As these three lexical/phrasal

modifiers cannot be literally translated into Italian, the analysis aimed at verifying whether translators, through resorting to compensatory strategies, managed to preserve pragmatic mitigation/intensification in the translated utterance. As shown in the next section, audiovisual constraints imposed by non-verbal modes typifying dubbing translation may have also played a role in determining the compensatory strategy adopted.

Results

I will start by dealing with the case of "just" accompanying an imperative form, both in its mitigating and intensifying function. In a scene from *Notting Hill*, William is addressing Spike, his good-for-nothing flatmate who is half-naked and about to get out of their apartment, and tells him not to go outside without clothes. When Spikes asks why, William issues the following request, at min. 1.23.15: "<u>Just</u> take my word for it". In the Italian version, the request becomes "<u>Devi</u> credermi sulla parola" (you must take my word for it). Throughout the film, William plays the role of the smart flatmate and stands in contrast with Spike, who is kind-hearted but dumb. This creates a situation of power imbalance, where William is more powerful than Spike (both intellectually but also with respect to social status) and is often patronizing towards him. In this scene, William briskly utters the request while half-glaring at Spike and walks away without waiting for his answer, an attitude which further testifies to such power imbalance. In view of this, "just" is used in its intensifying function and prompts an impolite construal, because the requester (William) does not need to mitigate face threat owing to his being powerful over the requestee (Spike). As Italian offers no equivalent term which can literally translate "just" in this pragmatic function, in order to maintain pragmatic intensification, the dubbing translator[2] sought compensation at the level of realization strategy and used a deontic form (you must) *in lieu* of the original imperative form. Deontic forms in requests carry a stronger illocutionary force than imperative forms and are construed by the requestee as more impositive (Fraser and Nolen 1981) and consequently impolite. By turning an imperative form into a deontic form, the translator managed to maintain the original utterance impolite load, thus making up for the absence of "just".

As far as mitigating "just" is concerned, one instance appears in a request issued in one of the first scenes from *Runaway Bride*, when journalist Ike is in Ellie's (his employer) office and Ellie fires him for having

[2] Throughout the paper, the term *translator* should be intended as referring to the *collective translator*, which in translation for dubbing encompasses both translator and dialogue-adapted, when these two figures do not coincide.

fabricated the facts of his last newspaper article. After taking in the bad news, Ike makes the following request to Ellie: "<u>Just</u> give me a call when you feel that I've served my time". Here "just" acts as a downgrader, because it fulfills the function of a politeness marker: Ike is subordinate to Ellie, because she is his employer and, in this scene, she is also firing him, a situation which makes Ellie particularly powerful. As past studies of politeness have shown, when the hearer holds power over the speaker, the latter is more likely and expected to engage in polite behaviour (see Pan 1995 and Bremner 2006, among others, for an account of the relationship between power and politeness). In the dubbed Italian version, the character says: "Chiamami quando pensi che abbia scontato la pena, <u>d'accordo</u>?" (give me a call when you feel that I've served my time, ok?). As the reader will notice, the translator added a post-utterance discourse marker (ok?) which was absent from the original cue. When appearing in requests, final-utterance particles such as "ok?/all right?/what do you think?" act as downgraders and are called "appealers" (Sifianou 1999; Hassal 2001), their function being that of checking for the hearer's opinion. Attending to the requestee's opinion increases politeness. Probably aware of the power imbalance between characters and, consequently, of the need to preserve the polite import originally afforded by the untranslatable mitigating "just", the translator sought compensation through the addition of an appealer in the TT.

Moving on to the adjective "fucking", as has been said, it can pre-modify an adverb in English but cannot in Italian. In a very tense scene from *Looking for Eric*, Eric, Ryan's father, is physically struggling with his son in an attempt to keep him from escaping their apartment. At min. 1.17.51, Eric issues the following request to him: "You're going <u>fucking</u> nowhere, you're going <u>fucking</u> nowhere"; in the dubbed Italian version this becomes "Tu non vai da nessuna parte, da nessuna parte, <u>capito?</u>" (you're going nowhere, you're going nowhere, do you hear me?). The original request contains two upgraders which maximize its illocutionary force and, hence, its impolite load: (1) the repetition of the utterance itself ("you're going fucking nowhere" is reiterated twice) and (2) the use of the taboo word "fucking", here acting as an intensifier for the adverb "nowhere". The first upgrader (repetition of request) was kept unaltered in the Italian utterance (tu non vai da nessuna parte, da nessuna parte), while the second upgrader (fucking) was lost owing to the impossibility, in the target language, of using it in this syntactic position (literal translations such as "da nessuna fottuta parte/da nessun'altra cazzo di parte" are not allowed in Italian). However, the loss of the impolite pragmatic load carried by "fucking" was compensated for by the addition of the post-utterance particle "capito?" (do

you hear me?), absent from the original. Uptake-securing devices like "capito?" always have an intensifying illocutionary function, because they are used to make sure that the hearer has grasped the message. When a request is delivered, attempting to secure the hearer's uptake leads to more pressure on the addressee to act, which increases impoliteness. Although there is no denying that the pragmatic impolite import yielded by "capito?" cannot be equated with the impoliteness degree carried by the taboo word "fucking", an attempt at pragmatic compensation by the translator can be observed.

A remarkable case of successful pragmatic compensation both involving realization strategy and pragmatic modification has been found in *Secrets and Lies*, when Hortense meets the counselor who will assist her in the quest for her biological mother. The two engage in an initial stage of phatic talk during which they exchange information to get to know each other. At one point, Jenny, the counselor, gets to the purpose of the visit through the following request: "Let's talk a little bit about you, shall we?". In the Italian version, the utterance was translated as "Vogliamo parlare un po' di te?" (shall we talk a little bit about you?). The original request is delivered through a direct strategy, since Jenny uses a first-person plural imperative form (let's talk), and it is pragmatically mitigated by three downgraders. The first downgrader consists in the use of the first-person plural form of the verb which lowers imposition, compared to second-person singular imperative forms ("let's talk about you" is more mitigated and arguably more polite than "tell me about you"). The second downgrader is the post-utterance tag phrase "shall we?", namely an appealer carrying the same pragmatic function as "ok?" (see above). The third downgrader is the adverbial phrase "a little bit" which functions as an "understater" (Blum-Kulka *et al.* 1989), because it weakens the request illocutionary force by downplaying the degree of imposition inherent in the action requested. If we look at the translated utterance, the first thing that can be observed is that the original request realization strategy was changed from a direct one into an indirect one. The use of the interrogative "shall we+V" formula (vogliamo parlare…?) is typically associated to the speech act of proposing and not of requesting, since it refers to an action carried out jointly by the speaker and the hearer. The translated request here is thus delivered indirectly, being masqueraded as a proposal. As far as the three downgraders in the original utterance are concerned, while the first-person plural form (vogliamo parlare…?) and the understater "a little bit" (un po') were both kept in the translated request, the downgrader "shall we?" was removed. The interesting thing is that Italian would have allowed for a literal equivalent item (e.g. "ok?/che dici?/d'accordo?"), so its removal was

not motivated by linguistic reasons. A literal translation like "Parliamo un po' di te, ok/che dici?/d'accordo?" sounds perfectly natural in Italian. The reason for its omission in the Italian cue, as well the reason why the realization strategy was also changed, should be sought in issues of pragmatic compensation related here to audiovisual constraints. Unlike the three previous cases, linguistic manipulation was not caused by the lack of a translation equivalent in the TL but, rather, by the need to respect isochrony. In fact, had the utterance been translated literally ("Parliamo un po' di te, ok/che dici?/d'accordo?"), the Italian request would have required a shorter uttering time than the original request ("Let's talk a little bit about you, shall we?"), because "un po'" and "di te" are both shorter than their literal counterparts: "a little bit" and "about you". A shorter utterance would have resulted in the dubbing actor finishing speaking while the on-screen character was still moving her lips and isochrony constraints would not have been respected. In dubbing translation, isochrony, that is the type of synchronization predicting that the translated utterance must have the same uttering time as the original utterance (Goris 1993) is particularly important and even supersedes other types of acoustic/visual synchrony constraints (Herbst 1994; Chaume 2004). For this reason, the translator may, on the one hand, have been unable to translate the utterance literally but, on the other hand, he/she may have intended to preserve its original pragmatic load. As far as the first issue is concerned, using the proposal-like formula "vogliamo parlare", instead of the shorter literal translation "parlami", allowed the translator to lengthen the Italian utterance, by making up for the shorter uttering time of "un po'" and "di te". In this way, isochrony-related problems were solved. However, switching from a direct to an indirect strategy alone would have increased the overall degree of politeness for the Italian utterance. It is then possible that the translator decided to omit the translation for the downgrader "shall we?" for reasons of pragmatic compensation, in order to lower the utterance politeness degree and make up for its increase entailed by the change from direct into indirect strategy. In this way, the overall politeness level of the request remained roughly unaltered.

General Discussion

The examples provided all reveal that dubbing translators adopted satisfactory compensatory strategies at the pragmatic level, when linguistic manipulation of the original utterance could not be avoided owing to language-related issues or to dubbing constraints. In my view, the presence of compensatory strategies is an indication of good pragmatic skills on the

translator's part, which include (1) the ability to correctly weigh the original utterance (im)polite load, viz. pragmatic awareness, and (2) the ability to re-create the same (or similar) degree of (im)politeness in the translated utterance, through alternative strategies. The process underlying the adoption of compensatory strategies can in fact be considered two-fold. During the first stage, the translator notices that certain downgraders/upgraders in the source language utterance afford it pragmatic mitigation/intensification and, consequently, a potential (im)polite construal. During the second stage, the translator, unable to reproduce the (im)polite import of the original utterance, owing to the absence of literal equivalents for those downgraders or upgraders, on the one hand, or to the need to respect dubbing constraints, on the other hand, resorts to compensation strategies.

Pragmatic compensation may be proof of the fact that translators can make a full-fledged assessment of the pragmatic import of the original speech act, thus moving beyond its linguistic structure, that is the speech act locutionary plane (Austin 1962). In addition, the example from *Notting Hill*, where "Just take my word for it" is rendered as "Devi credermi sulla parola" suggests that translators' pragmatic awareness and assessment of the original utterance (im)politeness occur holistically, at the level of the whole speech act, and are not tied to either realization strategy or pragmatic modifiers. Here, the lack of a literal translation for "just" was compensated for by a change in realization strategy altogether, whereby the translator replaced an imperative form with a deontic form ("Devi credermi sulla parola"). The fact that translators were able to compensate for the absence in Italian of a pragmatic modifier with a change in realization strategy, thus acting on a request level other than pragmatic modification, allows speculating that a holistic pragmatic assessment took place. The case of "just" is particularly interesting also because translators were able to distinguish between its intensifying function (in the instance from *Notting Hill*) and its mitigating function (in the instance from *Runaway Bride*) and adopted compensation strategies which were intensifying and mitigating, respectively. As has been argued, power imbalance between characters (powerful requester in the *Notting Hill* and powerful requestee in *Runaway Bride*) may have helped translators recognize the intensifying and the mitigating function of "just". This leads to the further speculation that translators, besides having correctly assessed the pragmatic load of the original request from a pragmalinguistic viewpoint, by recognizing the pragmatic function of (im)politeness-laden downgraders and upgraders, also paid due attention to the sociopragmatic context, here characterized by the characters' power imbalance, which bears on interpersonal rapport and sanctions different degrees of (im)politeness.

The findings of the present research are consistent with Bonsignori's study, mentioned above, which also shows that dubbing translators adopt compensatory strategies at the pragmatic level. Bonsignori's research revealed, likewise, that dubbing translators were able to recreate, in the TT, the pragmatic meaning of questions tags non-existent in Italian, through alternative solutions. To conclude, these findings can also be interpreted under the lens of Austin's (1962) theory of illocutionary and perlocutionary acts. Harking back to Austin's theory, Katan (2002, 184) refers to the translator as a cultural mediator and, taking a prescriptive stance, states that

> not only should the translator-mediator be free from the constraints of the source and target cultures, but s/he should also have the ability to choose, and the desire to play with, the potential perlocutionary effect in each particular translation circumstance.

If we conceptualize the on-screen characters' use of (im)polite language as having the perlocutionary effect, envisaged by the film collective sender, of prompting a certain kind of characterization for the source language viewer, it can be argued that the translators' adoption of compensatory strategies brings to light two aspects. The first aspect is that translators recognized the film collective sender's illocutionary intent of exploiting (im)politeness for characterization purposes. The second aspect is that translators, by resorting to pragmatic compensatory strategies when needed, honoured the original film collective sender's perlocutionary intent of reaching a certain kind of characterization through (im)polite language, by trying to reproduce the same kind of characterization on the TL viewer. Put it differently, (im)politeness equivalence, both at the illocutionary and perlocutionary level, with respect to the source language speech act, was not only sought but successfully attained by translators.

Limitations of the Study and Directions for Future Research

Findings from studies investigating translation from the point of view of the *product*, as is the case with the present research, cannot claim to account for cognitive phenomena, like translators' pragmatic skills and awareness, which should instead be addressed by research on translation as a *process*. The first limitation of the study thus consists in the fact that speculations about translators' pragmatic awareness and translation skills made here should be taken with caution. The second limitation relates to the fact that, as in the dubbing process the original translation provided by the translator-

dialogue adaptor might undergo modifications (albeit very slight) by the dubbing actor or by the dubbing director, the analyst cannot know for certain if the translation solutions investigated (and from which speculations are generated) belonged to the translation process or, rather, originated in the acting stage.

Having made such caveats, it cannot be denied, on the other hand, that data from translation-as-a-product research can provide important preliminary insights to be empirically tested in investigations into translators' cognitive processes. Basing itself on the data observable from the translation product, this research suggests that dubbing translators possess a good level of pragmatic and (im)politeness awareness, as well as good pragmatic translation skills. Taking stock of the findings discussed, further work should avail itself of the tools afforded by translation-as-a-process research methodologies, such as think-aloud protocols (Jääskeläinen 1990; Bernardini 2015) or post-task interviews (Mirlohi *et al.* 2011; Pisanski Peterlin 2014) to verify the assumptions put forward in this paper. Doing so would garner more robust insights into whether pragmatic-related aspects of language, like (im)politeness, meet or escape translators' awareness, in the first place, and whether they are successfully reproduced in the TL, in the second place. There is reason to believe that pragmatics, being the study of language in context is, with respect to other levels of language analysis, not only more prone to subjective interpretations but also more likely to escape translators' attention altogether. For this reason, within the discipline of TS, (im)politeness and pragmatics, more broadly, represent an exciting research avenue to pursue which should combine mutually enriching insights coming both from translation-as-a-product and from translation-as-a process investigations.

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Fellini's *Le notti di Cabiria*: How is Dialect vs. Standard Italian Rendered in English Subtitles?

Francesca Raffi

Introduction

Several translation scholars have argued that, in professional subtitling, condensation strategies and the diamesic transformation from spoken to written language are responsible for reductions that generally concern markers of orality (Guillot 2007 and 2018). Therefore, considering that the language of films departs from spontaneous orality and tends to be normalised (Kozloff 2000; Rossi 2002; Pavesi 2005) or, as Chaume (2004, 168) terms it, "prefabricated", subtitling takes the standardisation of film dialogue one step further (Díaz Cintas and Remael 2007, 63).

In fact, to allow the audience to make use of the so-called "suspension of disbelief" (Coleridge 1817/1985, 314), subtitling needs to achieve "immediate intelligibility" (Pedersen 2011, 23). According to Mailhac (2000a, 131), this often means eliminating the marked features of a whole range of dimensions, such as syntax, social or geographical origin, style, and register or, in the words of Mailhac (2000b, 35), "levels of speech".[1] Since the audience is presented with "single-language subtitles" (Heiss 2004, 215), subtitling impacts on the linguistic characterisation of the speakers and functions as a "levelling agent" (Dwyer 2018, 32), thus creating a homogenising effect. Standardisation in subtitling is most evident when films rely strongly on the use of dialects, regiolects or sociolects (De Meo 2012; Tortoriello 2012; Ellender 2015; Bonsignori, Bruti and Sandrelli 2019). Dialects are language-specific, and therein lies the difficulty of bringing a dialect into the receiving culture. One strategy could be to replace

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[1] According to Mailhac (2000b, 35), register (or "levels of speech") can be classified into two broad categories: marked (either formal or informal) and unmarked (that is, neutral). However, boundaries are often blurred and overlapping occurs (Pettit 2005, 50).

one dialect with another domestic 'equivalent'. However, dialect-to-dialect translation can only result in a loss or a relocation of characters' identities (Jäckel 2001; Mével 2007; Ellender 2015).

The risk of homogenisation in subtitling is all the more manifest when dialect is purposely used in films in conjunction with standard language to mirror asymmetrical social and cultural arrangements. The difference between the use of standard language and dialect can be easily recognised by source-language viewers and members of the audience with some knowledge of the source language, who engage in "semantic listening", that is listening for words and meaning (Chion 1994, 28). Similarly, it is clear when characters are using dialect, even if the source-language audience is not wholly familiar with it; in this case, dialect provokes "reduced listening" (Chion 1994, 29) because viewers recognise it only as sound. In contrast, the target-language audience is not able to detect the difference between standard language and dialect and cannot perceive it through translation. In this case, the language used in the subtitles is 'diluted' and neutralised, as discussed above. In fact, audiences are not a homogeneous and uniform entity; the extent to which viewers master each of the language varieties involved may vary and will inevitably have a considerable impact on the reception of dialogues, images, sounds, the narrative, and characters, in other words "the way/s in which individuals and groups interact with media content, how a text is interpreted, appreciated, remembered" (Di Giovanni 2018, 161).

Neorealism is a cinematic genre that became emblematic in representing social, cultural, and economic distinctions through the resources of language. In neorealist films in general, and in certain films that can be related to the movement, dialect is used not only to faithfully represent the pluralistic world of post-war Italy but also to create a binary opposition, positive versus negative, reflected in the contrast between dialect and standard Italian: on the one hand, the positive code represented by lower-class Italians and associated with dialect; on the other, the negative code represented by middle-class characters speaking in standard Italian. Among other examples, Fellini's *Le notti di Cabiria* (Nights of Cabiria, 1957), which Bazin (2005, 83) defines as a "voyage to the end of neorealism", perfectly mirrors this binary opposition. Indeed, it is well known that the director asked Pier Paolo Pasolini to bring more authenticity to the language used by the characters living on the margins of Roman society (Rossi 2006, 596) and to represent the opposition between dialect and standard Italian more strongly. What is more, language has an additional function in the film. The protagonist, Cabiria, is a prostitute who experiences a radical life change during her personal journey towards redemption, and this leads her

to abandon both the world of prostitutes and her own dialect. The improvement in her social condition and her departure from the proletarian class is reflected, then, in a more correct way of speaking, closer to standard bourgeois Italian.

The audiovisual translation mode chosen to export the film to the UK was subtitling, and in the subtitles the Roman dialect was not replaced with another dialect in the target language. This paper investigates whether Pasolini's interventions and the linguistic asymmetries (dialect vs. standard Italian) in *Le notti di Cabiria* are (re)constructed in the translation of the film for the British market. After describing the use of dialect and the dual, positive versus negative code in neorealist films, Pasolini's interventions in *Le notti di Cabiria* are discussed. Finally, the case study of Fellini's film and its translation for British viewers is presented. The analysis focuses on the main changes made by Pasolini in the scene set in Rome's *Passeggiata archeologica* (Zabagli 1995) and the presence of Italian words in the English subtitles which seem to be used to narrate Cabiria's "redemption" (Romanelli 2015, 217) and some conclusions are drawn.

Neorealism: Dialect and Standard Italian

The term neorealism first appeared in the Italian press in 1942,[2] when Antonio Pietrangeli anticipated the release of Luchino Visconti's film *Ossessione* (1942) with an article published on 25 July 1942 in the Italian journal *Cinema* (number 146). Roberto Rossellini's *Roma città aperta* marked, in 1945, the birth of neorealist ideology – rooted in the realism typical of Italian *verismo* (Cardullo 2011, 21) and paving the way for the renaissance of Italian cinema on both a national and international level.

One of the main traits of neorealist films, which profoundly anchors them in the local Italian context, is the use of dialect, as well as regional varieties of spoken Italian and vernacular expressions. Rossellini himself stated in 1952: "Neorealism is given birth, unconsciously, by the film in dialect" (Wagstaff 2007, 123). This profoundly contrasts with the cinema of the fascist period and its depictions of a national ideal, when dialects were only allowed in domestic films in order to serve the cause of the national language.

Under fascism, dialect was in fact associated with the idea of disunity and seen as a threat to the broad diffusion of the national language. Therefore, dialect was permitted in films only when it was ideologically

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[2] The very first use of the term *neorealismo* dates back to the 1920s, when it was associated with Soviet literature and cinema (Wagstaff 2007, 409).

constructive by creating a binary opposition that was useful for spreading fascist propaganda. While standard Italian represented the unifying power of the national language, dialect was used as an expression of separation, exclusion, and estrangement; or it was simply relegated to the realms of low popular culture in order to condemn or ridicule Italian speakers of dialect (Sisto 2014, 79). Consequently, in fascist films language was coded positively in standard Italian and negatively in the use of dialect. Neorealism reversed this binary opposition, exalting the cultural values attached to the historical and sociological fact of dialect and attributing to it positive connotations (Wagstaff 2007, 319). Thus, dialect came to represent the 'real' people from the proletarian class, as opposed to the artificial lives of the bourgeoisie and upper-middle class Italians. Pasolini (1960, 571-572) called their language *la lingua dei padroni* (the language of the masters), that is to say, standard Italian.

However, dialect was almost never used unfiltered, and even directors who focused on a particular city or region tried to create an effect of familiarity for the spectator so as not to compromise the clarity of the whole film. The words of Cesare Zavattini, as Sisto (2014, 85) observes, explain the translation process that was generally adopted:

> Then I translate it [dialect] into Italian, thus maintaining the dialect's syntax. I do not, therefore, write dialogue in dialect, but I am interested in what dialects have in common… immediacy, freshness, verisimilitude.

Indeed, neorealist directors generally preferred a "smooth dialectal Italian", or "Italianized dialect" (Sisto 2014, 87) in order to communicate to as wide an audience as possible, not only domestically but also internationally. To reinforce the point, the fact that the almost three-hour-long *La Terra Trema* (1948) by Luchino Visconti was entirely spoken in Sicilian dialect hampered its distribution in the UK market (Marcarini 2001, 29), where it did not appear on DVD with English subtitles until 2002. Furthermore, very few of the films starring Totò (Antonio De Curtis), the most popular comic actor in Italy from the late 1940s until the early 1960s, were accepted by the British market (Marcarini 2001, 28).[3] This was probably due to the performer's vernacular humour, conveyed through the

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[3] Interestingly, there are two significant exceptions: Monicelli's *I soliti ignoti* ("Persons Unknown", 1958) and Steno and Monicelli's *Guardie e ladri* ("Cops and Robbers"*,* 1951), films in which Antonio De Curtis did not play his usual comic character. Both were distributed in the UK by Archway, but while the former was screened in 1959 in its original version with English subtitles (S.K. 1960, 4), the latter was shown in 1953 in an English-dubbed version ("Guardie e Ladri" 1953, 24).

extensive use of a surreal mix of different dialects (Ricci and Nowell-Smith 1998, 356). It seems hardly surprising, then, that in the translated version of the film under study, *Le notti di Cabiria*, Pasolini's corrections to the dialogue only partially emerge, despite his well-documented interventions. However, they are evident in one specific scene of the film, to be discussed later.

Le notti di Cabiria and Pasolini's Interventions

Le notti di Cabiria explores the life of a Roman prostitute (Giulietta Masina) who seeks redemption and a better life away from the cynical and brutal world which surrounds her. After its Italian release in 1957, the film was distributed in the UK by Mondial Films in 1958 at the Cameo Poly (an art-house cinema in London) with English subtitles (Marcarini 2001, 68). Since its first release, the film has been exported to the British market solely in its English-subtitled version and no attempt has ever been made to replace the Roman dialect with a dialect in the target language. This is not surprising, since it is hardly possible to find a convincing counterpart in the target language and culture, as mentioned earlier (Pavesi 2005, 36-37).

Social, cultural, and economic distinctions in the film are strongly communicated through the binary opposition of dialect versus standard Italian, which reflects the neorealist opposition of positive versus negative. Roman dialect faithfully represents the real and authentic world of the lower social classes to which Cabiria belongs, together with other prostitutes, drug dealers and pimps, while correct standard Italian usage is exclusive to the literate and educated social class of the bourgeoisie; Cabiria gains access to this elite circle, but her expectations are bitterly disappointed.

Pier Paolo Pasolini collaborated with Fellini on the dialogue for the film, thanks to his extensive studies of dialects and language as a means of social expression and his direct knowledge of the Roman dialect acquired in the 1950s, after moving to Rome (Sitney 1995, 4). As Pasolini (1983, 44) himself reports,

> Fellini […] ha ritenuto che gli sarebbe stata utile una mia collaborazione per quanto riguardava il "colore locale" e il dialetto dei bassifondi romani. Gli occorreva qualcuno che conoscesse il mondo dei teppisti, dei magnaccia, dei ladri e delle prostitute dei quartieri periferici […] Mi sono curato quindi soprattutto dei dialoghi.[4]

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[4] Fellini [...] felt that my collaboration would be useful to him regarding the "local colour" and the dialect of the Roman slums. He needed someone who knew the

According to Romanelli (2015, 215), Pasolini studied the dialogues in the script and modified the tenuous and approximate choices that had been made to render the Roman dialect. Pasolini adjusted and added various expressions, mainly in the "low life parts" (Stack 1970, 31-32) of the film script, in which a stronger linguistic intervention was necessary to more faithfully and realistically depict the proletarian class, especially in the first scene set in Rome's *Passeggiata archeologica*, where Cabiria and the other prostitutes wait for their clients. As the notes, comments, and additions to the screenplay (Zabagli 1995) clearly show, Pasolini literally translated words from standard Italian into Roman dialect in order to make the dialogue between the prostitutes and pimps more lively, dynamic, and expressive. However, Fellini himself admitted that he used only a limited number of the expressions in dialect proposed by Pasolini, not only because the film might have run the risk of censorship, but also because Universalcine, the film producer, wanted the film to be as comprehensible as possible in order to reach the widest possible audience (Zabagli 1995, 140).

One of the characteristics of Pasolini's poetics that can be detected in *Le notti di Cabiria* is an obsession with the *via crucis* and the theme of redemption. Having implored the Virgin Mary to grant her a better life, Cabiria finally abandons the world of prostitutes, pimps and drug dealers to marry an accountant named Oscar Donofrio, who is not in fact the person he seems to be, and deceitfully plans to steal her money. Interestingly, Cabiria's purification does not only occur in her life but also in the way she speaks (and, incidentally, in the way she looks). After meeting Oscar, one of the few characters in the film who speaks an Italian untinged by any dialect or regional cadence, Cabiria undergoes a transformation, and Pasolini's influence over the screenplay is much less marked. In his own words: "dall'ultima parte, dall'incontro col ragioniere in poi, C[abiria] è una vera creatura umana"[5] (Romanelli 2015, 217). There seems to be an attempt to reflect this in the subtitles which translate Cabiria's lines, notably in the increased number of Italian words that are maintained in the English translation.

There follows a comparative study of the transcribed[6] original Italian dialogue of *Le notti di Cabiria* and the English subtitles of the UK version

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world of hooligans, pimps, thieves and prostitutes in the suburban neighbourhoods [...] I therefore took care of the dialogue (my translation).

[5] "From the meeting with Oscar onwards, Cabiria is finally a human creature" (my translation).

[6] As Pavesi (2019, 317) points out, based on the aim of any given audiovisual translation study, decisions have to be made about how detailed a transcript of film

of the film (dating back to 2009 and distributed by Optimum Releasing Ltd). Due to space restrictions, in this paper I will only concentrate on the main changes made by Pasolini in the scene shot in Rome's *Passeggiata archeologica*. This night-time episode is driven by dialogue that retains the highest percentage of Pasolini's modifications to the script, as Zabagli (1995) observed after examining the two versions of the screenplay accessed at the A. Bonsanti Archive in the *Gabinetto Vieusseux* in Florence. Additionally, the analysis focuses on the retention of Italian words in the English subtitles, which linguistically narrate what Fellini and Pasolini called Cabiria's "redemption" (Romanelli 2015, 217).

Le notti di Cabiria in the UK

Pasolini's Adjustments

Several adjustments suggested by Pasolini were eliminated in the final version of the screenplay, but some of his interventions were retained (Zabagli 1995), such as those shown in Table 1 below.

	FINAL VERSION	ENGLISH SUBTITLES
1.	MARISA: Ma sai dove devi annà te? Ar circo equestre!	But you know where you belong? In the nuthouse!
2.	CABIRIA: Ciao, a moretto, e ricordate di venì a trovà la principessa tua.	Bye, handsome. Remember to come and see your princess.
3.	CABIRIA: Però io, fossi stata te, me la sarebbe fatta griggia. È più un colore fino…	Me, I'd have picked a grey one. It's a fancier colour.
4.	PIMP: E che pensi d'esse, Poppea?	Think you're the Empress Poppea?

Table 1. Pasolini's adjustments

In example 1, Marisa, a prostitute and Cabiria's friend, insults Matilde, another prostitute, and several dialectal elements are simply not transferable to English. For example, the doubling of [n] and deletion of [d] in 'andare', which is a typical phonetic trait of the Roman dialect, cannot be reproduced in the subtitle. Similarly, as regards morphology, the apocope of infinitives ('annà' instead of 'ann*are*') in Roman dialect (Borrelli 2002, 28) cannot be conveyed (see also examples 2, 'venì' and 'trovà'; and example 4, 'esse'),

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dialogue has to be. Considering the objectives of the present study, the chosen type of transcription was orthographic (Bonsignori 2009), i.e. the recording of what is uttered as it is performed, similar to a "continuity script" (Rossi 1999: 22).

and neither can the compound preposition 'al' which turns into 'ar', following the tendency to replace 'l' with 'r' (this also happens with the masculine singular definite article 'il' which becomes 'er', as in example 3 of Table 2). However, the English subtitle at least tries to reproduce the syntactic construction of the original by starting with 'But + you know'. Here, 'you know' is a case of initial ellipsis (Biber *et al*. 2007, 1048-1049). This interrogative construction is frequent in spontaneous spoken English (in this instance taking the place of 'do you know', as per the grammar rules for forming questions in standard English). The second part of the question in Italian literally means 'where you must go?', but in the subtitle the verb 'belong' is used instead. The choice of substituting a motion verb for a state verb can be explained by the lexical item chosen to translate 'circo equestre'. 'Nuthouse' (i.e. madhouse) has been used instead of the literal translation of 'circo equestre': 'equestrian circus'. Of course, in the original dialogue, 'circo equestre' is used in its connotative, informal and offensive sense, alluding to a 'madhouse', and in English, the idiomatic expression 'to belong in a nuthouse' is an equivalent way of referring to someone who acts in strange ways. Therefore, the verb 'to go' would not work, as it is not part of the idiom.

In example 2, Cabiria greets a client as he gets off his motorcycle. The epithet 'moretto' is obtained through grammatical inflection by adding the suffix -etto, which can indicate smallness or express affection or endearment, to the adjective 'moro'; it alludes to the fact that the man is dark-haired. The particle 'a' which precedes 'moretto' is typically used in the Roman dialect in place of the vocative 'o' for drawing attention. The vocative was added by Pasolini to the first version of the screenplay and it is absent in the English subtitle, which privileges a more standardised linguistic choice. In the English subtitle, the physical trait of the character is lost, while the expression of endearment is amplified with the adjective 'handsome', used to describe a good-looking man. The postposition of the possessive determiner 'tua' (positioned after, and not before, the noun it modifies, 'principessa') is another marked feature of central Italian dialects (Serianni 1988, 231), such as *romanesco*, and colloquial communication in general (Pavesi 2005, 74). This cannot be maintained in English, since 'princess your' would be ungrammatical.

In example 3, the accusative form 'me' is used with much the same force as a reflexive pronoun, which is frequent in conversation (Biber *et al*. 2007, 339). It seems to replace the 'però io' of the original and is presumably an effort to reflect the protagonist's colloquial way of speaking The non-standard use of the conditional 'sarebbe' (third person singular of the verb 'to be') instead of 'sarei' (first person singular) in the hypothetical clause is

another typical feature of colloquial spoken Italian (Berruto 2012, 142; 231). In this case, the subtitler opts for a contracted form, that is a reduced enclitic form of the verb ('I'd'), which is also common in conversation (Biber *et al*. 2007, 1048). It can also be observed that the adjective 'grey' in Italian, *grigia*, is pronounced by Cabiria as 'griggia' because of the doubling of the voiced affricate [g] in intervocalic position (Trifone 2008, 79). According to Zabagli (1995), this local flavour was added to the revised version of the screenplay on which Pasolini worked (the 'gg' in 'griggia' being the conventional transcription of a geminated affricate) but it is inevitably lost in the English subtitles. The adjective 'fino' is used here instead of 'fine', that is elegant, or refined. In American English, 'fancy' is used to describe food of very good quality, while in British English it generally means decorative, complicated, or expensive. None of these meanings accurately render the adjective in Italian, neither in the final revised version of the screenplay ('fino') nor in the initial version (i.e. before Pasolini's adjustments), where 'distinto' was used (i.e. refined). Cabiria essentially wanted to stress her preference for grey as a classier choice of colour for her friend's car.

In example 4, Cabiria has just asked one of the pimps at the *Passeggiata* to give her a lift to Via Veneto, one of the most glamorous and elegant streets in Rome during the post-war period. Immediately, the man makes fun of Cabiria by saying 'E che pensi d'esse, Poppea?', meaning 'Who do you think you are?'. Poppea, a Roman Empress and second wife of Emperor Nero, happened to be one of the protagonists of the box-office success *Quo Vadis* (Mervyn LeRoy, 1951), which at that time reinforced the image of Poppea as a beautiful, charming, and majestic woman. In the subtitle, 'Empress' has been added to help the audience recognise the historical figure, and the colloquial flavour of the original is reproduced by starting the question with 'Think' instead of 'Do you think?' which is another case of initial ellipsis (see also example 1 in Table 1). Meanwhile, the apocope of the final syllable ('esse' instead of 'esse*re*') is somehow conveyed through the colloquial contracted form 'you're', which also seems to reproduce the use of 'd + apostrophe' before 'esse'.

Pasolini's Additions

According to Zabagli (1995), Pasolini also added new terms and expressions taken from the Roman dialect which were totally absent from the original screenplay, as shown in Table 2 below.

	FINAL VERSION	**ENGLISH SUBTITLES**
1.	MATILDE: A riecco questa squilibbrata.	Here comes the psycho again.
2.	MATILDE: A cocainara!	That cokehead!
3.	LUCICOTTO: Balli, Cabiria? Con me caschi bene, sa? So er primo tacco de Roma!	You're dancing, Cabiria? You're in luck! I'm the best dancer in Rome.

Table 2. Pasolini's additions

In examples 1 and 2, Matilde insults Cabiria and Marisa. When Matilde uses the demonstrative adjective 'questa' (i.e. this) and the subtitle appears, Matilde is pointing in Cabiria's direction, with the camera focusing only on Marisa herself. The deictic 'questa' is replaced in the subtitle with a definite article but, since the verb 'comes' suggests that the person (i.e. Cabiria) is moving closer to the speaker (i.e. Maria), the expression of proximal reference is not totally lost. 'Squilibbrata' (with a geminated [b], unlike standard Italian) is translated as 'psycho', short for psychopath or psychopathic and used to describe a crazy person. Even if this is a stronger adjective than the Italian, it is nonetheless a slang expression that somehow reproduces the colloquial flavour of the original, although of course the regional connotation (i.e. the geminated [b]) is lost.

While in the previous example the demonstrative adjective is left out in the subtitles, in the second extract the particle 'a' is translated by 'that'. In this case, the vocative expression in Italian is used by way of an insult, as in expressions of the type 'you + adjective (+ noun)'. As a consequence, the direct interaction between the two disputants is lost with the use of a distal demonstrative adjective. On the other hand, the meaning of the insult 'cocainara' is fully maintained with the word 'cokehead', a slang expression for describing a habitual user of cocaine.

In example 3, Cabiria is dancing at *Passaggiata* while waiting for her next client, and she invites Lucicotto, one of her male friends, to join her. Once again (see examples 1 and 4 in Table 1), the subtitle reproduces the elliptic structure of the Italian question ('Balli, Cabiria?'/'You're dancing, Cabiria?'), which is common in English conversation (Biber *et al*. 2007, 157). The meaning of what follows ('Con me caschi bene, sa? So er primo tacco de Roma!') is also faithfully transferred in the subtitle, although the expressions in *romanesco* 'cascà bene' (literally 'to fall well') and 'esse er primo tacco' (literally 'to have the best heels') have lost their dialectal and colloquial flavour. However, the use of contractions (you're/I'm) help to transfer the colloquial traits of the scene.

Cabiria's Linguistic Redemption

Before Cabiria and Oscar meet, Italian words can be found in those subtitles that translate the speech of characters who employ standard Italian instead of Roman dialect, specifically: the waiters in the club where the film star Alberto Lazzari takes Cabiria; Alberto Lazzari; Alberto Lazzari's valet; the magician who hypnotises Cabiria; and Oscar. Table 3 below lists all the Italian words which can be found in the subtitles and their number of occurrence (in brackets), together with the corresponding characters who utter them:

FINAL VERSION	ENGLISH SUBTITLES	CHARACTERS
Signora (4)	*Signora* (4)	Waiter (2)
		Magician (1)
		Alberto Lazzari (1)
Signorina (17)	*Signorina* (17)	Valet (1)
		Magician (8)
		Oscar (7)
		Cabiria (1)
Commendatore (4)	*Commendatore* (4)	Waiter (1)
		Valet (3)
Arrivederci (5)	*Arrivederci* (5)	Cabiria (3)
		Oscar (2)
Ciao (1)	*Ciao* (1)	Cabiria (1)

Table 3. Italian words in the subtitles

It is interesting to note that the Italian words which are simply transferred to the subtitles (31 in total) all appear in italics. This choice is in line with the majority of subtitling guidelines, which advise translators to use inverted commas or italics, depending on the company, when dealing with lexical borrowings and neologisms that have not been adopted by the target community (Díaz-Cintas and Remael 2021, 133). The retained expressions are either for greetings ('arrivederci', 'ciao') or vocatives ('signora', 'signorina', 'commendatore'). The Italian term 'commendatore', which refers to a knight of an Italian order of chivalry, is the only one which does not have an equivalent in English, and it was therefore maintained in its original form in every instance.

As Table 3 clearly shows, in Cabiria's subtitles there are five instances where Italian words are kept: 'arrivederci' is used three times, and 'signorina' and 'ciao' are both employed once each. These Italian terms only start to appear in the protagonist's subtitles after she has met Oscar, a

man from the educated class. The character of Oscar, in particular, uses a refined vocabulary, typical of formal written Italian, and this carries the negative connotations associated with the bourgeoisie, as opposed to the lower social class (to which Cabiria and her friends belong), thus reflecting the binary opposition between negative (standard Italian) and positive (Roman dialect) (Wagstaff 2007, 20), as discussed above. Since Cabiria is initially suspicious of Oscar and does not understand why he is paying her attention, she asks: 'But who are you? You sound like you're from Parioli. You talk like they do, a refined type'; and 'What'll we say to each other?' Consequently, she immediately places Oscar in a different linguistic group, distant from her own.

In Oscar's subtitles, the Italian word 'signorina' is consistently used instead of the English term 'miss'. The same happens with 'arrivederci', when it is used as a salutation. Subtitle number 972, 'Do we say goodbye now, never to meet again?' is the only case in which 'arrivederci' is translated in Oscar's subtitles but, here, it is not used as a conventional expression of good wishes at parting but as a noun with the value of a direct object.

Despite her initial reticence, Cabiria and Oscar start dating and Cabiria gradually enters into the world of the bourgeoisie with its particular entertainment, places, and conversations. She eventually agrees to marry him and bid farewell to her old world. In the original dialogue of the film, before meeting Oscar, Cabiria had never used the word 'arrivederci' as a farewell saying: she once uses 'ciao' (see Table 3), which is translated in the subtitle as 'bye', and she once uses 've saluto' (from the *romanesco* dialect), which is translated as 'goodbye'. Both are much more informal than 'arrivederci' and used in a very informal context: in the first case, Cabiria is saying goodbye to her client and in the second case she is angry and taking leave of her friends. Table 4 below shows all the expressions used by Cabiria at leave-taking after meeting Oscar:

	ORIGINAL DIALOGUE	ENGLISH SUBTITLES
1.	Ah, ecco l'autobus. Beh, io la devo salutare, arrivederci.	There's the bus. So long. *Arrivederci*!
2.	Queste sono le chiavi di casa. Beh, io me ne vado. Arrivederci.	Here are the house keys. I'm leaving. *Arrivederci!*
3.	Se le serve qualcosa basta che lo dica a questa amica mia, la signorina Wanda. Lei mi scrive tutto. Arrivederci.	If you need anything, just tell my friend, *Signorina* Wanda. She'll write to me. *Arrivederci*.
4.	Ciao, Wa… Ma che piangi?	*Ciao*, Wanda... Why are you crying?

Table 4. Italian words retained in the subtitles (uttered by Cabiria)

In the first three examples, Cabiria formally says farewell to people with whom she is unfamiliar and, in Italian, she uses the formal *lei* to address them. In example 1, at the end of her first conversation with Oscar, she first uses the word 'arrivederci' when she leaves him to catch the bus. Then, she uses 'arrivederci' again when she says goodbye to the family about to move into her former house (examples 2 and 3) and in all three cases, 'arrivederci' is maintained in its original form in the English subtitles.

In example 4, when she is about to leave her friend Wanda, she says 'ciao' and this, too, is maintained in its Italian form, instead of being translated (see also Table 3).

In example 3, another Italian word is maintained in its original form, 'signorina'. As discussed above (see Table 3), the only other characters in the film to employ the same word are those who represent high social classes and speak standard Italian instead of the Roman dialect.

Final remarks

Since it is impossible to transfer a given dialect in the source culture to the target culture, it is not surprising that the *romanesco* variant was not substituted with an English 'counterpart'. Dialects deviate from standard languages in terms of grammar and pronunciation, thus remaining closely and inextricably linked to the inner characteristics of a given language system. The excerpts under study considered the following: the non-translation of particles typically used in the Roman dialect (see example 1 in Table 1, and examples 2 and 3 in Table 2); the geminated consonants (see example 3 in Table 1 and example 1 in Table 2); and the postposition of the possessive determiner 'tua' (see example 2 in Table 1). Plus, in the translated dialogue, instances of colloquial English were found. The accusative form 'me' was used to function in a similar way to a reflexive pronoun and seems to replace the 'però io' of the original, and the non-standard use of the conditional 'sarebbe' instead of 'sarei' in the hypothetical period is reflected in the use of the contracted form 'I'd' in the subtitles (see example 3 in Table 1). Additionally, the structure of questions does not follow the standard grammar rules for forming interrogative sentences (see the elliptic structures in example 1 and example 4 in Table 1; and example 3 in Table 2), perhaps in an attempt to reproduce the characters' non-standard Italian in the subtitles. Additionally, the lexical choices made (e.g. 'nuthouse', 'psycho', 'cokehead') as well as the use of contracted forms (e.g. 'you're'; 'I'd', 'it's') reinforce the colloquial tone of the English subtitles. Finally, the presence of untranslated Italian words was detected in the subtitles of those characters who clearly belong to a higher

social class with respect to Cabiria and her world of prostitutes, pimps, and drug dealers (see Table 3). This could be perceived as a strategy for highlighting the use of standard Italian, as opposed to dialect, and the retention of Italian words in the subtitles of Cabiria herself highlights her departure from *romanesco*.

Following Fellini's optimistic view and Pasolini's obsession with the theme of salvation, the binary opposition between standard Italian and dialect not only mirrors the linguistic and social situation of post-war Italy, as described above, but it also has a narrative function. After meeting Oscar, Cabiria's personal journey towards redemption is also a departure in two senses: from the world of prostitutes, and from her own way of speaking, which mainly affects the phatic function of language: informal greetings ('ciao', 've saluto') are substituted with a more formal expression for leave-taking, 'arrivederci', which is maintained in its Italian form in the English subtitles, as it was in the translation of Oscar's lines (see Table 3).

To conclude, limiting these final observations to the data analysed, the use of dialectal and colloquial expressions in Fellini's *Le notti di Cabiria*, as well as the social and cultural asymmetries depicted through the use of standard Italian vs. Roman dialect, seem to have been (re)constructed in the translation of the film for an anglophone audience. Considering the narrative function of language in the film and given the significance of Cabiria's linguistic 'improvement', it is important for any set of subtitles to mirror this and to linguistically narrate Cabiria's redemption, thus respecting Fellini's poetics and Pasolini's observations of dialectal speech in post-war society in Rome.

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PICTURES AND HISTORY:
TRANSLATING COMICS IN ITALY
ON THE THRESHOLD OF 1968

LAURA CHIARA SPINELLI

Introduction

Taking place in a given society at a certain time, translation participates in the powerful act of creating knowledge and shaping culture (Gentzler and Tymoczko 2002): through the conscious selection of texts, fostered by publishing policies, foreign influences may penetrate the target context.

In the 1960s, the efforts of editors and translators led to a reappraisal of comics in Italy, acknowledging the ability of popular art forms to convey cultural values in mass society, as Umberto Eco pointed out in *Apocalittici e integrati* (1964). It is no coincidence that the semiotician conversed on the potential of comics with Elio Vittorini and Oreste del Buono in the first issue of *Linus* magazine (April 1965). This periodical gathered together an eclectic group of intellectuals who discussed music, art and literature in the offices of the bookshop and publishing house Milano Libri: Giovanni Gandini, Ranieri Carano, Franco and Bruno Cavallone were equipped with a legal background; Vittorio Spinazzola and Oreste del Buono dealt with writing and literary criticism.

Gandini, who became the editor-in-chief, had conceived the idea of creating a magazine that housed high-quality comics aimed at an adult readership and accompanied by articles, notes, and comments. Attentive to social and political events, he decided to select texts that offered insights into the reality of the 1960s looking beyond national borders: it is worth noting that the first issue included only translated foreign works, namely *Peanuts*, *Krazy Kat, Popeye* and *Li'l Abner,* revealing the editors' interest in American comic strips,[1] which could satisfy "the common man's urge to self-portraiture" (Politzer 1963, 46) across the key stages of mass civilization.

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[1] Gandini and Carano obtained translation rights from the United Feature Syndicate (Saibene 2011), which distributed comic strips worldwide. The editors' project was

The proposal formulated by *Linus* reflects the awareness that the transfer of a certain text into a different language, either challenging or accepting the ideas it expresses, supports the construction of a national identity. Translation is a cultural practice available to political parties, publishers, and the media – what Lefevere (1992) calls "patronage" – in order to shape, with the help of professionals, an aesthetic and political discourse.

A source text may be chosen because the social situation in which it was produced is perceived as homologous to the target context (Venuti 2005) or because the themes it proposes prove to illuminate the crucial problems a country faces.

The *Linus* intellectuals selected comics where an ideological statement unfolds through the representation of local historical events that acquire a universal meaning, showing how translation entails a sort of mirroring:

> the foreign text becomes intelligible when the reader recognizes himself or herself in the translation by identifying the domestic values that motivated the selection of that particular foreign text, and that are inscribed in it through a particular discursive strategy." (Venuti 1998, 77)

This work aims to reconstruct the value system underlying the translated texts and the strategies adopted in translation by going through the issues of *Linus* published in 1967 and 1968, an age of conflict and change, characterized by student protests, opposition to the Vietnam War, and the challenge to expansionism.

The theoretical framework of the study meets the need to examine the strips from both a linguistic and a cultural perspective. The choices made by the translators at the lexico-grammatical level are discussed with reference to Malone's (1988) typology, focusing on the strategies employed to deal with semantic and syntactic discrepancies between the source and the target language. The historical analysis of *Linus* publishing policy is grounded on the principles established over the last decades in the field of

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in line with the publishing policy adopted by Vittorini in *Il Politecnico*, a cultural and literary magazine where visual arts and, in particular, American comics had great importance. The intent to redefine the canon was clear, in an attempt to oppose skepticism towards the new medium in Italy at the beginning of the twentieth century (Morgana 2003, 171), which culminated in fascist censorship. "The objections voiced were not so much against the medium, or against American comics per se, but against the themes represented, especially crime and violence, based on the assumption that comics were popular literature for children" (Zanettin 2018, 872). Publishers started to negotiate with the regime concerning what could be published, until a Ministerial circular banned foreign comics in 1938, except Disney's material.

Translation Studies and, specifically, on the notion that strategies in producing translations emerge in response to cultural and political factors:

> some are deliberately domesticating in their handling of the foreign text, while others can be described as foreignizing, motivated by an impulse to preserve linguistic and cultural differences by deviating from prevailing domestic values. (Venuti 2001, 240)

As for the selection of texts, the issues considered reveal, in terms of quantity, the predominance of a few cartoonists who describe human and social contradictions. Charles Schulz draws the *Peanuts* characters who represent the "reductions of all the neuroses of a modern citizen […] passing through the filter of innocence" (Eco 1994, 40-41), and Johnny Hart who, in *B.C*, shows that cavemen struggled with the same dissatisfactions as twentieth-century people. Society as a whole is targeted in Al Capp's strips, *Li'l Abner* and *Fearless Fosdick*, which criticize American myths as does Walt Kelly's *Pogo*, where a community of intellectual animals discuss political issues. Furthermore, one of the most interesting aspects arising from this research is the editors' decision to start regularly publishing the provocative American artist Jules Feiffer in 1967. Already known in Italy through Eco's translations edited by Bompiani,[2] he was the creator of the strip *Feiffer*, which appeared weekly in the *Village Voice* from the mid-1950s.

"In the Pursuit of Peace We Have Today Bombed":[3] Feiffer's Comics in *Linus*

Giovanni Gandini introduced Jules Feiffer in the supplement *ProvoLinus*, issued in April 1967. The cover portrays a *Peanuts* character, Snoopy, pictured upside down in protest and specifies that the content is aimed at adults. The supplement is provocative not only in the name – a pun which evokes traditional dairy products[4] while referring to the Provo, the Dutch anti-establishment movement – but also in the choice of comics, which are closely linked to contemporary reality.

Feiffer was published since he conveys his cultural message in the short form of the strip in an age of transition, at a time when the American sensibility was being redefined. Through monologues or dialogues, his characters discuss topics such as women, race, class, and politics while

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[2] *Il complesso facile* (1962) and *Passionella e altre storie* (1963).
[3] Feiffer 1982, 115.
[4] *Provola* or *provolina* is a common type of cheese in Southern and Insular Italy.

expressing their doubts and disillusion. The author himself grew up in the East Bronx from Jewish parents in a time of economic depression, and later witnessed the main social changes of the 1950s and 1960s − the tumult of the Cold War, the sexual revolution, and the civil rights struggles: "For a New York Jewish boy growing up in the Depression, politics was everywhere" (Feiffer 2010, 206). The humorous effect of his comics is situation-based, arising from the analysis of social mores in an attempt to reveal the hypocrisy of all kinds of power, whether it is exercised by presidents or parents.

When the *London Observer* started to publish his strips in 1957, Feiffer realized that people in different cultures could identify with his subject matter: in European countries, the rising middle class was presumably feeling the same doubts and anxiety and, in general, citizens were frightened by the prospect of war and the potentially dreadful consequences of the atomic bomb. The author's experience in the army in 1951, perceived as something that deprives the individual of his soul, contributed to the development of his anti-militarism – as shown in stories like *Munro* and *Boom*[5] –, which permeated his view on the Vietnam War in the following years.

It comes as no surprise that *Linus* showed interest in Feiffer's work, distant in space but with a similar ideology.[6] The 1968 protest movement – from the Battle of Valle Giulia[7] in Rome to the May events in France –, first promoting substantial changes in the academic system, acquired a mass, international dimension, and the anti-authoritarian perspective turned into criticism against capitalist interests and imperialism in general, of which the Vietnam War became one of the main symbols (Voza 2009).

Within this context, the policy of *Linus* becomes clearer, showing how translation can be a partisan art (Gentzler and Tymoczko 2002): it is significant that the editors chose to publish Feiffer's satirical strips on Lyndon B. Johnson, the elected President of the United States in 1963, who used military force in Southeast Asia following the events of the Gulf of Tonkin. Perceived in his early days in office as "a brilliant political

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[5] *Boom* was a sort of nuclear satire, which originally ran as a four-page feature in the *Village Voice* in 1958: the cartoonist revealed the damages of the atomic bomb, hidden by the Atomic Energy Commission. *Munro*, the story of a four-year-old soldier, was conceived as an attack on the incoherence of the military system.
[6] In line with Van Dijk's (1998) definition, the term transcends a "purely political sense to encompass the knowledge, beliefs and value systems of the individual and the society in which he or she operates" (Munday 2007, 196).
[7] It is the name for the violent clash between students and police forces on 1 March 1968.

strategist, the nation's number one civil rights leader" (Feiffer 1982, 79),
Johnson revealed how the government could be ambiguous, promoting fair
domestic measures – The Voting Rights Act, The War on Poverty, and
Medicare – while maintaining an aggressive foreign policy. The initial
difficulty the cartoonist faced when having to draw a progressive president
he liked quickly vanished with the leader's cynical involvement in Vietnam:
"As a political satirist – Feiffer declares –, my pen only works where it can
hurt. So Johnson was good for the country but killing my business. Until he
started bombing North Vietnam" (Feiffer 1982, 79).

In a 1966 strip, the cartoonist portrays the President explaining this
political decision (Fig. 1a-b). On a page of borderless panels and spare
backgrounds, Feiffer's characters reveal themselves through their private
thoughts and conversations or address readers directly "in need of someone
who could take their attempts to rationalize and justify themselves
seriously" (Kercher 2006, 147). Lyndon Johnson is shown concealing the
act of striking Vietnam under the guise of peace, "in order to get Hanoi to
the negotiating table" (Feiffer 1982, 93). The author ridicules the futility of
this action, which proves successful as a violent operation but not in terms
of conciliation. Nevertheless, the plan is reiterated by the President with
projected increasing intensity, bombing Hanoi and Haifong, provoking
China, and threatening Moscow. This ironical contrast is further enhanced
in the translation of the strip published in *ProvoLinus* through the rhetorical
device of repetition: in the source text, the strategy is defined, in turn, as
"successful", "effective" and "fruitful" (Feiffer 1982, 93) whereas the
Italian sentence "La mossa ebbe successo sotto molti aspetti. Ma non spinse
Hanoi a negoziare"[8] (*ProvoLinus*, 66) appears in all occurrences as a refrain.

Furthermore, irony results from the reluctance shown by Johnson to
attack Vietnam, underlined by the idiom "with heavy heart", which is
replaced with the equivalent set expression in the target language "a
malincuore", and by the phrase "with the agony of power", rendered as "con
la morte nel cuore". The Italian locution, which indicates a deep feeling of
sorrow, omits any reference to the role of power but emphasizes the
hypocrisy of Johnson's pain. At a prosodic level, the repetition of the word
"cuore" contributes to the iterative structure of the panels. In the translation
of the final cutting remark – "My restraint is not inexhaustible" is rendered
as "La mia pazienza non è inesauribile" (*ProvoLinus*, 66) –, the use of the
term "pazienza" instead of the plain equivalent "autocontrollo" shows the
intent to create a more frequent noun-adjective collocation in Italian.

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[8] The decision to condense the concept of "negotiating table" by adopting the verb
"negoziare" is ascribable to the space constraints a comic strip imposes.

A comparison between the source and the target text reveals the publishers' inclination to domesticate the format (Rota 2008), replacing the original horizontal sequence – spanning from six to ten panels that best fit the page of the newsweekly – with a vertical layout, in a transition from the newspaper to the magazine. Published daily or weekly, American comic strips appear as fragments of a broken *continuum* and thus follow a specific narrative structure based on variation and iteration, as shown in the example above, made up of a series of panels that create the presupposition for humour until the final punchline. The comic effect is intrinsic to this structure, which develops around a recurring set of themes and characters, and is enhanced by the interplay of words and images.

In a syncretic text, where "the simultaneity of the visual and verbal languages generates the diegesis" (Celotti 2008, 34), translation will work if a variety of factors are taken into account: whether a story published in a foreign country will produce a similar humorous response depends not only on the translator's ability to blend words and pictures so as to preserve the effect of the original text, but also on the target readers' awareness of visual and verbal cultural references (Zanettin 2010, 46). It is clear that an additional effort is required for the Italian audience to recognize American public figures; in this context, caricatures, which respond to the need for conciseness that connotes comics (Barbieri 1991), seem to facilitate the identification process: with a simple sketch, Feiffer makes Johnson universally recognizable by emphasizing and distorting the President's best-known physical characteristics – small eyes, big ears, and a long nose.

A further difficulty an Italian translator may encounter dealing with stories that provide political commentary in the years of the Vietnam War concerns the way of rendering one of the key notions of the time, the escalation process. The word, which indicates "An increase or development by successive stages;…" (*OED*, s.v. ESCALATION, n. (b)) often associated with armaments, prices, or wages, does not have a counterpart in Italian.

In a 1966 strip, Johnson comments on the fluctuating nature of political consensus, suggested by the alternation of positive and negative polls (Fig. 2a-b). Whenever the President feels he is losing consensus, he decides to shelve a cautious approach to the conflict and adopt the policy of escalation. The panels develop through a symmetrical verbal structure marked by the repetition of the clause: "I escalate" (Feiffer 1982, 119). The Italian version preserves this iteration, though the verb in the first person is replaced by the noun "escalation"[9] (*ProvoLinus*, 69), which entered the target language as a loanword in order to compensate for a lexical gap: the term – as specified in *Vocabolario Treccani* – spread in Italy after the United States

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[9] Carry-over matching (Malone 1988) here involves a change in word class.

intervention in Vietnam in 1964, and was initially construed as a way of conducting military operations with a gradual increase in troops and weapons; the definition was later extended to other contexts as well, indicating any sort of progression.[10] The example above shows how the role of the press and the other media in lexical expansion is significant; in this context, translators have to solve the linguistic problems associated with the assimilation of new realities in a certain culture and have to introduce new vocabulary to represent them.

It is no coincidence that the title of the article that Ranieri Carano dedicates to the cartoonist in *Linus* 30 (1967) was "L'escalation di Jules Feiffer", alluding to the advancement of his career. Speaking to a large audience in Wisconsin in 1964 – the author recalls – Feiffer defines himself as a 'court subversive' and declares that satire is the only possible way of life. Indeed, it acts as a "new outlet for our aggressions" and gives us the ability to downplay serious situations, which are gradually becoming part of human nature: "we have adjusted to papa bomb and accepted papa machine" (quoted in *Vassar Miscellany News* 49, 10)[11] – he admits sadly.

Feiffer seems pessimistic about the effectiveness of his weapon, but his potential as a satirist to raise public consciousness was clearly perceived by the intellectuals of the time, as the words of Umberto Eco show:

> The satire of this author, so accurate, catching with such precision the ills of a modern industrial society, translates them into exemplary types, and displays in the revelation of these types so much humanity (nastiness and pity at the same time) that, in whatever newspaper these stories appear, however successful they may be […], their success in no way lessens their power. A Feiffer's story, once published, cannot then be exorcised; once read, it sticks in the mind and silently works there. (Eco 1994, 39)

The power of words to shape reality and people's views is particularly evident when Feiffer addresses the issue of segregation: in a 1967 strip, he shows how ethnic designations have long been associated with the development of racial attitudes (Fig. 3 a-b). Black people claim to be called "blacks", a term introduced when the first Europeans discovered Africa since it "maximized through language the perceived differences" (Fairchild 1985, 47). This label was replaced in history by various names, more or less neutral: "They were not called 'African Americans' or 'blacks' in the fifties. They were 'Negroes'. The term Afro-American was coming up on the outside, but never to become part of mainstream usage" (Feiffer 2010, 283).

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[10] *Vocabolario Treccani* online, s.v. ESCALATION. See also Cortelazzo and Zolli 1999.

[11] The words pronounced at the conference are also mentioned in *Rinascita* 25, 1965.

The impartiality of "Afro-Americans", which carries a geographical connotation, is in contrast with offensive words like "negroes" and "darkies" (Feiffer 1982, 108). Rendering these two negative labels into Italian in *Linus* was challenging since they both found their plainest equivalent in the term "negri": hence, faced with the need to find a further noun that could express contempt while translating "darkies", the target text opts for "zulù" (*Linus* 34: 38), which indicates not only an ethnic group living in South Africa, but also a rude and ignorant person.[12] This solution shows how translation "is never innocent" (Bassnett and Lefevere 1990, 11) and may add unexpressed connotations to the words of the source text.

The decision to transpose Feiffer's remarks on race names into the pages of *Linus* reveals the editors' awareness that the use of stereotyped expressions which assign different semantic roles to different groups of people contributes to allocate "power and opportunity unequally among them" (Fowler 1991, 120).

Nevertheless, in Feiffer's comic strips blacks often appear not as helpless victims but as rational operators, conscious of their power to frighten whites with a well-timed word. In a 1965 strip, a black citizen addresses a group of white people as "whitey" (Feiffer 1982, 108), which does not have an immediate equivalent with derogatory connotations in Italian. The translator forms the word "biancuzzi" (*ProvoLinus*, 67) using the suffix *-uzzo* in its pejorative meaning (Fig. 4).

"Peace is Always Shorter":[13] Walt Kelly's *Pogo* as a Political Allegory

The use of the comic strip as "a medium of delivery for sharp and unblinking commentary on contemporary social, political and moral problems" (Black 2015, 13) found full expression in Walt Kelly's art in the 1940s: the adventures of the opossum Pogo and his friends first appeared in the *New York Star* in 1948 and were picked up for national distribution by the Post-Hall Syndicate the following year.

Safe in the knowledge that the news of the day represents a gold mine from which to extract humorous effects, the cartoonist makes his characters act within the context of the American political debate. The Okefenokee Swamp, between Florida and Georgia, is the primeval scenery of the story, a remote and secluded homeland which, however far from urbanism, turns into a microcosm that illuminates the characteristics of mankind. Through

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[12] See *Vocabolario Treccani* online, s.v. ZULU.
[13] Walt Kelly, *Pogo*, 02-16-1968.

the description of these Southern animal inhabitants, which represent the archetype of rural sociology, Kelly proposes the image of an idyllic community fighting against intolerance, hypocrisy and corruption. Since the characters possess a surplus of leisure time, they can devote themselves to a wide range of social activities: "having poetry contests, looking for lost children, playing baseball, getting involved in civic controversies […], and running elections for president" (Denney 1954, 17). Gathered around the protagonist, the animals discuss a variety of issues in search of the "right answers to questions of politics, art, science, medicine" (Denney 1954, 17). Their philosophical dialogues develop through a complex language that reflects human-like, unstable relations and is connoted by semantic and phonetic confusion. Kelly invents an artificial American dialect – a "comic version of rural Southern syntax, vocabulary, and pronunciation" (Denney 1954, 20) – and adopts polyglottism as the main verbal device: the characters create new words, speak in verse, use Latin or foreign languages.

The comic strip appeared in *Linus* translated by Bruno Cavallone: he introduced *Pogo* to his readership in July 1965 and highlighted the difficulties encountered in reproducing the linguistic complexity of the dialogues, which seem to have greater importance than the pictures.[14] The polysemous nature of puns, the paratextual elements that enrich the panels, and the literary quotations in the balloons represent a challenge to the translation process. In order to make the text intelligible to the target reader, Cavallone (2009, 51) chooses a "fluent" language, as the analysis of the strips will show, and desists from exactly reproducing the sounds and rhythm of the original. The adoption of a domesticating strategy (Venuti 1995) is made clear by his effort to adapt the dialogues to the Italian audience, which in the most problematic cases turns into a total reconstruction of the panels. Cavallone is aware that translation entails a process of negotiation (Eco 2003) characterized by losses and compensations that help to preserve the intention of the source text, bound to the context in which it was born. The main challenge the translator faced was the need to mediate between the two cultures, so that his readers might catch the unfamiliar allusions to foreign traditions, publicly known personalities, and historical events that are inherent in the narrative.

Indeed, Kelly's work is innovative in the introduction of figures from across the political spectrum as temporary swamp inhabitants: Nikita Khrushchev has a pig's face and Senator Joseph McCarthy becomes a wildcat named Simple J. Malarkey. During the 1950s and 1960s, censorship was used to control the author's satire on the themes that he explored from

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[14] Cavallone (2009, 49) defines *Pogo* strips "narrated stories" (my translation) and compares the translation of comics to literary translation.

time to time: McCarthyism, Communism, Southern racial segregation, and the Vietnam War.[15] In 1968, when the presidential elections gained considerable attention by virtue of the debate on the progression of the conflict, Kelly had the opportunity to exploit the satirical potential of this issue.

Linus gives a sample of such political discourse, translating the *Pogo* strips distributed in February 1968. The selected story features the dialogue between the protagonist and Ol' Mouse, who is portrayed with a bowler hat, a cane and a cigar. He has been hired as "advance man" (Kelly 1967-1968, 31) for an unknown political candidate by the entrepreneur P.T. Bridgeport, a bear who usually visits the swamp during the presidential election years.[16] The Italian translator describes the mouse's role with the term "galoppino" (*Linus* 39, 63), whose meaning in general language has a negative connotation, but in the election context indicates a person who tries to get votes, as specified in *Vocabolario Treccani*, in line with the English word: "a person (esp. a man) who visits a location before an event (originally a theatrical or circus performance, now typically a visit by a politician) in order to make preparations, etc.".[17] The first assignment the mouse takes on is to find an expert of peace advocacy who could possibly win the Nobel Prize. The most suitable candidate seems to be Congersman Moop, a frog who is preparing his campaign, as the reader has learnt in the previous strips. The ironical component inherent in the frog's political action is indicated by the spelling mistakes on the wooden plate that introduces him to the public (Fig. 5): "Froggy Bottom campane", then corrected into "Froggy Bottom campain" (Kelly 1967-1968, 32). Such nonsense terms, homophonous with "campaign", evoke the troubles connected to governing. Acknowledging the importance of translating inscriptions on objects that are complementary to the dialogues (Kaindl 1999), Cavallone tries to create a similar pun in the

[15] The editors may alter certain aspects such as changing dialogues and characters' faces or dropping *Pogo* entirely for a time. Politically inspired strips were sometimes moved out of the comics section and into the editorial pages. Furthermore, the author introduced alternate "bunny rabbit strips", populated by regular swamp animals, to replace the most controversial sequences. See Jarvis (2003, 2-9).

[16] His name contains a reference to the American showman Phyneas Taylor Barnum (Cavallone 2009, 50) who founded the Barnum & Bailey Circus.

[17] *Oxford English Dictionary* online, s.v. ADVANCE, n. and adj., C1b. This definition of the compound *advance man*, which is labelled by the *OED* as "chiefly *North American*", matches the A.5 definition of the noun *advance*: "*North American*. Preparation for the visit of a public figure (esp. a politician), typically including prior inspection of the location, and the arrangement of security, scheduling, publicity, etc.; (also occasionally) a briefing given to a political figure before an event". See also *Vocabolario Treccani* online, s.v. GALOPPINO, s.m., 1.

paratextual element: thus, he uses the Italian words "campana" and "capanna", which degrade the character's campaign program, accordingly defined as clamorous and poor. Nonsense words, as Cavallone (2009) points out, are frequent in Kelly's scripts, in line with the cartoonist's interest in Lewis Carroll's works, yet pose a challenge to the translator.

The duplicity of the frog becomes clear when he enthusiastically accepts the mouse's proposal, declaring to deserve the Prize since he "fought tooth an' claw against that Tompkins Gulf resolution in 'sixty-four" (Kelly 1967-1968, 33). The Italian translation avoids the equivalent idiom – "combattere con le unghie e con i denti" – and changes the words of the original panel: "fin dal millenovecentosessantaquattro ho detto che bisognava trattare" (*Linus* 39, 64), making the character's position more conciliatory (Fig. 6). The reference to the Gulf of Tonkin incident is omitted, probably because the target audience would have missed its political implications. The source text proceeds with the use of figurative language related to animals, and thus achieves cohesion: "I fought like a tiger" – the frog says. Cavallone does not reproduce the simile, but uses a prepositional phrase "con ardore belluino" (*Linus* 39, 65), where the reference to a wild beast is preserved.

The reader discovers that Congersman Moop actually voted for the war and changed his mind *a posteriori*, acknowledging to have been cheated by an ambiguous political system (Fig. 7): "I was hoodwinked, soft-soaped and laundered" (Kelly 1967-1968, 34). Kelly's ability to create humorous effects thanks to the potential of language is shown through the use of verbs which express the notion of deceit in various nuances: "hoodwink", to trick, "soft-soap", to flatter, and "launder". The latter has a double meaning since it indicates the act of washing and ironing, already evoked by the word "soap" and, in an informal register, it expresses the attempt to make something appear more acceptable especially with reference to money obtained illegally.

The Italian translation, "Ma ora cambio coraggiosamente idea, e dico eroicamente di essere stato truffato" (*Linus* 39, 65), condenses the concept into a single verb, "truffare", probably due to the difficulty of reproducing the pun in such a small space. In the original text, the bravery of the frog in changing his mind and overtly declaring his view is highlighted by the alliterative phrase "sparkling spunk" which does not appear in *Linus*. Indeed, the language of American comics, very concise and fragmentary (Cavallone 2009, 50), cannot be easily mirrored in Italian syntax. In the target text the panel is reconstructed and irony is enhanced thanks to the sentence: "Ecco quel che ci vuole: un po' di coerenza" (*Linus* 39, 65).

In line with the ambiguity of the frog, his Italian name, Onorevole Intrallazzi, proves to be eloquent.[18] This is why he deserves a special award, different from the distinguished Swedish one, the IG Noble Prize, given by the mouse's cousin, Ignatz (Fig. 8). The wordplay here is clear both in the source and in the target language. Ignatz runs a grocery and offers a turkey every year "for the best counterbution to peace" (Kelly 1967-1968, 34). The distortion of the word "contribution" by means of the prefix "counter", which indicates an opposition or reaction to something, is emblematic. The Italian text does not recreate the pun, but alters the words contained in the balloon as follows: "Mio cugino Ignazio della salumeria Nobel ogni anno regala un tacchino al cliente più pacifico" (*Linus* 39, 65). Pogo shows his skepticism: "E Intrallazzi è pacifico?" (*Linus* 39, 65), hinting at the paradoxical nature of the nomination.

Meanwhile, P.T. Bridgeport is arranging his travelling circus which is headed towards New Hampshire, satirizing the atmosphere of American political campaigns. He arrives at the swamp selling his wind-up toys, which resemble candidates in the 1968 elections. The Presidential campaign is represented as a real race whose participants are the members of both the Democratic Party and the Republican Party. The first to be introduced is George Romney, who does not seem to be a good runner: the puppet barely moves, until the bear winds it up and then it quickly makes its exit (Fig. 9). In the Italian strip we read: "Non ho mai visto un ritiro più veloce" (*Linus* 39, 67), alluding to Romney's actual withdrawal from the race on February 28. The original strip, which the author was forced to rewrite to comply with syndication requirements, added a further element: the politician was portrayed as "putting his foot in mouth" (Kelly 1967-1968, 37). The idiom – which means "to say something tactless or embarrassing"[19] – refers to Romney's inappropriate statement that contributed to undermine his campaign: in 1967, he admitted having been brainwashed about the Vietnam War.[20]

Next, P.T. Bridgeport opens a box showing Pogo a new puppet that resembles the incumbent Democratic president, Lyndon B. Johnson. Kelly introduced him as a swamp inhabitant in March 1968, depicted as a Texas longhorn: the steer had vision problems, which symbolize Johnson's blind war policies and his inability to decode reality. The other characters laugh

[18] The word, Sicilian in origin, refers to political intrigues: see *Vocabolario Treccani* online, s.v. INTRALLAZZO.
[19] *Oxford English Dictionary* online, s.v. FOOT, n. and int., P5j(a), where the idiom is labelled as "*colloquial* (originally *North American*)".
[20] In a footnote that opens the volume *Equal Time for Pogo* (1968), Kelly praises the nobility and honesty of Romney's act.

at his "visibility gap" (Kelly 1967-1968, 58), an expression that echoes the "Credibility Gap", widely used by contemporaries to question the truthfulness of his statements about the Vietnam War.

In a strip distributed on March 11, Walt Kelly portrays Johnson's head stuck in a Mount Rushmore cut-out board due to the length of his horns (Fig. 10). The words he utters – "Once I stick my head in, don't seem like I gets out easy" (Kelly 1967-1968, 40) – are meaningful, especially in the Italian translation: "Mi spiace, amico, ma una volta dentro, è difficile uscirne" (*Linus* 39, 68). Indeed, the verb "uscirne" used in an absolute construction means "to get out of trouble". The steer's impossibility to move hints at the difficulties connected to the New Hampshire primary. Initially confident of a win, Johnson was not on the ballot:[21] "The old bull didn't go either" (Kelly 1967-1968, 40), Bridgeport says, wondering if someone has noted this absence. The animal replies in verse: "Underneath the jolly tree stood a photograph of Me, and a Bust, the very essence, Of the Absent Xmas presence" (Kelly 1967-1968, 41). Faced with the difficulty of reproducing the homophonic pun that involves the words "present" – as a gift –, "presence" and "president", the translator modifies the Christmas song through a substitution using semantically distinct target elements (Malone 1988), but keeps the rhyme scheme: "Sotto il pino di Natale – in grandezza naturale – c'era un busto sorridente – dell'amato Presidente …" (*Linus* 39, 68).

The analysed strips reveal that verbal humour plays an important role in *Pogo*, in terms of "puns, jokes, proper names, spoonerisms" (Zanettin 2010, 44), and often requires considerable modifications in the translation process. Cavallone demonstrates his ability to interpret the pictures and change the balloon dialogues producing innovative effects that put "the Italian reader in the same situation as the original English one" (Eco 2003, 5). The translator is aware of the "violence" (Cavallone 2009, 47) that resides in his task, which entails "the forcible replacement of the linguistic and cultural differences of the foreign text with a text that is intelligible to the translating-language reader" (Venuti 1995, 14), showing how contemporary debates in Translation Studies permeate his observations.

As Macedoni (2010) points out, the language of comics transposed into Italian tends to conform to the norms of standard grammar. The decision to use standard Italian, elaborate but far from linguistic purism, proves effective in translating *Pogo* since the characters are intellectuals who formulate subtle and complex concepts, but it is not appropriate to all comic

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[21] See Mc Ardle (2018). Johnson's staff was running a write-in campaign. On March 12, Eugene McCarthy received 42 percent of the vote while Johnson got 50 percent. On March 31, the incumbent President decided to withdraw from the competition.

strips. As an example, Cavallone considers the language of *Li'l Abner* and praises the courageous choices made by the Italian translator Ranieri Carano.

"We Will from Time to Time Run Educational Comics":[22] Al Capp and the War

The image of conflict is at the core of American popular art, as shown in the *Li'l Abner*'s strips published between February and March 1968. The hilly community of Dogpatch, home to the Yokum family, is the framework of a story that aims both at entertaining and educating the audience. Evoking the atmosphere of the Cold War, the author, Al Capp, creates the fictional land of Bottumala, an island strategically located between Russia and China, which attracts international interests: in fact, it is said that any country able to join forces with it will rule the world.

The distinctive feature of its inhabitants concerns their food habits since they only eat roast rump. The author exploits the polysemy of the word "rump" to create a comic effect: it may refer to good quality meat, i.e. "This part of an animal used as food; a piece or cut of meat from an animal's hindquarters"), but it also means "A person's buttocks; the backside; (in extended use) the anus, the rectum".[23] The name of the island, Bottumala, has the same connotation since it evokes the word "bottom"; however, this reference is missing in Italian. The translator, Ranieri Carano, chooses a literary term, "terga" (*Linus* 39, 48), as the equivalent of "rump" with a touch of irony,[24] but uses a colloquial prefix to render the name of the Prime Minister Rumpelmyer into Italian, Kulmyer, thus creating a humorous contrast.[25] The translation of proper names in comics produces innovative effects since their value is often semantic (Levý 2001, 86) and culture-bound.

The various powers in the world – represented by Kosygin, De Gaulle, and Mao – try to woo the "roast-rump-relishing" leader (*Li'l Abner*, 02-15-1968) by inviting him to dinner and offering their best meat. The fruitless

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[22] Al Capp, *Li'l Abner*, 02-07-1968. Al Capp's strips will be quoted hereafter indicating the publication date in American newspapers. In particular, I consulted *Bridgeport Post*, February-March 1968.

[23] *Oxford English Dictionary* online, s.v. RUMP, n.1, 2.a and I.1.b respectively.

[24] Solemn words are frequent in Italian comics (Masini 2003, 25) and carry a ludic connotation.

[25] In the target language, "culo" is a vulgar word meaning "backside" and when it collocates with the verb "dare", it conveys the idea of sacrifice or compromise (see *Vocabolario Treccani* online, s.v. CULO), which underlies the dialogues of the story.

endeavours of the other countries – "I can't stomach any Mao of this" (*Li'l Abner*, 02-14-1968), the Prime Minister complains[26] – lead the White House to use a more effective strategy and involve its intelligence services to find the rarest rump. Their action is justified on the grounds that it "can prevent the world from being dominated by any other power-mad bunch of bums" (*Li'l Abner*, 02-15-1968), showing how the United States tend to shroud conflict under the guise of international defense. The plain Italian translation preserves this meaning: "impediremo che il mondo venga dominato da un altro branco di pezzenti assetati di potere!!" (*Linus* 39, 50). The English complex noun phrase, "power-mad bunch of bums", is translated with the use of postmodifiers, as Italian syntax requires: the source text item is expanded through diffusion (Malone 1988).

The original is dotted with references to the image of the backside and achieves a high degree of cohesion: Li'L Abner Yokum and Daesy Mae are alarmed, as shown by their expressions "Our future is behind us" and "Has we hit bottom" (*Li'l Abner*, 02-12-1968). The latter phrase, which means "to reach the lowest or worst point" (*OED* online, *s.v.* BOTTOM, n. and adj., P7), has a possible equivalent in the Italian idiom "toccare il fondo". However, the translator does not maintain the metaphor (Fig. 11) and simply writes "Il futuro è tristo", "Dove che finirem noialtri?" (*Linus* 39, 49). Ranieri Carano chooses to blend some dialects of Northern Italy to render the language of the rural community of Dogpatch, which is originally characterized by an orthographic deformation of common English that reproduces a regional pronunciation. The story is rich in expressions that show the eye dialect practice, namely the use of misspelled words, written as they are pronounced: "fum yo'" (*Li'l Abner*, 03-14-1968), "nashunal hero" (*Li'l Abner*, 03-21-1968), "yo'll hafta go it alone" (*Li'l Abner*, 03-18-1968); "lissen" and "wifout" (*Li'l Abner*, 02-29-1968). Carano underlines the difficulty of recreating such an expressive language and, in introducing the episode *Li'l Abner e gli Shtunk Slobboviani* in *Linus* 1 (1965), proposes his translation as an experiment.

The use of dialect, which is rare in comics, generally has a cultural value and highlights the idea of authenticity (Masini 2003, 23). In *Li'l Abner*, it mirrors the characters' rudeness and illiteracy and meets the need to criticize social differences. Carano's translation is effective in marking such differences since it deviates from standard Italian, which would have caused the loss of ethnic nuances conferred by the American author.

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[26] The Italian translation of the sentence, "Di' al Presidente di darla al Mio Mao" (*Linus* 39, 49), is particularly effective since a cat's call and the Chinese leader's name are homographs.

An attentive reader knows that the Yokums are concerned by the government investigation since they own the last female of hammus alabammus, a delicious species of pig, Salomey, whose Biblical name recalls the word "salami". The Israeli Ambassador passes this piece of information on to Lyndon Johnson since the Jews, who are not allowed to eat pig meat, cannot benefit from it. In the short introductory note to the story, the *Linus* editors explained the subtle cultural references in the source text that an Italian reader might miss, from the idea to latinize the word "ham" in "hammus" so as to obtain a humorous effect, to the political figures that appear in the strips. Most of them are easily recognizable since their striking physical characteristics are exaggerated: big ears connote the US President, who never faces the public, and a blonde quiff is the main trait of Senator Robert Kennedy.

Lyndon Johnson asks the Yokums to hand the pig over and, facing their refusal, decides to address General Hershey: an allusion to the Vietnam War starts to emerge. Salomey receives a letter from the Department of Defense and decides to burn it: "Oh Mah Goodniss!! It's a draft-card!!" (*Li'l Abner*, 02-27-1968). Draft-card burning was a symbol of protest performed by American men taking part in the opposition to American involvement in the Vietnam War. Carano translates the sentence as: "Oh, Santa Polenta!! Era una chiamata a le armi!!" (*Linus* 39, 52), using the common Italian phrase that indicates the order to join the armed forces (Fig. 12). The interjection "Mah Goodniss", which is an example of eye dialect, is replaced with the Piedmontese expression "Santa Polenta" through a substitution (Malone 1988), trying to preserve the popular tone of the dialogue.

Salomey runs away to Canada, the country where draft dodgers take shelter,[27] and here becomes "the most valuable asset" (*Li'l Abner*, 03-12-1968) the White House will claim. Mammy Yokum tries to persuade the pig to make the supreme sacrifice: "All youre Presydunt wants fum yo' is yore backing" (*Li'l Abner*, 03-14-1968) – she states. The pun based on the twofold interpretation of the word "backing", which indicates support but also evokes someone's backside, makes the text cohesive. It is challenging to create a similar wordplay in Italian, where a loss is inevitable: in the sentence "Il tuo Presi-dente vuol da te che il tuo sostegno!" (*Linus* 39, 55), "sostegno" is a univocal word that means "support".

Salomey has to accept for the sake of the United States, "th' land o' th' free an' th' home o' th' brave" (*Li'l Abner*, 03-16-1968) – "Il paese de la libertà e la patria dei forti" (*Linus* 39, 56): both the source and the target texts ridicule the myth of American fairness and grandeur by quoting the

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[27] *Linus* editors specify this aspect, unfamiliar to the target reader, in the introductory note to the story.

US national anthem and showing how traditional values have been reversed. In particular, the Italian translation focuses on the abstract term "libertà", which is now threatened by the war, and renders "brave" as "forti", where the idea of power prevails over people's bravery.

The plot illustrates how Al Capp's irony is directed not only at United States foreign policy, but also at Lyndon Johnson's program, known as the Great Society, a series of domestic initiatives he promoted to eliminate poverty and racial injustice. The President's reforms seem to be full of promises: Rumpelmyer is offered the possibility of eating a hammus alabammus while showing the event to Bottumala natives via "two-way T.V." (*Li'l Abner*, 03-27-1968), an early form of videotelephony which allowed people at different locations to communicate in real-time. The Italian translation "TV per satellite" (*Linus* 39, 58) refers to a service that started to spread at the beginning of the 1960s and conveys the image of the United States as a country at the cutting edge of communications. This advanced technology leads to the paradoxical denouement of the story: when Abner is reluctantly ready to cook Salomey, everyone is shown on television that a tsunami puts an end to the country of Bottumala. The pig is now safe and this parable reveals how young American soldiers perceived the disasters of the war, in contrast with the view the political establishment had on Vietnam.

The analysis of the strips shows the inventiveness of the translator, ready to find "a solution to the most daunting of problems" (Levý, quoted in Bassnett 2002, 31), while conforming to the linguistic conventions of comics that the reader may immediately recognize in the target text. The dialogues are rich in foreign words connected with the use of onomatopoeia: "Smack! – Slobber!! – Drool!! Pant! Pant!!" (*Linus* 39, 54), which emphasize Rumpelmyer's greed for meat, are borrowed from the source language through carry-over matching (Malone 1988). Furthermore, it is possible to identify the features of spoken language typical of comics (Morgana 2003, 175), from informal expressions – "se voleva il mio ce lo davo" (*Linus* 39, 55) – to sentence fragments – "pensaci sopra e son sicura che …" (*Linus* 39, 53) – and deictic constructions, such as the exophora "datecela a dietro" (*Linus* 39, 53), which refers to an item, the pig, recoverable from the context of situation.

Conclusions

The language of comics is closely linked to the context of the country in which they are produced, hence at *Linus,* translators had to develop a method for bridging the gap in the knowledge of the Italian audience.

Cultural differences motivate frequent recourse to substitution to render expressions that lack an equational counterpart (Malone 1988), or justify the addition of background information in the paratext. When tackling translation problems, adherence to an absolute rule is not realistic (Cavallone 2009), but the best solution has to be pragmatically negotiated each time. The strategies proposed by Cavallone and Carano reveal that translation may respectively conform to standard language in the target context or resist to it by recovering a marginal language variety.

As for the themes explored, the selected strips show how history permeates the world of comics. The decision to publish these stories in *Linus* between 1967 and 1968 responded to the editors' need to combine entertainment with a critical interpretation of contemporary events, acknowledging that translation contributes to the construction of "a domestic representation for a foreign text and culture" (Venuti 1998, 68). Although *Linus* is not a radical or revolutionary magazine, as Gandini clarifies in 1968 (*Linus* 41),[28] the analysis of the strips and of the strategies adopted in translation – often made explicit through notes and articles – reveals the intent to shape a purely Italian cultural discourse, which promotes peace and integration against the futility of social, political and racial inequality. The editors' view on the war is clear and strong. It is no coincidence that in 1967 they published the first episode of the strip *Tales of the Green Beret*,[29] dedicated to the American Special Forces in Vietnam, but felt the urge to justify this choice before their readers: in the introductory note, signed by Oreste del Buono, they admitted to siding with the Vietnamese community that fought for freedom, despite the grief over the deaths of so many American soldiers. The story was translated in order to represent the disillusion of any war, looking back at the empty rhetoric used in Italy two decades earlier:

> Gli uomini dal berretto verde […] ci hanno richiamato un'altra retorica ascoltata e patita in passato. Così presentiamo queste strisce come documenti dell'illusione sempre uguale, della stupidità sempre uguale, dell'inutilità sempre uguale delle guerre. (*Linus* 29, 62)

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[28] An explicit political turn occurred in 1972 when Oreste del Buono became the magazine editor-in-chief.

[29] It was launched by Robin Moore and Joe Kubert in 1965.

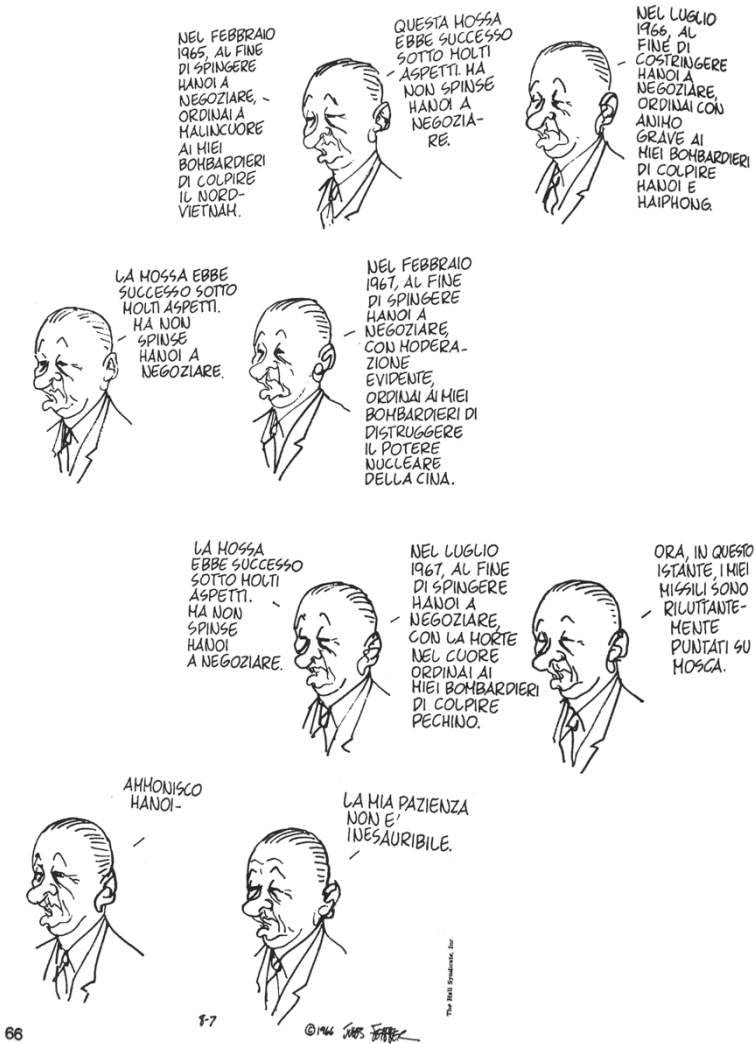Fig. 1a: a 1966 strip (*Jules Feiffer's America*)
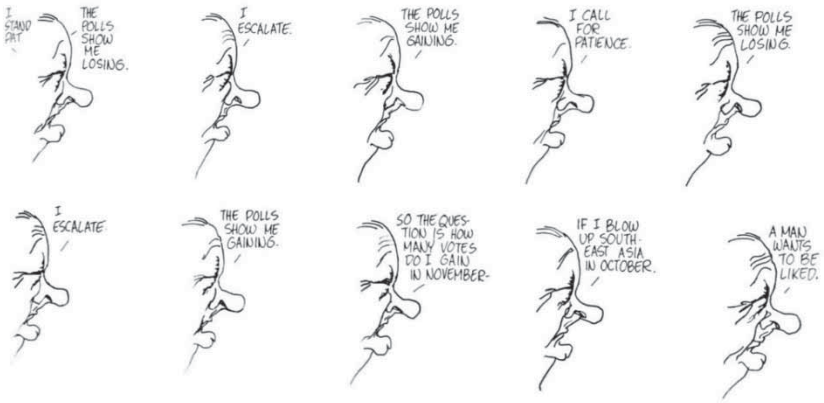
Fig. 1b: *ProvoLinus*, 1967
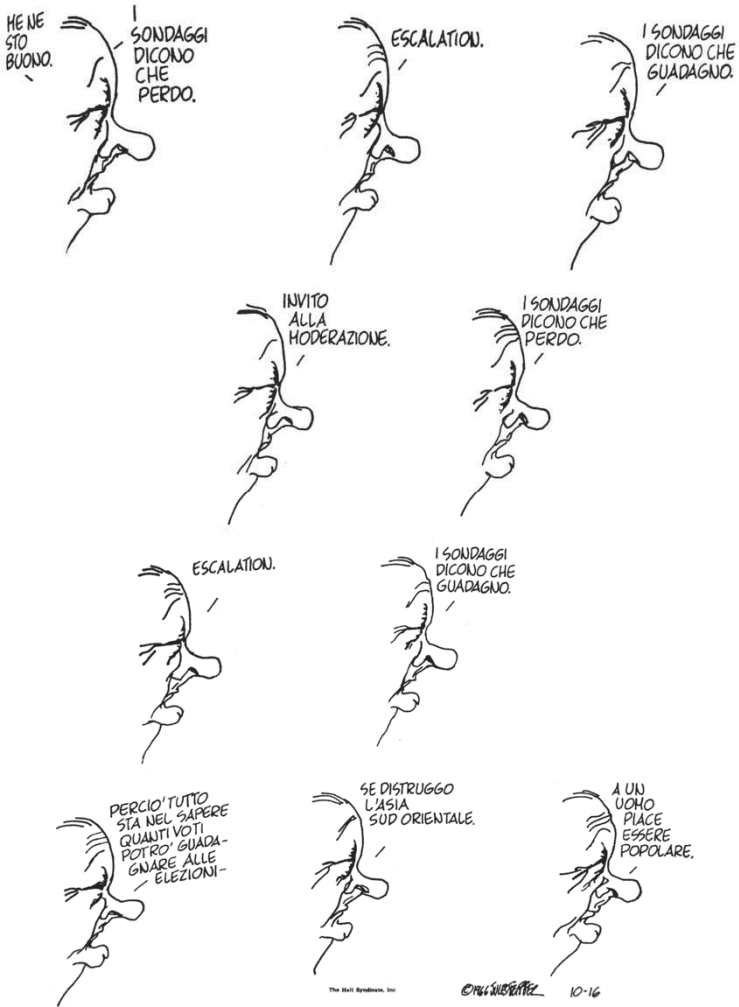
Fig. 2a: a 1966 strip (*Jules Feiffer's America*)

Fig. 2b: *ProvoLinus,* 1967

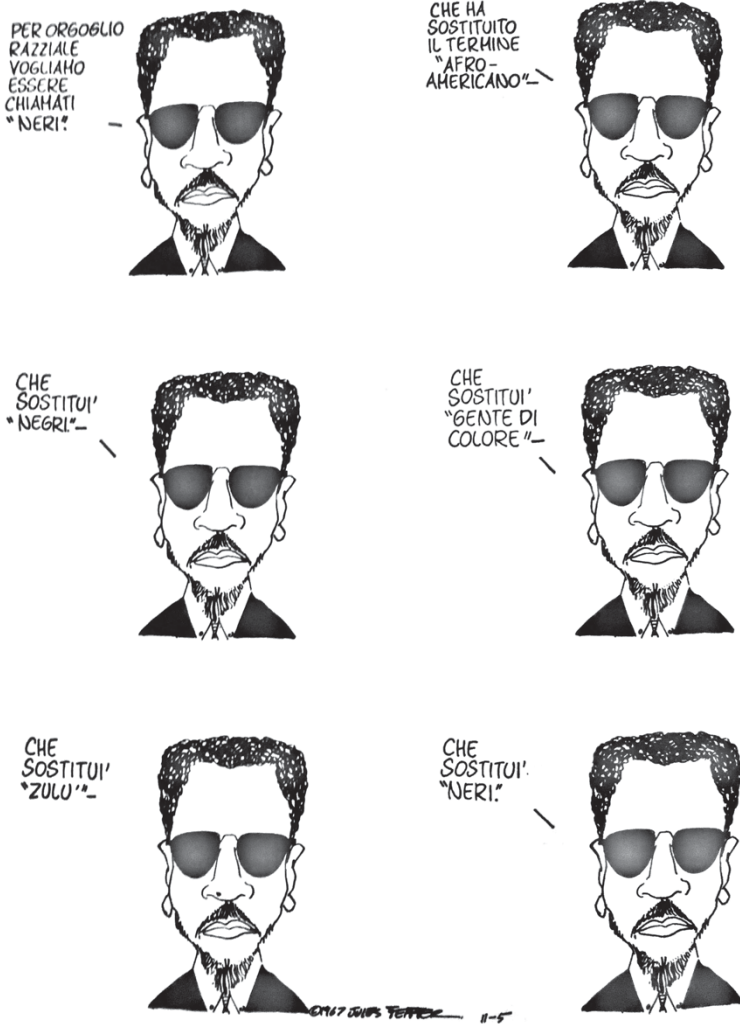Fig. 3a: a 1967 strip (*Jules Feiffer's America*)
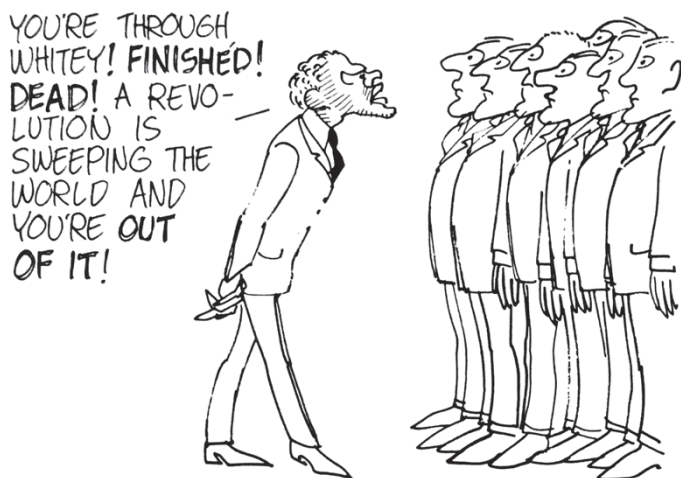
Fig. 3b: *Linus* 34, 1968

Fig. 4a: a 1965 panel (*Jules Feiffer's America*)

Fig. 4b: *ProvoLinus,* 1967

Fig. 5: An excerpt from Walt Kelly's *Pogo* 02-19-1968

Fig. 6: An excerpt from Walt Kelly's *Pogo* 02-22-1968

Fig. 7: An excerpt from Walt Kelly's *Pogo* 02-23-1968

Fig. 8: An excerpt from Walt Kelly's *Pogo* 02-26-1968

Fig. 9: Walt Kelly, *Pogo* (*Linus* 39, 1968)

Fig. 10: Walt Kelly, *Pogo* (*Linus* 39, 1968)

Fig. 11: Al Capp, *Li'l Abner* 02-12-1968 (*Linus* 39, 1968)

Fig. 12: Al Capp, *Li'l Abner* 02-27-1968 (*Linus* 39, 1968)

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UPPER-CLASS ENGLISH IN *THE CROWN*:
AN ANALYSIS OF DUBBING AND SUBTITLING

LUCA VALLERIANI

Introduction

In the last few decades, the adoption of accents and dialects in cinema and television has been one of the most common techniques to build character identity through language. As noted by Hodson, dialogue is often used by filmmakers as a 'shortcut' to portray characters' socio-cultural background, drawing on audiences' "impression that they know what a dialect sounds like and what characteristics a speaker of that dialect is likely to have" (Hodson 2014, 11). In short, consciously or not, they usually rely on the social meaning of on-screen 'clichéd dialects' – in Kozloff's (2000, 82) words – to locate each character in more or less specific categories, even if such a process leads to linguistic stereotyping (Lippi-Green 2012, 101-126; Hodson 2014, 60-79). Although it is necessary to remark on a distinction between represented and real dialect, the former is still largely adopted as a tool to make films more 'realistic'.

Realism is generally the ultimate aim for the use of accented voices in films and TV series not only to portray single characters, but also to characterise a whole social group. Social class differentiation has been, in fact, conveyed through language especially starting from the 1960s with the British 'new wave' cinema, concentrating mostly on the depiction of the lower classes (Hallam and Marshment 2000, 24; Wagg 1998, 11; Hodson 2014, 206). Only recently have the British upper classes gained the attention of cinema and TV directors and screenwriters, who have attempted to represent the upper-class sociolect in a realistic non-stereotypical way and, above all, not only as a contrast with working-class characters.

After a brief outline on the linguistic facts of British upper-class English and how this has been represented in cinema and television in the last few decades, the present study aims at exploring the translation techniques that were adopted to render the upper-class accent in the Italian adaptation of the Netflix TV series *The Crown* (2016-present), which was chosen because it

is a great example of a period drama that pays homage to contemporary existing upper-class people through a "quest for socio-historical realism, which includes an evident linguistic research" (Ranzato 2018, 212). More specifically, building on previous insights on upper-class English in AVT (Bruti and Vignozzi 2016; Sandrelli 2016; Ranzato 2018), the qualitative analysis of two instances taken from the second season, which were selected among others as representing private, spontaneous conversations, will help the reader in verifying the different modalities in which the Italian dubbed and subtitled versions handled (or could have handled) a socially-marked linguistic variety. The analytical process started from the repeated viewing of the two selected scenes both in the original English and in Italian, and a close reading of their transcription followed. These texts were examined taking into consideration all linguistic aspects, in order to carry out a description of the translation strategies adopted by professionals to render the upper-class sociolect both in its Italian dubbing and subtitles, with the purpose of shedding light on how prosodic and lexical compensation can often be fundamental in the complicated process of translating regional and social varieties.

Upper-class English: Definition and Linguistic Facts

The language of the British upper classes was selected as an object of investigation because it proves to be a rather under-researched topic, both in sociolinguistics and in translation studies, if compared to the numerous studies on working-class varieties and urban dialects. While noting the need for a systematic insight into this subject, it is not difficult to find the reasons why not many scholars investigated it. First of all, studying the language of a social class is never an easy task, simply because it is difficult to define the concept of social class itself, even from the sociological point of view, due to aspects like heterogeneity and social mobility (Trudgill 2000, 26). Secondly, the upper strata of any society are usually characterised by a form of insularity and exclusivity which makes it very complicated for researchers to penetrate even for study purposes (Kroch 1996, 26-27; Ranzato 2017, 27 and 2018, 204).

Before starting any study on British upper-class English – including its represented version in audiovisuals – and presenting any analytical data, it appears fruitful to provide a definition of upper class. In order to do so, following Anthony Kroch, it can be affirmed that:

> Unlike classes defined by sociologists or sociolinguists on the basis of statistical indices, the upper class is a self-recognized group whose members frequently meet face-to-face in social institutions of their own. The group is

extremely self-conscious and demarcates itself sharply from the middle-class.
(…) Financially, the upper class is based on inherited wealth. (1996, 25)

Before Kroch – who, anyway, did not focus on the British area, but carried out a study on upper-class speech in Philadelphia – the language of upper-class people in Britain had been the focus of what Ranzato defines as the "U/non-U debate of the late 1950s" (2018, 205), using the acronym coined by Alan Ross in a groundbreaking (albeit old-fashioned and, possibly, arbitrary) article (1954). Ross provided a list of features both in written and spoken English that were to be considered, in his own opinion and experience, as 'U' ("to designate usages of the upper class", 1959, 11) or 'non-U' ("to designate usages which are not upper class"). Not only was such terminology embraced by prominent people of the period (like novelist Nancy Mitford, who re-edited Ross's article a few years later), but it is also sometimes adopted in scholars' works (Gregory 1967 and Wells 1992, but also more recently Agha 2007 and Mesthrie *et al.* 2009) and as "the base of the stereotyped (…) rendition of the members of this class in cinematographic films and television series" (Ranzato 2018, 205). Moreover, Ross's argumentation has even been expanded in recent mainstream non-fiction books like Taggart's *Her Ladyship Guide to the Queen's English* (2010), whose indications are fascinatingly detailed, despite not being grounded on a scientific method.

In the field of English sociolinguistics, upper-class speech has traditionally been identified with Received Pronunciation (RP), whose label was originally conceived to indicate the standard accent and soon became associated with the people of high society.[1] However, nowadays linguists generally agree on the fact that "no accent is a homogeneous invariant monolith – certainly not RP. So we must (…) consider the variability found in it" (Wells 1992, 279). In particular, Wells identified a conservative version of RP, generally spoken by the Royal Family, the High Courts and most of the members of Parliament, as opposed to the so-called Mainstream RP. This 'upper' version is defined as Upper-crust RP (or U-RP) and its main features are summed up in the following list (Wells 1992, 280-283):

- general open and prolonged realisation of vowel sounds, so that we hear [ɛæ] in TRAP words, [ɐ:] in NURSE, [ɔ:] in CLOTH and [ɪ] or even

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[1] While there are not many works which deal specifically with the language of the upper classes, there is a wide scholarly literature on RP, both regarding its characteristics and evolutions (e.g. Cruttenden 2014, among the most recently re-edited studies) and the debate on the name (see Sturiale 2002).

[ɛ] in final position in HAPPY, and the same applies to the second element in diphthongs of NEAR, SQUARE and CURE, which are realised as [ɪɑ, ɛɑ, ʊɑ];

- voiceless plosives are never glottaled or glottalised and they are usually followed by a nasal release when a nasal consonant follows, like in COTTON;

- /r/ is sometimes tapped [ɾ] in intervocalic position, contributing to the 'crisp, clipped effect,' but instances of total elision can also be heard (VERY [vɛ.ɪ]);

- surprising presence of two features that are usually associated with lower classes: the [ɪn] variant in the suffix '-ing' and the use of the weak form 'me' instead of 'my';

- emphasis is added in discourse through the wide use of qualifying adverbs, where the sound of voiceless consonant preceding accented vowels is often prolonged (e.g. 'frightfully' [fraɪt:fəlɪ] and 'awfully' [ɔ:f:lɪ];

- shortening of stressed vowels and consequent lengthening of final unstressed ones (e.g. 'parking-meter,' which, Wells suggests could be considered as the shibboleth to detect upper-class speech, is pronounced as [pɑkɪ:ŋ mitə:]);

- lowering of the larynx and widening of the oro-pharinx when speaking, which Wells calls 'plumminess', since it sounds as if the speaker is talking with a plum in his/her mouth.

Well's classification of RP was a reinterpretation and expansion of that proposed by Gimson, whose label for the upper-class version was Conservative RP (1984, 46). Upton also mentioned that two alternative proposals were Ramsaran's Traditional RP (1990) and Cruttenden's Refined RP (1994), but he did not deal extensively with the 'elevated upbringing' (2004, 219). More recently, Cruttenden has changed his proposal into Conspicuous General British (CGB), building on the idea that the acronym GB, coined by Windsor Lewis in 1972, should be preferred to the old-fashioned RP (2014, 80).

Leaving aside the debate on the term, after Wells (1992) there were no updated taxonomies on the upper-class variety in Britain, apart from sparse insights on those linguistic features that can be defined, following Mugglestone, as symbols of social divide (2007). The only recent contribution which deals specifically with upper-class English, and to which this work owes much (especially for the next section) is Ranzato's (2018) discussion on the phonological and sociocultural aspects of the upper strata in British

society and the various functions played by upper-class characters in different films and TV series.

Upper-class Speech in Audiovisuals: AVT Trends

If we consider U-RP as a full language variety, similar in its basic phonological structure to Mainstream RP but culturally separate from it, we will find that there are not so many instances of this accent in contemporary cinema and television.[2] Some of the characters speaking an almost authentic upper-class British English were classified by Ranzato (2018, 212-223) into different *topoi* according to their function in the audiovisual text. Just to mention some: *The Crown* (2016-present) is an example of a socio-historical drama featuring 'all-upstairs' characters (which, for this reason, was chosen as a case study in the present article); in *Educating Rita* (1983) we find an instance of 'mocking' adoptive U-RP; *Call the Midwife* (2012-present) was analysed to look at the contrast between the U-RP speaker Chummy and the other middle-class and working-class characters; *A Fish Called Wanda* (1988) shows the common contraposition between the working-class American and the upper-class British, who sometimes also stereotypically plays the role of the villain, as happens in several Disney and superhero feature films.

Ranzato has also discussed in other contexts the social differentiation of characters in James Ivory's filmic adaptation (1985) of the novel *A Room with a View* by E. M. Forster (1908), observing that Daniel Day-Lewis affected a 'snobbish' language in his interpretation of Cecil, especially through his tone and voice quality, which is in contrast with Julian Sand's George Emerson (2016, 10). In Ivory's film there are also other actors who have a long tradition of portrayals of upper-class characters, namely Helena Bonham Carter and Maggie Smith. The former, who is an authentic RP speaker, adopted a more conservative accent in another Ivory adaptation of Forster, *Howards End* (1992), where she plays the part of Helen, but also as the villain Bellatrix in the *Harry Potter* saga (2007-2011), Elizabeth Bowes-Lyon in *The King's Speech* (2010) and Princess Margaret during the third season of *The Crown* (2019). As regards Smith, her case is particularly interesting because she represented more than once a regionalised form of U-RP:[3] she simulated a Scottish upper-class accent first as the protagonist

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[2] Instances from most of the titles listed in this paragraph can be found on the website *Dialects in Audiovisuals* (Ranzato *et al.* 2017, https://dialectsinav.wixsite.com/home/) where the official corresponding Italian dubbed versions are also provided.

[3] The influence of regiolects on the language of the upper classes is an interesting and rather unexplored topic, which I discussed during the *8th Media for All –*

in the 1969 film *The Prime of Miss Jean Brody* and later on in the *Harry Potter* films (2001-2011) as Professor McGonagall.

If we consider the Italian adaptation of the films and TV series that have been mentioned above, we will notice that the upper-class sociolect is rendered almost invariably with a Standard Italian accent. Omission is, in fact, the most common technique to tackle the problem of the transposition of dialectal varieties in general, as seen from numerous articles in the audiovisual translation field (Di Giovanni *et al.* 1994; Pavesi 1994; Ranzato 2006; Chiaro 2008, apart from those focusing on specific case studies), some of which are included in collected volumes (Armstrong and Federici 2016; Federici 2009, among others) or academic journals (see, for example, the dedicated special issues of *inTRAlinea* – Marrano *et al.* 2009; Nadiani and Rundle 2012; Brenner and Helin 2016; Geyer and Dore 2020) on the topic. The general outcome of this extensive scholarly literature is that language varieties are usually loaded with cultural connotations which are deeply rooted in the source culture and which are very difficult to reproduce in the target text without creating undesired stereotypical effects. However, the case of diastratic varieties seems to be easier to deal with, compared to diatopic ones, and the representation of the language of the upper classes has recently attracted the attention of some AVT scholars, who studied the English-Italian language pair. In fact, apart from Ranzato (2018), this article builds on the results of previous studies by Bruti and Vignozzi (2016) and Sandrelli (2016).

In both studies – the former on the translation of 2001 film *Gosford Park* and the latter on TV series *Downton Abbey* (2010-2015) – the analysis pointed out that, while the adoption of 'homogenizing conventions' (Sternberg 1981, quoted in Munday 2009, 181) proves to be the trend in the rendition of upper-class speech, the adapters attempted to create an elevated effect through the strategy of compensation,

> which involves making up for the loss of a source text effect by recreating a similar effect in the target text through means that are specific to the target language and/or text. (Harvey 2001, 37)

In particular, Bruti and Vignozzi argued that aristocratic characters in *Gosford Park* are given a distinctive quality through tone and timber (2016, 69), whereas Sandrelli noticed that the adapters of *Downton Abbey* made only little effort in using sparse archaic words and French loans to make the dialogues sound 'posh' (2016, 169-170). Thus, in both cases we find

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Complex Understandings international conference (17-19 June 2019, Stockholm), and which would deserve further scholarly research both in natural and fictional dialogue.

examples of the so-called "compensation in kind",[4] which consists in using a different linguistic device from that of the source text to convey a similar effect (Hervey and Higgins 1992, 34); more specifically, phonological aspects of upper-class speech were replaced by prosodic or lexical features in the Italian dubbed versions. Compensation strategies were adopted in both audiovisual products because they served as a means of social differentiation between upper-class and working-class characters (whose language usually sounds more spontaneous and informal), while it will be interesting to verify in the next section whether the same expedients were adopted to characterize the language of the homogeneous aristocratic community in *The Crown*.

The Transposition of Upper-class English in the Italian Adaptation of *The Crown*

The Crown is an historical drama series that explores the most salient private and public events of the British Royal Family from the end of George VI's reign and throughout the long reign of Queen Elizabeth II. It was created and written by Peter Morgan and the first season was broadcast on Netflix in 2016. The second season was broadcast in 2017 and the third one, after a total change of cast, in 2019. The series received critical and audience acclaim and was awarded several accolades, such as the Golden Globe for Best Television Drama Series in 2017. In 2019, *The Guardian* included it in the list of best 100 TV series of 21st century.

Although historical events are not always accurate (Noonan 2017), *The Crown* was praised for its realistic depiction and it can be argued that it is characterized by an evident realism from the point of view of language representation. Ranzato, in particular, commented on the accent adopted by actress Clare Foy, who played the role of the Queen during the first two seasons, arguing that she simulated a convincing U-RP, both in voice quality – 'plumminess' (Wells 1992, 283) – and in phonological rendition, through a general open realization of vowel sounds (Wells 1992, 280-281) (Ranzato 2018, 212-213). Foy herself and also some of her fellow-actors declared they worked intensely in order to achieve the accent, thanks to the presence of a dialect coach, and they mentioned that they were asked to pay special attention to the openness of vowels.[5]

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[4] In the case of *Downton Abbey*, we could also refer to a form of "compensation in place," since archaisms in the Italian translation do not always correspond to the same line we find them in the source text (Sandrelli 2016, 187).

[5] See parts of interviews at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S1MV9j0dPAQ and

In order to show how some U-RP features were employed in the series and to look at the strategies used to render the upper-class speech in Italian, a linguistic analysis of some lines will follow. The selected scenes are from the second season, which was chosen because, according to a personal opinion, actors seem to emphasize their aristocratic accent more than in the first season, probably due to a greater confidence with it. More importantly, scenes were selected depicting private conversations, which are supposed to reproduce natural language usage between same-generation interlocutors. Dialogues, both the original and the Italian dubbed and subtitled versions, were transcribed from the original Netflix episodes.

	Original	Italian dubbing	Italian subtitles
Philip	Why on earth would you do something like that to your hair?	Perché ti sei conciata la testa in quel modo?	Perché / ti sei conciata la testa in quel modo?
Elizabeth	What's wrong with it? I thought it was tidy and… sensible. (…) Apparently, it's very *à la mode*. All the regimental wives are wearing their hair like this now.	Non ti piace? È un'acconciatura ordinata… di buon gusto. (…) A quanto pare è molto *à la mode*. Tutte le mogli dei reali hanno capelli così ora.	Che cos'hanno? / Pensavo che fossero ordinati / e… appropriati. (…) A quanto pare è molto *à la mode*. / Tutte le mogli reggimentali / acconciano i capelli così.
Philip	(…) It's certainly very practical. And should you ever feel compelled to ride a motorcycle, it could always double as a helmet. (…) Sure it will provide ample protection against any falling masonry.	Be', sono sicuramente pratici. Se dovesse venirti voglia di guidare una motocicletta, potrebbero servirti da casco. (…) Sono certo che ti proteggerebbero se dovesse caderti una tegola in testa.	Sicuramente è molto pratico. / E qualora ti venisse voglia / di andare in motocicletta, / potrebbero sempre fungere da casco. (…) Sicuramente fornirà ampia protezione / contro la caduta di calcinacci.

Table 1 – The Crown, episode 2x05, 15'00''

In spite of the fact that the lines above are taken from a private face-to-face conversation between Queen Elizabeth and her husband, Prince Philip (played by Matt Smith in the first two seasons), they both use a high and

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https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VBQWZmqb33I&list=LLmZWw7wwjwaoyz J_IFIZDMA&index=25&t=0s (last accessed 25/03/2020).

sophisticated register. Phonologically speaking, on the other hand, Elizabeth's accent sounds more 'U' than that of Philip, which is perhaps closer to Mainstream RP, in Well's terminology (although his diphthong in the word 'hair' is strikingly open [hɛɑ]). In fact, Foy's almost-perfect reproduction of the aristocratic prosody and voice quality is supported by the use of an open HAPPY vowel in the word 'tidy' [taɪdɪ], but also in 'very' [vɛɾɪ], where a slight tapped /r/ can be heard as well. Moreover, she also makes abundant use of a feature that actually sounds rather sophisticated but which is not included in Well's taxonomy, namely the affrication of dental plosives in final position, like in 'What's wrong with it? [ɪtʃ]' and '*à la mode* [mɔdʒ]'; both this phenomenon and the rounding of the lips in words ending with the suffix '-tion' are widely present throughout the whole show and in the speech of more than one character, so it may be argued that they were indicated by the dialect coach as upper-class markers.

As regards the Italian dubbed version, the most notable aspect is the loss of upper-class features in Elizabeth's accent, which are slightly compensated by a rather high-pitched intonation, which sounds quite haughty compared to Philip's 'calm' tone. Ranzato, however, argued that the young Queen has a firm and confident tone in the Italian version that does not match the 'unassertiveness and apparent fragility of the young Elizabeth' in the original (2018, 212). While this clashes with the way the creator built the character, it may be inferred that it was due to a conscious consideration, whose purpose was that of providing the Italian Elizabeth's speech with an aristocratic flavour that could not be conveyed through the phonological device. From the point of view of the word choice, it can be noticed in table 1 that the dubbing team did not make a great effort in building a high register: verbs like *venire voglia* ('to fancy') and *proteggere* ('to protect') are not formal enough compared to, respectively, 'feel compelled' and 'provide ample protection.' Lip sync concerns might have had a central role in these choices specifically, although, as Ranzato expresses, the dubbing team of *The Crown* has not always considered it as central issue (2018, 213).

The Italian subtitles, on the contrary, show a more complex structure and more formal lexical choices, such as the old-fashioned *qualora* ('in case'), *fungere* ('to serve as') and *fornire* ('to provide'). The choice to translate 'masonry' with *calcinacci*, instead, perhaps sounds slighly informal compared to the more literal *muratura*, but subtitles show a general greater degree of formality compared to the dubbed version, and this is probably due to the fact that the translation is highly literal. The adherence to the ST is one of the features that differentiates the subtitling process from dubbing, but it must also be taken into consideration that literal translations are faster to carry out, and speed is the most important aspect that companies

like Netflix demand of their adapters. Even though translating literally sometimes helps in creating a similar style to the original, it might also lead to awkward results, such as the use of *reggimentale*, which in Italian is more related to the military than the royal semantic area, and the use of the singular for the omitted subject *capelli* in "Sicuramente è molto pratico" and "fornirà ampia protezione," as a calque on the English uncountable noun 'hair'.

To give a second example of the language used in *The Crown* and how it was rendered in Italian, a scene showing a conversation between Queen Elizabeth and her sister Princess Margaret (Vanessa Kirby, in season 1 and 2) was selected. The choice is due to the interest in comparing the idiolect of two characters who share an identical socio-cultural background, while it should not be forgotten that Philip is an 'acquired' member in the Royal Family and this might have been taken into consideration by the creator.

	Original	Italian dubbing	Italian subtitles
Margaret	I brought a copy of the statement which we'll give to the newspapers tomorrow. (…)	Ecco una copia della dichiarazione che daremo ai giornali domani. (…)	Ho portato una copia dell'annuncio / che daremo domani ai giornali. (…)
Elizabeth	It looks fine, but, uh…	Il comunicato va bene, ma…	Sembra che vada bene, ma…
Margaret	Oh, don't come with buts…	Non cominciare con i "ma".	No, non venirtene con i "ma".
Elizabeth	We're going to have to delay it.	Siamo costretti a rimandarlo.	Dovremo rimandarlo.
Margaret	Delay what?	Rimandare cosa?	Rimandare cosa?
Elizabeth	The announcement. (…) Because of the baby.	L'annuncio. (…) Per via del bambino.	L'annuncio. (…) Per il bambino.
Margaret	What baby?	Quale bambino?	Quale bambino?
Elizabeth	Mine. I'm expecting.	Il mio. Sono incinta.	Il mio. Sono in attesa.

Table 2 – The Crown, episode 2x07, 28'12''

All in all, Margaret's accent sounds as 'U' as that of Elizabeth, except perhaps for a less accentuated 'plumminess' (Wells 1992, 283). Instances of U-RP in her speech are, for example, the general openness of her vowel sounds, like in 'copy' [cɔpɪ] and, especially, in 'baby' [beɪbɛ], whose last vowel is remarkably open, even more than Elizabeth's pronunciation in the previous line. Moreover, she also makes use of the nasal release after the plosive consonant in 'statement' and she turns final dental plosives into

affricates (e.g. 'what' [wɔtʃ]) as much as her sister does (in this scene, again in 'it' and also in 'announcement'). Moreover, the line transcribed in the last cell of table 2 contains the [ɪn] variant in the word 'expecting,' a feature that, Wells argues, (Wells 1992) U-RP shares with low-status accents, as previously mentioned.

The language of the dialogue in table 2 sounds very upper-class to the English-speaking viewers thanks to the phonological phenomena that have been listed above. Conversely, if we just read the script, the style does not look particularly elevated, but it is actually a rather neutral conversation between two people who know each other. Rendering any accent in the Italian dubbing, as discussed in the previous sections, is a highly demanding task, but in this particular case it is almost impossible, simply because in Italian there are no specific phonological features that are associated with the upper-class speech. The dubbing team may have had this in mind and decided to make dubbing actresses use an extremely clear articulation of words which sounds at times almost declamatory even when they are chatting (especially Margaret's lines preceding the dialogue in table 2, where she announces Elizabeth she wants to marry at Westminster Abbey), although such a choice has clearly loaded the adapted version with a strong artificiality that the original text does not possess. Both the Italian dubbing and subtitles attempt compensation with sporadic formal expressions, like *per via* ('because of') or *sono in attesa* ('I'm expecting'). The latter, in particular, is one of the few examples of literal translation in the subtitles of this excerpt too; another one worth mentioning is the line "*Non venirtene con i 'ma'*", which if, on one hand, is probably too informal, on the other it helps in creating the effect of 'exhausted' naturalness of Margaret's original utterance.

Although at the time of the presentation of this study at the AIA seminar 2019[6] the third season had not yet aired, so it was not possible to include a contrastive analysis of the language of the new cast with that of the first two seasons, I can briefly mention that the characters of Elizabeth and Margaret are again the two most 'U' speakers and that their accent is again very similar to one another. It is probably not by chance, in fact, that two actresses speaking quite a pure form of RP as their natural accent (the Queen is played by Olivia Colman, while Helena Bonham Carter is her sister) were chosen for these roles. It would certainly be interesting to compare the study outlined in this paper with research into the Italian translation of the new

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[6] *Translation: Theory, Description, Applications* (4-6 April 2019, Bari).

season, since the dubbing company and the dubbing director have both changed too.[7]

Conclusion

After defining what can be intended today as the definition of British upper-class English and providing an excursus into the use of this accent in audiovisual dialogue, this article has tried to offer a new insight on the topic by exploring the modalities in which this sociolect has been used in the Netflix TV series *The Crown* and how it was transposed in the Italian dubbed and subtitled versions. *The Crown* was chosen because it is one of the most recent audiovisual products that has achieved a rather high level of authenticity in the representation of the idiolect of contemporary, existing people.

The theoretical part of this study has pointed out that it is difficult to study the language of the real upper classes in Britain from a sociolinguistic point of view, due to complex aspects like the impermeability of the social group, even for purposes of investigation. Thus, the aim of this study was that of verifying how TV creators approached this linguistic variety, building on previous insights into the language of high society (Ross 1959; Kroch 1996; Wells 1992; Mugglestone 2007; Ranzato 2017 and 2018). The analysis of the selected dialogues, both featuring face-to-face conversations between same-age and same-class characters, draws attention to the phonological, prosodic and morpho-syntactic features that are generally associated with upper-class people, based on the list provided by Wells (1992, 280-283), to which personal insights were added; yet, it is necessary to specify that this investigation focused on the represented version of the accent in audiovisuals and not on natural dialogue.

As far as the AVT techniques to tackle the problem of the accent are concerned, it may be argued that, on the whole, the Italian adaptation of *The Crown* is characterized by a full adherence to the traditional tendency to translate language varieties with a levelling Standard Italian pronunciation. However, as shown in this chapter, both the dubbed version and the subtitles attempt at compensating for the loss of upper-class phonological features with sparse formal or old-fashioned lexical choices. In the light of the fact that similar results have recently arisen from the investigations of other scholars too (Bruti and Vignozzi 2016; Sandrelli 2016; Ranzato 2018), such

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[7] The Italian dubbing company for the first two seasons of the show was Studio Asci and the dubbing director was Federico Zanandrea, while BTI Studios and Elda Olivieri worked on the third season and will deal with the fourth too.

process, defined as "compensation in kind" (Hervey and Higgins 1992), may be considered as the most common strategy to deal with the language of aristocratic English characters. Nevertheless, the analysis has also pointed out that lexical and morpho-syntactic choices in the subtitles are not always accurate from the point of view of meaning, and that more attention to voice quality would probably have been needed during the dubbing process. In fact, while a slight high-pitched prosody proved to be a good strategy, the tone in private conversations sounds at times excessively oratorical, marking an evident 'prefabrication' of the oral dialogue (Baños-Piñero and Chaume 2009).

The outcomes of this qualitative study could be the starting point for a more extensive and quantitative corpus-based investigation on the entire show, and another interesting further step in this research could be the linguistic comparison between the first two seasons and the work of the adapters of the third season, which was filmed with a complete change of cast.

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