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Multidisciplinary Ties within Applied Linguistics

Edited by Liliana Landolfi and Albert Lehner

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Illustrations

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Multidisciplinary Ties within Applied Linguistics.
An Introductive Presentation

The collection of papers, which **Multidisciplinary Ties within Applied Linguistics** (MTAL) presents, has its roots in the International Conference *Translation, Inclusivity and Educational Settings* (TIES) and, from that event, it departs to offer interesting perspectives that identify both innovative and summative interpretations in the field of Applied Linguistics (AL). In particular, in this special issue of *Anglistica AION*,[1] English will be touched upon as a Lingua Franca (ELF), as a working field for translation-geared issues, as an International Language (EIL), and as an educational and methodological subject of inquiry in relation to English as a Foreign or Second Language (EFL/ESL) and to the important role that inclusivity plays in pedagogical matters. This issue will be of interest to scholars, researchers, translators, doctoral students, teachers, teacher-trainers, and language students who will gain insight into multifaceted realities.

Keywords*: Applied Linguistics*, translation, *English as Lingua franca (ELF)*, *English as an international language (EIL)*, *ESL/EFL applications*, inclusivity

1. The Roots

MTAL offers a selection of contributions that were initially presented during the International Conference *Translation, Inclusivity and Educational Settings* (TIES) and since then have had time to be further elaborated, grow, and expand. The International Conference *TIES* was scheduled to take place in February 2020 at the University of Naples "L'Orientale" (UNIOR) – ITALY. The date was intentionally selected because 2020 was a leap year,[2] and it was also a special year for me since *TIES* was going to be the last Conference I would organise before retirement with the assistance of a great team of colleagues and students of English as a Foreign Language and students of Translation for Specialised Purposes. It was initially planned to last three days, (precisely 27-29 February, however, due to contingent, globalised restrictions and inter/national speakers' travelling challenges, it had to be shortened to two days). The Conference was supported by a grant offered by the Department of Literary, Linguistic and Comparative Studies at the University of Naples "L'Orientale".

In the year-long period of preparation for the *TIES* Conference, none of the organising committee members could have faintly imagined that the entire structure of the Conference was going to partially collapse under the appearance of a rather unpredictable, terrifying, and sadly viral reality that brought COVID-19 in our human society. Life, as we all knew, was going to change in Italy and around the entire globe. At that time, nothing was known about the virus, its pandemic force, and the consequences it was to bring about. Indeed, the end of February 2020 may be envisioned as a turning point between two different realities. The era of international gatherings, public conferences, and other forms of events in person was going to disappear, temporarily at least although today's reality is still

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[1] This special issue of *Anglistica AION* is dedicated to all the students, the researchers and the colleagues who, on a daily basis, contribute to the evolution of investigations within the field of Applied Linguistics to which I devoted my entire academic career.

[2] Leap years, in the Neapolitan folk tradition, are considered somehow special. They are vested with mystical value and symbolic force.

negatively affected by the consequences of COVID-19 since the world is still fighting against it and its innumerable degrees of evolution.

Contingent factors and social restrictions due to COVID-19 modified life and consequently, the entire scaffolding of the Conference had to be restructured in accordance with Government instructions, Academic restrictions, and inter/national speakers' willingness to travel from all over the globe despite the undisclosed situation and the confused attitude that governed the Italian reality at that time. The revision of the Conference structure led to the activation of an integrated modality that conjugated traditional paper-delivery modalities in presence with other options that allowed speakers to share their scientific research during the Conference whether online or offline (see Section Four). In the end, against all odds and unexpected circumstances, driven by uncertainty and unresolved virus-related questions, *TIES* materialised. Conference presentations took place at two diverse locations, precisely Palazzo Corigliano (27 February 2020) and Palazzo del Mediterraneo (28 February 2020), in person, in a synchronous modality via Skype, as for the first day's opening talk by Professor Henry Widdowson, or in asynchronous modalities as for several other speakers. The desire and determination to explore, learn, share, and experience multidisciplinary research related to AL topics were stronger than difficulties.

2. The Nature of This Special Issue

It is well known to experts working within the field of AL that the denotative force of the term "Applied", which introduces and better specifies the term Linguistics, hides a multidisciplinary nature, and allows researchers to consider and experiment with a variety of realities pertaining to the *usage* and the *use* of natural languages, as prof. Henry Widdowson[3] would say. The vastness of theoretical and practical applications is at the base of the many challenges that the rapidly growing field of AL sets. The field opens to a wide range of perspectives that include, but are not limited to, cognitive, psycholinguistic, neurolinguistic, sociolinguistic, and educational perspectives. Among others and just to mention a few, the field allows scholars to tie investigations into language acquisition, research methodology, second/foreign language pedagogy, translation and interpretation issues, language comparisons, language processing, corpus-based language analyses, critical pedagogies, affect-related matters, as well as sociocultural and/or functional/identity issues. AL investigations may be very close to or very distant from pure linguistics. The possibility to intentionally outstretch or dig into such an ample scenario allows researchers to reach extraordinary, interrelated, and inclusive results. Probably, the same results might have never been gained under different and less hybrid conditions just because the right ties, though distant from one another, would have never been articulated and brought to light.

The present issue is not the right context to open and conclude a discussion about what AL is, should be or will be. All the same, it is functional to specify that AL, in a broad sense, focuses on the applications of theoretical linguistics to current language-related problems arising in different contexts of the embedding human society. What becomes relevant here are those language-focused investigations that unmask and solve real language-rooted issues, or at least attempt to do so.

Indeed, in the last thirty years or so, scholars who operate within AL have seen the field transform, advance, and expand both theoretically and practically. As it is often the case, however, changes and developments are still to come since the field is open to on-going investigations, as the present collection of essays shows. MTAL contains a selection of recent analyses within several areas of the multi-disciplinary nature that characterises AL. Readers will find theoretical and methodological investigations about some of the many aspects of English-geared research and translation studies. In particular, English will be touched upon as a Lingua Franca (ELF), as a working field for translation-

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[3] Henry G. Widdowson, *Teaching Language as Communication* (Oxford: Oxford U.P., 1978).

geared issues, as an International Language (EIL), and as an educational and methodological subject of inquiry in relation to English as a Foreign or Second Language (EFL/ESL). In synthesis, this special issue of *Anglistica AION* matches the final intents of the *TIES Conference:* gather the latest inter/national insights about and around AL looking for some of the many declinations and investigations of the field.

Under these premises, the here-clustered essays nurture investigations in AL and sustain English-connected language users in their daily scholar and educational endeavours. The present collection can be considered as a sound contribution to the field of AL. It satisfies the unspoken intent that favours those language scholars, researchers, teachers, trainers, and learners who are involved with one or more of the many AL facets. The hybrid nature of AL applications that this issue's authors offer, coming from an ample range of linguistic and other relevant areas of investigation, supports tying processes and establishes connections between scholarly discourses that propose theories, research methods, and inclusive pedagogical applications.

3. The Content

The *TIES* conference gathered many contributions from national and international scholars. Out of them, eight articles have been selected to appear in this issue. They are also presented in their initial digitalized version as conference presentations, via YouTube links provided below.[4] Alongside, two more links to two conference presentations are here given in their digitalised version. We could ideally assign them the role to open –Widdowson's talk – and close – Landolfi's talk – this collection as in a gestalt frame that englobes the themes of this special volume.[5]

The thematic areas that are here investigated, touch upon some of the major themes that the Conference *TIES* dealt with.[6] A selection of other *TIES*-connected essays, which focus on specific translation matters, have been included in a different journal. Despite this dual distribution, most of the conference presentations can be enjoyed in their digitalised format following the instructions given in Section Four. This was made possible because, due to COVID-19 restrictions and essentially for educational purposes, the whole conference was videotaped so as to allow the students who could not join the conference live to be equally informed in an asynchronous modality.

As for Widdowson's magisterial speech, before offering a synopsis and inviting readers to enjoy his all-inclusive talk in its full digitalised length, however, let me briefly report on Professor Widdowson's presence at the *TIES* event since his contribution unwalled the whole focus on AL and opened the gates to future investigations. This necessarily leads me to humbly share some personal connections with Professor Widdowson which I do hope readers will patiently allow.

Professor Henry Widdowson does not need to be introduced given that he is recognised worldwide as one of the founders of the field of AL and one of the most accredited contributors to the evolution of the field itself. I was honoured to have him as one of the Keynote speakers of *TIES* for two reasons. Professionally speaking, his epistemological support to the conference was going to enrich the entire event and inspire present and future researchers. Personally speaking, however, *TIES* was the last conference I was to organise and to close my academic career with one of the professors I had started it with, was a dream coming true: the whole academic gestalt could be closed. Indeed, while I was completing a master's degree in AL at the University of Southern California thanks to a Fulbright Scholarship, I was also granted a Ruth Crymes Fellowship that allowed me to attend the TESOL

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[4] The list of all the digitalized contributions is given in Section Four.

[5] The synopses of professors Widdowson and Landolfi's contributions are intentionally slightly longer to compensate for the lack of the written version.

[6] Interested readers may direct their attention to the special issue of *Translation and Translanguaging in Multilingual Contexts*, entitled: *Challenges and Solutions of/in Translation: Insights into Training, EIL/ELF, and Accessibility*.

Summer School of that year. It was offered in Portland, Vermont. Professor Widdowson was scheduled to be one of the professors I had to study with together with other prestigious scholars such as Professors Larry Selinker and Wilga Rivers and many others. It is because of his supervision in Portland that my way of thinking about foreign language teaching and foreign language learning was transformed to the point that I decided to go on with a Doctoral Program in AL at the University of Southern California, Los Angeles, CA. He changed the path of my life. Needless to say, I am deeply grateful to him and to the other professors of that specific training program.

After this short and nostalgic digression, let me introduce you to Professor Widdowson's speech, entitled "English beyond the Pale: The Language of Outsiders". His speech deals with English as a Lingua Franca and revises the concept of inclusivity of non-native speakers of English giving great importance to those who study and learn English as a foreign/second language. The title itself explains Widdowson's position with regard to the Englishes that are globally in use and to the great importance that 'Outsiders' play in relation to English as a vehicle for international communication. The expression, "*Beyond the pale,*" as Widdowson explains, is a term from the Middle Ages used to refer to the type of English spoken by native Irish people who had been invaded by the English. He argues that the *pale* has never disappeared: it still exists today as a linguistic demarcation that frames an exclusive, territory-bound area. Braj Kachru would refer to it as the inner circle of native speakers of English.[7] Widdowson adds that "beyond this pale, are the speakers of the outer circle – the outsiders – whose linguistic enclave is recognised as having his own legitimacy as world Englishes." He believes that: "these world Englishes […] have enclosing pales of their own, beyond which lies the vast, foreign territory of the so-called expanding circle, where the lawless and uncontrolled English speakers reside." Unfortunately, but realistically speaking: "their use of English is generally regarded as having no little embassy at all." He further suggests that: "ELF usage will also frequently bear traces of other languages, especially of those of the user's mother tongue." And it is these traces that are identified as being negative interference errors in those who study English as ESL or EFL users. This lack of conformity to canonical English is viewed as an obstacle to closeness to the inner circle and suppresses the "process of multilingual translanguaging that is so prominent in the international use of English." Widdowson insists on stating that there is a need to: "resist the imposition of inner circle norms that effectively erect a pale of barrier fence." An attitude that, in turn: "impedes the effective use of English as an inclusive, international means of communication." He concludes by stating that: "English as a lingua franca does not love a wall because the walling in of the inner circle English walls out most users of the language in the world as outsiders, whose English is quite literally ruled out as defective and unacceptable, in short, beyond the pale."

The first article in this issue is Sara Laviosa's "The Place and Role of Translation in English Language Studies". With her contribution, the AL focus is strictly directed to offer an introductory and ample view of translation today. In particular, her contribution examines key research domains linked by a running theme germane to both translation and English language studies, namely the place and role of translation in our globalised world. The essay highlights how translation theory, empirical studies, and pedagogic applications are interrelated within a plurilingual and pluricultural perspective, in keeping with the principles underpinning the multilingual turn in AL. The digitalised version of her presentation at the *TIES Conference* can be enjoyed clicking on the YouTube link or activating the QR code that can be found in Section Four (see Table 1). Notice that the digitalised versions of most *TIES* presentations can be enjoyed similarly. All the necessary links for this purpose are included in Table 1 (see Section Four).

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[7] Braj B. Kachru, "Standard, Codification and Sociolinguistic Realism: The English Language in the Outer Circle", in Randolph Quirk and Henry Widdowson, eds., *English in the World: Teaching and Learning the Language and Literatures* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1985).

Rossella Latorraca's article continues the investigation on themes connected to translation. In particular, she highlights aspects that are often poorly or parsimoniously touched upon in the literature on translation. Her contribution, which is entitled: "Translator and Reviser Training: The White Whales of Italian Academia", sheds light on three critical aspects: i) the lack of a proper identity of translation studies as an independent discipline that goes beyond the threshold of the specific languages to which it is linked by Italian academic categories; ii) the alarming absence of translation revision (or at least, the lack of official references to it) in translator training offered by almost all Italian universities where a Master's Degree in Specialised Translation is active; and iii) the need to involve professional translators in translator training, in order to foster professional realism in class and guide learners through the acquisition of specific knowledge and competences that can only be bequeathed by field-specialists.

A different perspective related to translation is offered by Marina Morbiducci's article. With her "Connecting Languages and Cultures: The TIES Trial," she takes on the three terms present in the *TIES* acronym: Translation, Inclusivity and Educational Settings. First, she provides a justification for translation as a fundamental part of AL and an area of scientific investigation itself. Then, she focuses on the case of Jhumpa Lahiri who adopted Italian as a form of original expression and cultural assimilation for her own authorial identity. Finally, she concludes by developing a close textual analysis of key passages drawn from Domenico Starnone's novel *Lacci*[8] whose whole novel was translated into English by Lahiri.[9]

An inclusively balanced interpretation of translation is offered by Francesca Caterina Cambosu's article entitled "Keeping Regional Identities through Translation". She enforces the concept that translation builds a bridge through different languages and cultures by analysing the double function of translation in the analysis of two 'regional' works: Sergio Atzeni's[10] *Bakunin's son* (1991) and *Bellas Mariposas* (1996). These translations, of which the latter consists of film subtitles, are considered in terms of ethical reciprocity, based on the three common alternatives a translator has to face: a non-translation, an equivalent translation, and a manipulated translation. The study claims that, from a perspective of reciprocity, translation has to imply a project where either active parties (individuals, collectives, and nations) or passive entities (texts, languages, and cultures) ought not to be harmed but rather mutually benefited, aiming at ethical reciprocity. She concludes that translations should strike a balance between the ethical aspects related to this field, as far as a faithful transfer of form and content from the source text into the target language.

With the article by Mary Wardle, entitled "Defining Difference-inscribing Linguistic Variation in British and American English Translations," the reader is driven into yet another perspective, that still ties to translation and maintains it as a leitmotiv. Wardle investigates the relevance of EIL in relation to the publishing industry within the English-speaking context – the United States and the United Kingdom in particular – and more precisely how native speakers of English relate to the different varieties of the language. It seeks to understand how texts respond to the tension between the cooperative principle and the territorial imperative. The examples analysed are first drawn from works written originally in English and then they move to the more specific question of the variety of English adopted for the translation of foreign-language (literary) texts 'into English'.

A slight but interesting change in focus is offered by François Maniez' article, which is entitled "Use of English Loanwords Containing V-ING Type Forms in French and Italian". His analysis, though maintaining a connection to translation matters, focuses on the multilingual alignments of the

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[8] Domenico Starnone, *Lacci* (Torino: Einaudi, 2014).
[9] Jumpa Lahiri, *Ties* (New York: Europa Editions, 2016).
[10] Sergio Atzeni, *La voglia di scrivere*, in *Storie sarde in Blues* (Arca, M., Appunti e pensieri in libertà, alla ricerca dell'identità, La biblioteca dell'identità dell'Unione Sarda, 2016).

Europarl corpus, which includes all of the European Parliament debates between 1996 and 2003 in 11 European languages, for the use of terms and expressions containing a word beginning with a verb base and ending with the *-ing* morpheme in French and Italian. His analysis reveals that both languages have a strong tendency to borrow terms consisting of a single word (*benchmarking*) but a greater resistance to multi-word expressions, even if some of them (e.g., *level playing field*) are translated literally in the corpus. From a quantitative point of view, French shows relatively more resistance to *-ing* loanwords than Italian, perhaps because of government institutions such as the *Délégation Générale à la Langue Française*, of which one of whose goals is to provide native equivalents to foreign borrowings. Italian seemed to exhibit less resistance to *-ing* forms than French for many such forms (*roaming*, *doping*, *overbooking*, *trading*), while others are used as translation equivalents for other English words (e.g., *mobbing* for *harassment*).

Giuliana Regnoli's article, "Social Network Integration, Norm Enforcement and Accent Perceptions in Indian Transient Student Communities", offers a unique analysis within AL investigations. Her essay deals with the social nature of communication and sheds light on the closely related concepts of social network and community of practice by considering a transient community of Indian university students located in Heidelberg, Germany. Her results draw on qualitative and quantitative data collected through interviews and questionnaires that analyse the locally contracted ties that the community members construct in their everyday lives in relation to their linguistic practices within and outside their student community. The results show that the transient aspect of the community is a valuable sociolinguistic factor in the fostering of in-group affiliations. The relatively short-lived context at issue promotes language maintenance practices which, in turn, structure internal network subgroups based on ethnicity.

The article by Jacqueline Aiello, which is entitled "Voicing Connection to English. Language Ownership, Legitimisation, and Stancetaking," concludes the group of written essays of this special issue. She explores the nature of the connections that advanced English language users, enrolled in an editing seminar, had with English and how they articulated these connections. It combines different quantitative and qualitative approaches to make a more elaborated set of analyses to unveil the multifaceted nature of language ownership, the resources participants occasion to explicate their language ownership and, more generally, their relationships to English. The analysis of a small corpus of linguistic autobiographies unearths the resources these language users draw on to legitimate their connections to English and how they achieve this legitimation linguistically.

The paper I delivered at the *TIES* Conference, "Building Inclusive Minds: Where if not at University?", focused on the notion of inclusivity and aligns with the considerations that Widdowson traces in relation to the role of non-native speakers/learners of English and their importance in our globalised world. In my talk, I draw attention to the necessity of implementing proper, innovative, and functional pedagogical teaching modalities to deal with university students of English who have already been pluri-exposed to English input, though not always felicitously. After an overall look at the last fifty years of teaching English as a foreign language (EFL) across the entire educational schooling path, I suggest that three types of inclusivity need to be considered and foreseen as necessary for successful pedagogical transformations within the field of EFL teaching/learning: i) inclusivity of tutors and students' intents, ii) inclusivity of selected teaching approaches as well as daily praxes, and iii) inclusivity of traditional and technological tools. The tripartite classification derives from a series of attentive and documented analyses carried out on students' written production and self-stated descriptions of their ongoing learning process toward competence in ELF. I claim that current integrative pedagogical modalities still maintain a distance among the agents (teachers and students) of formal educative events. Distance persists beside the fact that transformations are quite easy-to-be-spotted. They are visible in the social sphere as well as in the educational context where they easily pervade pedagogic and methodological environments, regardless of the level (from

elementary to academic) of observation. These transformations continue affecting, in less/more evident ways, the world of foreign/second English language (EFL/ESL) teaching/learning not only because of the massive presence and international use of English (as a lingua franca) in today's world, but also because of technology advancements and the necessary socio-cultural (re)adjustments that need to be activated and call for changes that, unfortunately, often take the form of challenges. I offer a number of classroom-geared written examples, taken from students' portfolios, adds, video segments, vision boards and so on, that indicate innovative inclusive pedagogical modalities. I suggest that absence or partial implementation of any of the three above-listed inclusivity types produces inefficacious, short-lasting learning results and nourishes poor satisfaction on the side of learners particularly at university level where identities are formed, desires are expressed, and goals are set. The present inclusive frame maintains that the importance of the emotional/affective sphere in foreign language learning is fundamental as well as the consideration that students are affective and embodied selves whose motivation is a dynamic phenomenon, susceptible to minute-by-minute fluctuations in an ever-changing socio-pedagogical context.

4. The Digitalised Support

As previously mentioned, the present issue of *Anglistica AION* only includes a small selection of all of the conference presentations. However, all of them were video-taped and digitalised to offer students and interested readers the chance to enjoy the content at their own pace and rhythm. The length of each presentation may slightly vary even though each speaker was assigned a fifteen-minute speaking segment. Neither the Questions nor the Answers segments, which took place after each section, have been included. On some occasions, as it may happen in live shows, the quality of the video-taped segments suffers from minor sound or image distortions. This is since the academic video-taping equipment in use as well as the technical support could not be highly professional during the confused initial COVID-19 situation. All the same, the little technical inaccuracies allow viewers to immerse themselves in the real event just as it developed during the two conference days, without cuts and modifications. The organisation of a private YouTube platform for TIES presentations, with reference to one's own selected materials, however, both guarantees users' freedom of choice and repetitiveness of use.

   A series of three tables segments the digitalised materials and clusters them differentiating among: i) papers that are included in this issue (Table 1), which represent an evolution of original conference presentations, ii) papers that are not included in this volume (Table 2), and iii) papers that have been included in a different publication (Table 3).[11] In Table 1, authors are identified by their names, speech titles, YouTube links, and QR codes. Notice that the titles present in Table 1 do not necessarily match the ones that have been chosen for the present publication.[12] To visualise each digitalised presentation, readers may choose between clicking on the link that corresponds to a specific author (Column 3) or accessing the speech via clicking on the QR codes that have been generated (Column 4).

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[11] The special issue entitled *Challenges and Solutions of/in Translation: Insights into Training, EIL/ELF, and Accessibility* of the journal *Translation and Translanguaging in Multilingual Contexts*.
[12] Unmatching titles between digitalized presentations and final written essays may also occur in the other tables.

SPEAKERS' NAMES	CONFERENCE TITLE	VIDEO LINKS	QR CODES
WIDDOWSON Henry	*English beyond the Pale: the Language of Outsiders*	https://youtu.be/8GA16zKjpxU	
LAVIOSA Sara	*The Place and Role of Translation in English Language Studies*	https://youtu.be/9Sw21OKW1t8	
LATORRACA Rossella	*Translator and Reviser Training: the White Whales of Italian Academia*	https://youtu.be/9g4wlaqdYuw	
MORBIDUCCI Marina	*Connecting Languages and Cultures: The TIES Trial*	https://youtu.be/DrgnZes19RE	
CAMBOSU Caterina	*Keeping Regional Identities through Translation*	https://youtu.be/Fp9IATOd_6o	
WARDLE Mary	*Defining Difference. Inscribing Linguistic Variation in British and American English Translations*	https://youtu.be/P-rpge2tZPU	
MANIEZ François	*Educational Leadership from M.Ed. Students' Point of View*	https://youtu.be/1Rx4B7ns_UQ	
REGNOLI Giuliana	*Network Integration and Language Use in Indian Transient Communities*	https://youtu.be/0tvbSa1fS0Q	
AIELLO Jacqueline	*Voicing Connection to English. Language Ownership, Legitimisation, and Stancetaking*	https://youtu.be/nClb1gqZ3z0	

LANDOLFI Liliana	*Building Inclusive Minds: Where if not at University?*	https://youtu.be/IGKiMBgJcKY	

Tab. 1: 2020 *TIES* conference scholars, organised by names, titles, YouTube links and QR codes, as they appear in this issue of *Anglistica AION*

Table 2, on the contrary, lists a selection of other presentations that were delivered during the *TIES* Conference but have not been included in the present publication. These digitalised versions were successfully used as material for discussion and debate during the second year of a Master Program in Specialised Translation in 2020 and 2021 at "L'Orientale" and can hopefully be of interest to readers. Once again, contributions are clustered by authors' names, paper titles, YouTube links, and QR codes.

SPEAKERS' NAMES	CONFERENCE TITLE	VIDEO LINKS	QR CODES
AMANTE Susana	*Developing Students' Translation Competence through Reflective Practice*	https://youtu.be/ke8w-Sl-euk	
BONG Hyun-Kyung	*What Happen(ed) to the Floating Word? Creative Cultural and Linguistic Dimensions*	https://youtu.be/IlC9JVaQfc8	
CHOI Sung Hee	*Mirror and Echo: Translating Shakespeare into Korean Theatre*	https://youtu.be/wjtw-BfWRP8	
GANINA Vera, **VRYGANOVA** Ksenia	*Non-verbal Characteristics Description as a Challenge for a Fiction Translator*	https://youtu.be/upLvITeBgjo	
IVANOVA Natalya, **MERKULOVA** Nadezhda	*New Nominations of International English: Semantics, Morphology, Interpretation Strategies*	https://youtu.be/VCCiDGaPI7k	
IVIĆ Vlatka	*Essay Assessment of Croatian Speakers in English and their*	https://youtu.be/4lrJyzn6H4c	

	Mother Tongue		
RUSSO Katherine	*Audio-visual Translation and Post-colonial English Varieties*	https://youtu.be/yVW5Flq6vVE	

Table 2: Names, titles, YouTube links and QR codes of scholars who presented their papers at the *TIES* Conference

Table 3 lists the names and speech titles of those authors who presented their research results during the *TIES* Conference but for theme-specific reasons their essays have been included in a different publication.[13]

GANDIN Stefania	*Translation and EIL in Accessible Tourism*
IAIA Pietro Luigi	*Audiovisual Mediation Through English Intralingual and Interlingual Subtitling*
HAMAMOTO Hideki	*How to obtain translation equivalence of culturally specific concepts in a target language*
CALABRESE Rita	*Expanding the English as an International Language paradigm from different native language perspectives. A study of Italian/German ELF speakers in international context*
GABALLO Viviana	*Translation in CLIL: Mission Impossible?*
AIELLO Jacqueline, **LATORRACA** Rossella	*Analyzing Future Translators' EFL Retrospective Reports to Explore their Stance toward Translation Training and the Discipline*

Table 3: TIES scholars, whose papers are visible elsewhere, organised by names and titles

(More detailed references to these essays can be found elsewhere).[14]

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[13] The special issue entitled "Challenges and Solutions of/in Translation: insights into training, EIL/ELF, and accessibility" of the journal *Translation and Translanguaging in Multilingual Contexts*.
[14] Ibidem.

5. Conclusion

This special issue of *Anglistica AION* has offered a view on multidisciplinary aspects within the field of AL. It supports the idea that investigations within this field need to remain broadly diversified, allowing interferences from other areas of research, either quantitatively or qualitatively speaking, to empower the field. It sustains that what needs to be maintained is the accountability of the field to two communities: the academy and the lay community of educators, teachers, and trainers it aims to work with. In synthesis, this issue will be of interest to scholars, researchers, translators, doctoral students, teachers, teacher-trainers, and language students who will gain insight into the multifaceted realities it has presented touching upon several areas connected to translation and English studies as living entities needing investigations and systematisations in today's globalised and digitalised world.

©Aniello Barone, *Untitled #1*, 2019. Courtesy of the artist

Sara Laviosa

The Place and Role of Translation in English Language Studies

Abstract: The world status of English and its leading role in the international translation system are interrelated socio-cultural phenomena that characterize the era of globalization, and are reflected in the rapid growth of translation studies as an interdisciplinary field of scholarly enquiry and practice. The last two decades in particular have witnessed a steady rise in the number of undergraduate and graduate translation programmes worldwide together with the publication of dedicated journals, general overviews, reference works, anthologies, textbooks, and bibliographies. As we approach the fifth decade since the foundation of translation studies, it is important to reflect on the state of the art of the academic study of English language and translation. This is a broad research area that is attracting scholars in fields as varied as literary theory, cultural studies, linguistics, pragmatics, history, critical discourse analysis, philosophy, politics, journalism, multilingualism, educational linguistics, anthropology, sociology, and film studies. Against this backdrop, the present paper surveys five key research domains that are linked together by a running theme that is germane to both translation and English language studies, namely the place and role of translation in our globalized world.

Keywords: *multilingual turn*, *ELF*, *TESOL*, *Anglicisms*, *corpora*, *Data-Driven Learning*

1. Introduction

The starting point for this paper is a chapter entitled 'English and Translation',[1] that the author was commissioned to write for *The Routledge Handbook of English Language Studies*, edited by Philip Seargeant, Ann Hewings and Stephen Pihlaja. The invitation received from the main co-editor, Philip Seargeant, contained the following brief:

> We envisage the chapter outlining the nature of translation studies, and what the relationship is between translation studies and English, particularly within the context of English's current global status, and how English Language Studies as a topic can benefit from a relationship with translation studies.[2]

It was therefore deemed important to turn one's gaze on the English language and view it through the lens of translation. The goal was to show that integrating the study of the theory and practice of translation in the broad curriculum area of English language studies is valuable because the discipline of translation studies offers theoretical models and methodologies that enhance our understanding of the global status of English as a medium of interaction across cultures. To fulfil the objectives set in the brief, the chapter surveys five key research areas that define the place and role of translation in our globalized world, where English takes centre stage, as it is the most desired and most translated language in the world, and plays a dominant role as the pre-eminent international lingua franca. The following sections survey each of these five research domains in turn. And in doing so, they highlight how theory, empirical studies and pedagogic applications are interrelated within a multilingual perspective on English language studies, in keeping with the principles underpinning the multilingual turn in applied linguistics. Generally speaking, the multilingual turn is a new orientation that

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[1] Sara Laviosa, "English and Translation", in Philip Seargeant, Ann Hewings and Stephen Pihlaja, eds., *The Routledge Handbook of English Language Studies* (London and New York: Routledge, 2018), 447-460.
[2] Philip Seargeant, email message 10.11.2015.

foregrounds "multilingualism, rather than monolingualism, as the new norm of applied linguistic and sociolinguistic analysis"[3] (see Figure 1).
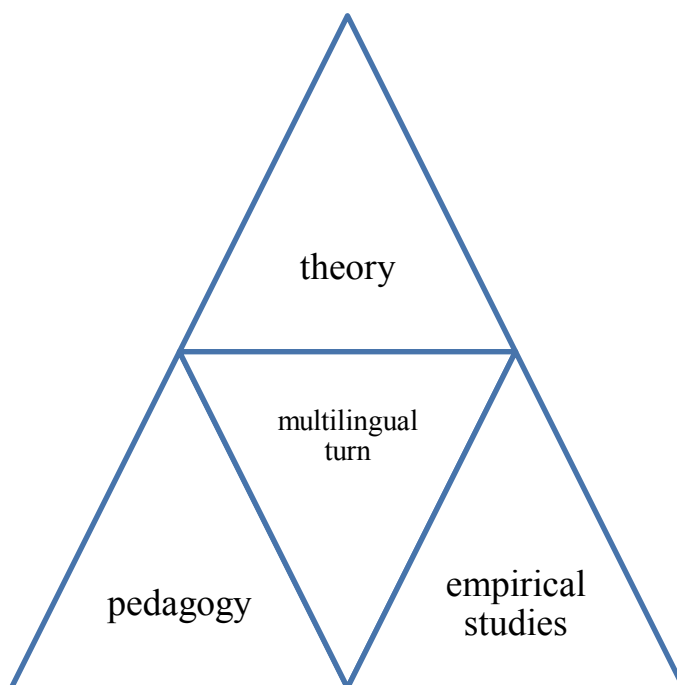
Fig. 1: The multilingual turn

2. The Transmission of English Cultural Values through Translation

The transmission of English-language cultural values worldwide is a global transcultural phenomenon engendered by the central role performed by English in the international translation system, which is characterized by an inverse relationship between the number of translations carried out from English into other languages (1,2666,110) and the number of translations carried out from other languages into English (164,509) (figures retrieved from the Index Translationum – World Bibliography of Translation). This trade imbalance, which causes an uneven cultural flow, has been discussed at great length by Lawrence Venuti. In the second edition of his seminal monograph, *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation*, Venuti[4] maintains:

> By routinely translating large numbers of the most varied English-language books, foreign publishers have …, actively [supported] the international expansion of British and American cultures. British and American publishers, in turn, have produced cultures in the United Kingdom and the United States that are … accustomed to fluent translations that invisibly inscribe foreign texts with British and American values.

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[3] Stephen May, "Introducing the 'Multilingual Turn", in Stephen May, ed., *The Multilingual Turn: Implications for SLA, TESOL and Bilingual Education* (London and New York: Routledge, 2014), 1.
[4] Lawrence Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation* (London and New York: Routledge, 2008), 16.

An example of how English cultural values are transmitted through publishing strategies that favour English translations is the global best-selling phenomenon of J.K. Rowling's book series featuring the schoolboy wizard Harry Potter (see Figure 2).
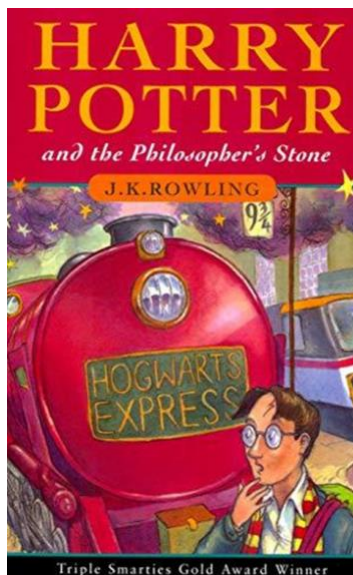
Fig. 2: *Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone* (1997)

Translated into 79 languages, the novels in the series[5] portray a nostalgic vision of Englishness. As Genieve Abravanel[6] points out:

> The Harry Potter phenomenon rests upon narratives of heritage, history and little England much like those that began most clearly to be told in the early twentieth century. Hogwarts, with its echoes of both Oxbridge and Eton, is itself a little England.

An international best seller such as Harry Potter, which is "the most widely read British fiction at the turn of the twenty-first century",[7] offers a golden opportunity for carrying out multiple comparative analyses between the source text and the target text in the multilingual language classroom. By way of example, here is the outline of a pedagogic unit that the author devised for a group of first-year students enrolled on the two-year Master's Degree, 'Corso di Laurea Magistrale in Lingue e Letterature Moderne', which prepares them for the language teaching profession. The unit length is four hours of seminar time and four hours of homework. The learning objectives are: a) to become familiar with the concept of initial norm elaborated by Gideon Toury;[8] b) to infer the initial norm that guided the first and second edition of the Italian translation of *Harry Potter and the Philosopher's*

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[5] The first novel in the series is *Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone* (1997).
[6] Genieve Abravanel, *Americanizing Britain. The Rise of Modernism in the Age of the Entertainment Empire* (Oxford: Oxford U.P., 2012), 161.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Gideon Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies – and Beyond. Revised edition* (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2012).

Stone. The first edition, *a cura di* Marina Astrologo, was published in 1998 by Salani Editore. The second edition, *a cura di* Stefano Bartezzaghi, was published in 2011 by the same publishing house (see Figure 3).
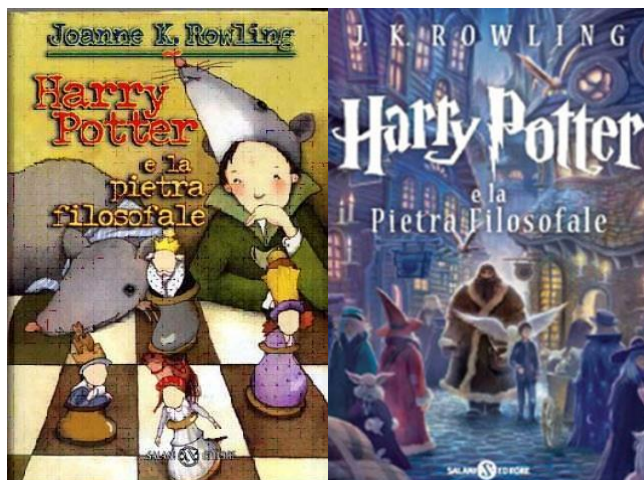
Fig. 3: Italian translations of *Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone*

The class was divided into two groups, one for each of the two editions. The students analysed the textual translation procedures adopted when rendering the surnames of the main characters featured in the novel (e.g. the schoolboy Neville Longbottom; Professor Dumbledore; Professor McGonagall). The students discovered that, while Marina Astrologo expresses her perceived personality traits of these characters by giving them new surnames that evoke associations with the Italian language, Stefano Bartezzaghi privileges the translation procedure of lexical borrowing. Figure 4 shows a small but representative sample of the procedures adopted by the two translators.

Fig. 4: From left to right: Neville Longbottom; Albus Dumbledore; Minerva McGonagall

| TT1 | Neville Paciok | Albus Silente | Minerva McGranitt |
| TT2 | Neville Longbottom | Albus Dumbledore | Minerva McGonagall |

The students inferred that the choices made by Marina Astrologo were guided by the initial norm of 'acceptability', that is to say a leaning towards adherence to the norms that originate and act in the target language. Instead, the choices made by Stefano Bartezzaghi appear to be guided by the initial norm of 'adequacy', that is to say a tendency to realize, in the target language, the textual relationships of the source text, with no breach of the target language's linguistic system. The students' hypothesis was confirmed when they read the comments made by Stefano Bartezzaghi himself on his overall translation strategy:

> Sono stato un appassionato di Harry Potter già dalla prima ora, lo sono stato fino all'ultima pagina. All'inizio sembrava una bellissima storia per ragazzi; alla fine del settimo volume, era un'opera diversa, i cui personaggi erano cresciuti assieme ai loro lettori. Neville Paciock era il nome giusto per il ragazzino pasticcione dell'inizio, non certo per il coraggioso eroe del settimo volume, nonché futuro professore di Erbologia…. Fare questi cambiamenti mi è perciò parso come restituire al testo qualcosa che gli era dovuto.[9]

> (I have been a passionate reader of Harry Potter from the very first page to the last one. To begin with, it seemed to be a beautiful children's book. By the end of the seventh volume, it was a different work of fiction, where the characters had grown up with the readers. Neville Paciok was the right name for the clumsy boy he appeared to be at the beginning of the story, but it was no longer suitable for the brave hero he turned out to be in the seventh volume, as well as his appointment as professor of Herbology…. By making these changes, I thought of returning to the text something that was due to it.)

3. In-text Self-translation in Multilingual Literary Fiction

Within the broad area of enquiry into multilingual writing, Anjali Pandey addresses the topic of in-text translation in 21st-century prize-winning transnational fiction. In her monograph, *Monolingualism and Linguistic Exhibitionism in Fiction*, Pandey examines the multilingual strategies adopted by prize-winning transnational authors over a decade from 2003 to 2014. On the basis of her detailed and insightful empirical study, Pandey[10] draws the following conclusions:

> In contrast [to 20th century literary works that aimed at creating an alienating effect on readers], current uses of multilingualism gesture towards shallower deployments of multilingual textuality. Strategies of 'other' language inclusion thus, seek to emit readerly effects which enhance semiotic transparency; encourage linguistic equivalency; and ultimately, aim at rendering a mediatory effect on the reader.

Pandey call this new phenomenon 'shallow multilingualism' or 'linguistic exhibitionism'. One of the works of fiction she examines is Salman Rushdie's *The Enchantress of Florence* (2008). In this novel, there are numerous italicized lexicalizations in Urdu, Arabic, Turkish and Chaghatai. Rushdie uses three main linguistic strategies when presenting culture-specific foreign words, i.e. parenthetical explanation, parenthetical translation and contextual translation. A parenthetical explanation is a detailed description of the meaning of a culturally connoted word. A parenthetical translation involves using English appositives that are direct equivalents of the original word. A contextual translation involves the inclusion of key discourse clues (such as the use of corresponding English hypernyms) that enable the English-speaking reader to understand eastern exoticisms easily. In the following excerpt, the meaning of the Urdu compound word *doli-arthi* is meticulously explained by means of all three strategies:

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[9] Retrieved from: https://www.salani.it/harry-potter/traduzione-italiana.
[10] Anjali Pandey, *Monolingualism and Linguistic Exhibitionism in Fiction* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 101.

> She was a *doli-arthi* prostitute of the Hatyapul, meaning that the terms of her employment stated that she was literally married to the job and would only leave on her *arthi* or funeral bier. She had to go through a parody of a wedding ceremony, arriving, to the mirth of the street rabble, on a donkey-cart instead of the usual *doli* or palanquin.[11]

In the above example of in-text self-translation, the meaning of the compound word *doli-arthi* is first explained through contextual translation (She was a *doli-arthi* prostitute of the Hatyapul). This is then followed by a lengthy parenthetical explanation containing two parenthetical translations of the words *arthi* (or funeral bier) and *doli* (or palanquin). According to Pandey,[12] the stylistic effect produced by Rashdie's use of self-translation "is a clear emergence of binary oppositions in the novel: us versus them; familiarity versus otherness; and, intelligibility versus incomprehensibility". The analytical model elaborated by Pandey can be used to examine the stylistic choices made by other transnational authors whose novels have been translated from English into other languages. An example is Khaled Hosseini's international bestseller, *The Kite Runner* (2003), translated into Italian by the late Isabella Vaj with the title *Il cacciatore di aquiloni* (2004) (see Figure 5).
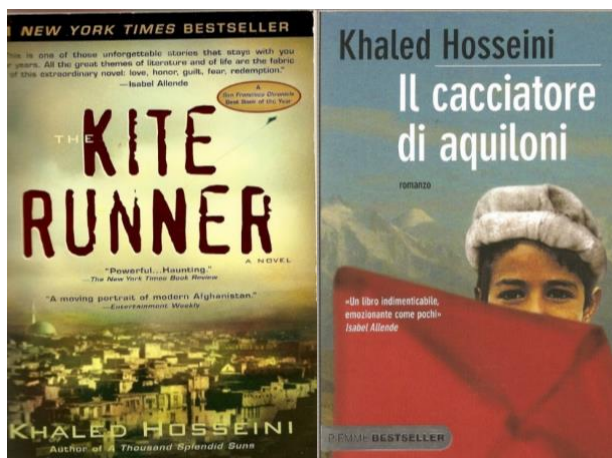
Fig. 5: Covers of *The Kite Runner* and *Il cacciatore di aquiloni*

Hosseini's narrative is interspersed with Farsi italicized lexicalisations. Many of them, but not all, are self-translated by means of parallel translation, parenthetical explanation, contextual translation and parenthetical translation. Here is the parallel translation of an old Afghan wedding song:

> *Ahesta boro, Mah-e-man, ahesta boro.*
> *Go slowly, my lovely moon, go slowly.*[13]

Here is a parenthetical explanation of the word *yelda*, which includes the contextual translation of *Jadi*:

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[11] Salmon Rushdie, *The Enchantress of Florence* (New York: Random House, 2008); Anjali Pandey, *Monolingualism and Linguistic Exhibitionism in Fiction* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 261.

[12] Anjali Pandey, *Monolingualism and Linguistic Exhibitionism in Fiction* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 260.

[13] Khaled Hosseini, *The Kite Runner* (New York: RiverHead Books, 2003), 114.

> In Afghanistan, *yelda* is the first night of the month of *Jadi*, the first night of winter, and the longest night of the year.[14]

Here is a parenthetical explanation of the compound word *Shirini-khori*, which includes a contextual translation (engagement party) and a parenthetical translation (- or "Eating of the Sweets" ceremony):

> ACCORDING TO TRADITION, Soraya's family would have thrown the engagement party, the *Shirini-khori* – or "Eating of the sweets" ceremony. Then an engagement period would have followed which would have lasted a few months. Then the wedding, which would be paid for by Baba.[15]

We can see from these examples of multilingual writing that in-text self-translation can be used by transnational authors as an effective stylistic device to convey the referential meanings of exotic words and foreground their cultural connotations. How can we exploit multilingual textuality in the translation-oriented English language classroom at an advanced level of linguistic proficiency? The following pedagogic unit is suggested as an example. The learning objectives may be: a) introduce contemporary multilingual writing in English literary fiction;[16] b) explore how multilinguality is translated in the students' own language. In particular, second-year students enrolled on the above-mentioned 'Corso di Laurea Magistrale in Lingue e Letterature Moderne' could examine the first four chapters of *The Kite Runner*. The class could be divided into two groups. One group would read the source text. The second group would read the Italian translation by Isabella Vaj, *Il cacciatore di aquiloni* (2004). Next, each group would prepare an oral presentation in which they would report back to the whole class on the stylistic effects associated with the multilingual strategies adopted in the source and the target text. To that end, the teacher may guide students with open questions that would be put to them before reading the text assigned to each group. The whole novel and the Italian translation could then become the object of study in the final dissertation.

4. The Influence of English on Other Languages

The influence of English on other languages through language contact is a topic that has attracted the interest of translation scholars, particularly in Europe, where the need to harmonize a national with a transnational identity is interrelated with the promotion of plurilingualism, pluriculturalism, mutual intelligibility, and cultural unity. The general assumption underpinning research into Anglicisms is that translation is a mediator of language change induced by English source texts, as a result of the operation of the probabilistic law of interference posited by Gideon Toury.[17] Yet, the evidence is far from consistent since there is considerable variation across target languages, subject-specific discourses, text types, and even different types of Anglicisms. It is therefore still highly debatable whether translation plays a significant role in the so-called Anglicization of European languages.[18] As Ana Mauranen explains:

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[14] Ibid., 143.
[15] Ibid., 169.
[16] Anjali Pandey, *Monolingualism and Linguistic Exhibitionism in Fiction* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016); Rainier Grutman, "Multilingualism", in Mona Baker and Gabriela Saldanha, eds., *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies* (London and New York: Routledge, 2020), 341-346.
[17] Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies – and Beyond. Revised edition*.
[18] see Cristiano Furiassi, Virginia Pulcini and Felix Rodríguez González, eds., *The Anglicization of European Lexis* (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2012).

> Even though it seems to be the case that translations reflect their source languages (through 'interference'), and thereby may be viewed as infiltrating target languages with alien influences, translations are not the only form of frequent language contact in today's globalised world, and therefore hardly the main means of importing new linguistic trends.[19]

From a pedagogic perspective, the author has designed various teaching units for undergraduate and graduate students majoring in English. The approach she adopts draws on Data-Driven Learning, first proposed by Tim Johns.[20] In line with the principles of DDL, in the student-centred classroom, the analysis focuses on English etymons, lexical Anglicisms and their domestic competitors. For example, the English-Italian comparable reference corpora British National Corpus (BNC) and Corpus di Italiano Scritto (CORIS) are searched to compare and contrast the lexico-grammatical profiles of the English etymon *business*; the lexical Anglicism business; and the native Italian equivalents, *affare/i*, *impresa*, *azienda*, *attività*. This preliminary analysis is then combined with the investigation of a specialized parallel English-Italian corpus in order to discover the initial norm and textual translation procedures adopted by professional translators.[21] In doing so, students become aware of cross-lingual and cross-cultural differences between the source and the target language, and make informed decisions on how to translate Anglicisms in subject-specific domains such as Italian for business purposes.

5. English as the Pre-eminent International Lingua Franca (ELF)

Translation scholars have fairly recently begun to explore English as a Lingua Franca. In a special issue of the international journal *The Interpreter and Translator Trainer* devoted to ELF and translation, and guest edited by Stefania Taviano,[22] translation educators from different European countries put forward teaching methods aimed at raising students' awareness about the theoretical and practical implications of the spread of ELF. In her introduction to the volume, Taviano explains the rationale for developing these pedagogies:

> [Students] need to learn how to translate, in and out of their mother tongue, texts written in ELF produced by international organizations and addressed to international audiences. They also need to acquire editing skills through specific modules in order to fill the gap between translator training and the demands of the market.[23]

An example of a teaching method that pursues these objectives is the one proposed by Karen Bennett.[24] Her starting point is the recognition that there are two opposing tendencies in the translation of English academic discourse. The first is adhering to English-language norms when translating into English. The second is transferring English-language rhetorical patterns when translating into less prestigious languages such as Portuguese. This state of affairs poses a dilemma for translators. If they defy these tendencies, they run the risk of being criticized by peer-reviewers and publishers. If they

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[19] Ana Mauranen, "Universal Tendencies in Translation", in Gunilla Anderman and Margaret Rogers, eds., *Incorporating Corpora: The Linguist and the Translator* (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 2008), 45.

[20] Tim Johns, "From Printout to Handout. Grammar and Vocabulary Teaching in the Context of Data-Driven Learning", *CALL Austria* 10 (1990), 14-34; Tim Johns, "Should you be Persuaded. Two Examples of Data-Driven learning", in Tim Johns and Philip King, eds., Special Issue of *Classroom Concordancing. English Language Research Journal*, 4 (1990), 1-16.

[21] See Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies – and Beyond. Revised edition.*

[22] Stefania Taviano, ed., "English as a Lingua Franca and Translation. Implications for Translator and Interpreter Education", special Issue of *The Interpreter and Translator Trainer* 7.2 (2013).

[23] Stefania Taviano, "English as a Lingua Franca and Translation", *The Interpreter and Translator Trainer*, 7.2 (2013), 155.

[24] Karen Bennett, "English as a Lingua Franca in Academia: Combating Epistemicide through Translator Training", *The Interpreter and Translator Trainer*, 7.2 (2013), 169-193.

conform to these norms, they contribute to the loss of linguistic and cultural variety in the construction and dissemination of knowledge. The teaching method envisaged by Bennett involves three consecutive phases:

- CRITICAL ANALYSIS
- BILINGUAL WRITING
- MEDIATION AND NEGOTIATION

Critical analysis involves the study of excerpts from English and Portuguese academic writing to unveil the contrastive patterns encoded in subject-specific discourses. Critical analysis also involves the study of conventional and non-conventional translations of the same source text, of which only one is accepted by publishers. Bilingual writing involves editing texts written in ELF that contain occurrences of discourse transfer from the L1. Bilingual writing also involves translating into ELF for different audiences, i.e. readers of international journals and readers of the Faculty's journal. Mediation and negotiation involve role-play exercises that are conducted with publishers and editors and are based on the students' short reports on their translation strategies. In sum, translanguaging in the form of critical analysis of comparable and parallel texts together with translation practice are used to hone writing skills in ELF.

6. Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL)

The research work this section focuses on entails the elaboration of pedagogies that integrate translation and translanguaging for TESOL. These novel pedagogies are framed within the multilingual paradigm, which has been upheld by educational linguists since the turn of the century. They are being put forward by translation and language educators working either separately in their own disciplinary arenas or collaboratively within a trans- and/or interdisciplinary perspective. The first collection of papers that promoted the revival of translation in language learning and teaching in 21st century higher education was co-edited by Arnd Witte, Theo Harden, and Alessandra Ramos de Oliveira Harden.[25] All contributions had been presented at an international conference held at the National University of Ireland, Maynooth, in March 2008. The event attracted speakers coming mainly from Europe and working within second language acquisition studies and language teaching methodology. The authors argue in principle and demonstrate in practice that the time is ripe for a re-evaluation of the benefits that translation can bring to the process of learning a second language and its cultural context.

The interdisciplinary landmark work that brings together insights from second language acquisition studies, educational linguistics, translation studies, and educational philosophy, is undoubtedly Guy Cook's monograph *Translation in Language Teaching: An Argument for Reassessment*.[26] Cook's proposed translation-oriented pedagogy draws on the principles of four major educational philosophies: technological, social reformist, humanistic, and academic. From a technological perspective, Cook contends that in today's increasingly multilingual and multicultural societies translation is a much needed skill for personal, educational, social and professional reasons.[27] From a social reformist perspective, translation can promote liberal, humanist and democratic values, because it facilitates language and cultural encounters with an understanding of difference. From a humanistic educational perspective, Cook claims that translation as a form of bilingual instruction is looked upon

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[25] Arnd Witte, Theo Harden and Alessandra Ramos de Olivera Harden, eds., *Translation in Second Language Learning and Teaching* (Berne: Peter Lang, 2009).
[26] Guy Cook, *Translation in Language Teaching. An Argument for Reassessment* (Oxford: Oxford U.P., 2010).
[27] Ibid., 109-112.

favourably by students. From an academic perspective, translation fosters the study of linguistics.[28] Particularly inspirational is the long-term prediction Cook makes at the end of his book:

> If the benefits of TILT [Translation in Language Teaching] were to be recognized in theory as well as practice by those in positions of power and influence as well as by rank-and-file teachers, it would have positive repercussions, and would initiate activity and innovation in many areas beyond classroom practice itself. New materials would need to be written, new tests designed, and new elements introduced into teacher education.[29]

Cook's seminal work soon inspired the publication of a collection of essays, *Translation in Language Teaching and Assessment*, edited by Dina Tsagari and Georgios Floros.[30] The contributors are academics, researchers and professionals in translation studies, language teaching methodology, and testing. They work in countries as varied as the USA, Canada, Taiwan R.O.C., Belgium, Germany, Greece, Slovenia, and Sweden. Only one year later, two more volumes were published on the topic of educational translation: a monograph, *Translation and Language Education: Pedagogic Approaches Explored*,[31] and a Special issue of *The Interpreter and Translator Trainer* entitled *Translation in the Language Classroom: Theory, Research and Practice.*[32] Both publications aimed to open a dialogue between translation scholars and educational linguists. The interdisciplinary approach adopted in these scholarly works was further pursued by the founding of the international journal *Translation and Translanguaging in Multilingual Contexts*. Since 2015, the journal has provided a forum for innovative studies that find their place at a crossroads between translation studies, bilingual education, language teaching methodology, second language acquisition studies, curricular design, and language policy and planning. Pedagogic translation, in particular, is a recurrent theme that has been addressed by numerous articles published in regular and special issues of the journal. Among the latter it is worth mentioning Volume 7.1, that is guest edited by Ángeles Carreres, María Noriega-Sánchez and Lucía Pintado Gutiérrez, and is entitled *The Translation Turn: Current Debates on the Role of Translation in Language Teaching and Learning*.[33]

Moving on from interdisciplinary to transdisciplinary research, philosophers of education are currently engaging with translation as a τόπος that is relevant for articulating and exploring difference, which is a key aspect of educational processes. Within this novel perspective, two German educationalists, Nicolas Engel and Stefan Köngeter, have recently co-edited a volume entitled *Übersetzung: Über die Möglichkeit, Pädagogik anders zu denken* (Translation: The possibility of thinking about pedagogy in a different way).[34] The contributors share the view that educational theory is a form of translational work that hosts unfamiliarity and strangeness, and translation is a form of learning, especially learning to live with the plurality of languages and with their incompatibility. Hence, translation is posited to be highly relevant for educational practice and an important meta-

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[28] Ibid., 121.

[29] Ibid., 156.

[30] Dina Tsagari and Georgios Floros, eds., *Translation in Language Teaching and Assessment* (Newcastle Upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2013).

[31] Sara Laviosa, *Translation and Language Education. Pedagogic Approaches Explored* (London and New York: Routledge, 2014).

[32] Sara Laviosa, ed., "Translation in the Language Classroom. Theory, Research and Practice", special issue of *The Interpreter and Translator Trainer*, 8.1 (2014).

[33] Ángeles Carreres, María Noriega-Sánchez and Lucía Pintado Gutiérrez, eds., "The Translation Turn. Current Debates on the Role of Translation in Language Teaching and Learning", special issue of *Translation and Translanguaging in Multilingual Contexts*, 7.1 (2021).

[34] Nicolas Engel and Stefan Köngeter, eds., *Übersetzung: Über die Möglichkeit, Pädagogik anders zu denken* (Wiesbaden: Springer VS, 2019).

concept for theorizing education.[35] In unison with this transdisciplinary orientation and within a multilingual perspective, *The Routledge Handbook of Translation and Education*, edited by Sara Laviosa and Maria González-Davies,[36] advocates a re-evaluation of reflexivity in language and intercultural education, and promotes a rethinking of the traditional transmissionist model of learning in terms of mutual exchange of knowledge between teacher and students and among students themselves. Indeed, all the contributions to the volume highlight how learners are active participants in the developments of what is taught, as envisaged by the educational philosopher John Dewey[37] and implemented in collaborative learning, which in turn is underpinned by Vygotskyan sociocultural theory.[38]

As regards Cook's envisioned need to write new teaching materials in the wake of the revival of pedagogic translation, new textbooks for undergraduate students majoring in English have recently been authored by translation teachers-scholars. Among them, it is worth mentioning *Translating Tourist Texts from Italian to English as a Foreign Language* by Dominic Stewart.[39] This coursebook is aimed at undergraduate students of English (B2+ level) with Italian as their language A. The approach adopted draws on Tim Johns' Data-Driven Learning.[40] The activities consist of graded authentic tasks assigned by the author during the teaching of a considerable number of language and translation courses at the Universities of Bologna, Macerata and Trento. The book is organized in fifteen teaching units containing: a) a short text to be translated for an international readership requiring information on tourist sites in Italy; b) a suggested translation sentence by sentence, which is based on successful versions submitted by students after two or more months' training; c) a discussion on unsuitable equivalents or appropriate alternatives arising from renderings submitted by the students. The translations were carried out with the aid of the British National Corpus (BNC) and the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA) together with other language resources (dictionaries, encyclopedias and newspaper archives). Students benefitted from searching monolingual target-language corpora to solve problems arising from lexico-grammatical mismatches across English and Italian. Place-names co-occurring with superordinate words such as *fiume/river*, *isola/island*, *monte/mount*, *passo/pass, lago/lake, golfo/gulf, baia/bay, forte/fort*, and *valle/valley* pose recurrent problems in the translation of tourist texts. Through searches of the superordinate target words in the BNC and COCA, students were able to identify the correct grammatical structure and word order of these noun phrases, thus producing accurate and fluent target language texts:

- il fiume Adige → *the River Adige* (UK)/*the Adige River* (US);
- l'isola d'Elba → *the island of Elba/the Island of Elba/Elba Island*;
- il monte Baldo → *Mount Baldo*;
- il passo di Resia → *the Resia Pass*;
- il lago di Braies → *Lake Braies*;
- il Golfo di Taranto → *the Gulf of Taranto*;

[35] Christiane Thompson, "Philosophy of Education and the *Pragma* of Translation", in Nicolas Engel and Stefan Köngeter eds., *Übersetzung: Über die Möglichkeit, Pädagogik anders zu denken* (Wiesbaden: Springer VS, 2019), 23.

[36] Sara Laviosa and Maria González-Davies, eds., *The Routledge Handbook of Translation and Education* (London: Routledge, 2020).

[37] John Dewey, *Experience and Education* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1938).

[38] Lev Semënovič Vygotsky, *Mind in Society: The Development of Higher Psychological Processes* (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard U.P., 1978).

[39] Dominic Stewart, *Italian to English Translation with Sketch Engine: A Guide to the Translation of Tourist Texts* (Trento: Tangram Edizioni Scientifiche, 2018).

[40] Tim Johns, "From Printout to Handout. Grammar and Vocabulary Teaching in the Context of Data-Driven Learning", *CALL Austria*, 10 (1990), 14-34; Tim Johns, "Should You Be Persuaded: Two Examples of Data-Driven Learning", in Tim Johns and Philip King. eds., special issue of *Classroom Concordancing: English Language Research Journal*, 4 (1990), 1-16.

- la Baia di Peschici→ *the Bay of Peschici/Peschici Bay*;
- il forte Stella→ *Fort Stella*;
- la Val di Braies→ *the Val di Braies/the Braies Valley/Braies Valley*

Furthermore, mismatches in collocational patterns across languages may lead to renderings that are accurate but not fluent. An example is the Italian collocation DOMINARE + COSTA. The verb *dominare* can be translated literally using the direct English equivalent *dominate*, which conveys the same referential meaning. But does *dominate* collocate with words belonging to the same semantic field of natural scenery which the word *costa* belongs to? Students examined two potential equivalent verbs in the BNC using the COMPARE function of the BNC web interface. They compared *dominate* and *overlook* to choose between two alternative translations of the original sentence *Peschici domina la costa da Rodi a Vieste*, i.e.:

- *Peschici dominates the coast from Rodi to Vieste*;
- *Peschici overlooks the coast from Rodi to Vieste*.

The results of their searches showed that, while *dominate* frequently co-occurs with words as varied as *market, world, scene, skyline,* and *landscape*, the collocational range of *overlook* is more consistent and includes the words *sea, river, garden(s), bay, lake, harbour, park, valley*. So, in the end, the class opted for the second rendering, *Peschici overlooks the coast from Rodi to Vieste*, because it is a naturally-sounding translation of the original sentence. The success of this translation-oriented and corpus-based teaching method prompted the same author to write another textbook six years later, *Italian to English Translation with Sketch Engine: A Guide to the Translation of Tourist Texts*. Like his previous work, this textbook offers the translation and discussion of fifteen Italian tourist texts into English, and is aimed at students attending Italian universities whose mother tongue is not English. The translation tasks are useful for English B2+ learners, though the ideal starting level is C1. One of the main developments of this recent coursebook is that translations are carried out using mainly online learner's dictionaries and electronic corpora investigated through the corpus software Sketch Engine.[41]

Another textbook of note is *Linking Wor(l)ds: A Coursebook on Cross-Linguistic Mediation*.[42] Conceived within a multilingual perspective on language learning and teaching, this coursebook fully recognizes the value of pedagogic translation and other cross-linguistic mediation activities in fostering plurilingualism. In line with the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR), plurilingualism is intended as "an uneven and changing competence which involves the flexible use of a single, inter-related, uneven and developing linguistic repertoire in order to accomplish a host of tasks".[43] One of these tasks involves mediating between individuals with no common language (or dialect, or variety). Mediating a text between languages includes activities as varied as relaying specific information in speech and in writing; explaining data such as graphs, diagrams or charts in speech and in writing; processing text in speech and in writing (e.g. summarizing its content); and translating a written text in speech and in writing.

The coursebook focuses on written translation, and is aimed at undergraduate students of English with an excellent command of Italian at European Level C2 or above. More specifically, the book is written for learners of English from upper-intermediate level (European Level B2) up to advanced

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[41] Dominic Stewart, *Translating Tourist Texts from Italian to English as a Foreign Language* (Napoli: Liguori Editore, 2012).
[42] Sara Laviosa, *Linking Wor(l)ds. A Coursebook on Cross-Linguistic Mediation* (Napoli: Liguori Editore, 2020).
[43] Council of Europe, *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages. Learning, Teaching, Assessment: Companion Volume with New Descriptors* [online]. (Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing, 2018), https://rm.coe.int/cefr-companion-volume-with-new-descriptors-2018/1680787989, accessed 8 December 2020, 28.

level of language proficiency (European Level C1). By the end of the course, students will become familiar with a number of linguistic concepts that will enable them to analyse the morphemic structure of words, lexical and sense relations, word classes, as well as the structure of phrases, clauses, and sentences. They will also become aware of the relevance of these key notions for examining the similarities and differences between English and Italian, and developing the integrated receptive and productive skills necessary for translating a variety of written texts, in accord with the new descriptors of the CEFR. In particular, the language abilities required for translating a written text in writing at European Level C1 are as follows:

> **C1** Can translate into (Language B) abstract texts on social, academic and professional subjects in his/her field written in (Language A), successfully conveying evaluative aspects and arguments, including many of the implications associated with them, though some expressions may be over-influenced by the original.[44]

It is worth pointing out that the CEFR deliberately does not address the issue of translating into and from the mother tongue. This is because for a plurilingual person the mother tongue and best language are not necessarily synonymous. So, language A is the learner's source language and language B is the target language. *Linking Wor(l)ds* includes mediating tasks between English and Italian as both source and target languages. When translating into English the language abilities required are those described at European Level C1 (see descriptor above). When translating into Italian the abilities required are those described at European Level C2:

> **C2** Can translate into Italian technical material outside his/her field of specialisation written in English, provided subject matter accuracy is checked by a specialist in the field concerned.[45]

Linking Wor(l)ds is neatly divided into 12 chapters, each corresponding to a teaching unit requiring about two to four hours of seminar time. Each teaching unit is composed of a) an introduction presenting the learning objectives; b) an explanation of linguistic concepts; c) illustrative examples from a wide range of texts such as newspaper articles, poetry, narrative, political speeches, advertising, academic, scientific, technical and business writing; d) monolingual and bilingual language activities that can be carried out individually, in pairs, or in small groups for practice, revision and consolidation; e) a discussion of the translation problems that may arise when there are differences across English and Italian at various levels of linguistic analysis; f) translation tasks for which students will be able to apply some of the translation procedures commonly used by professional translators to address problems of non-equivalence at the level of lexis or syntax; g) a summary of the main points to remember. The definition and explanation of key terminology is provided within each teaching unit as soon as a new term is introduced. At the end of the book there is also a Glossary that gives an index of terms and the corresponding definitions. The Key is intended for self-study; it includes suggested translations and answers to the language activities. Additional Mediation Tasks are provided at the end of the book for extra practice on other forms of cross-linguistic mediation beside translation, namely relaying specific information, explaining data, and processing text in speech and in writing. The book is accompanied by a digital workbook, *English Lexis, Grammar and Translation*, authored by Richard D.G. Braithwaite.

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[44] Council of Europe, *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages,* 114.
[45] Adapted from: Council of Europe, *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages,* 114.

7. Concluding Remarks

English is the most coveted and most translated language in the world, and plays a dominant role as the pre-eminent international lingua franca. Hence, it is the most researched language in all subdisciplines of applied linguistics and the most taught language in the world. English Language Studies (ELS) and Translation Studies (TS) are two broad interdisciplinary fields of scholarship covering a wide array of convergent topics and issues. The transdisciplinary research areas surveyed in this paper will continue to expand within and across these two fields of study. Other emerging ambits of research concern the place and role of translation in: a) the historical study of English using socio-historical and corpus linguistic approaches;[46] b) the study of superdiverse cities using the methodology of linguistic ethnography;[47] c) studies of the development of literacy and creativity in multicultural and multilingual primary schools.[48] Looking to the future, it can be affirmed that it is within a trans- and interdisciplinary multilingual perspective that the relationship between translation and English language studies will continue to grow strong for many years to come and for the mutual benefit of both fields of scholarly enquiry and practice.

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[46] David Crystal, *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the English Language* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 2018); Simon Horobin, "The Historical Study of English", in Seargeant, Hewings and Pihlaja, eds., *The Routledge Handbook of English Language Studies*, 28-41; Gill Philip, "Corpus linguistics. Studying Language as Part of the Digital Humanities", in Seargeant, Hewings and Pihlaja, eds., *The Routledge Handbook of English Language* Studies, 361-378.

[47] Lian Malai Madsen, "Linguistic Ethnography: Studying English Language, Cultures and Practices", in Seargeant, Hewings and Pihlaja, eds., *The Routledge Handbook of English Language Studies*, 392-405; Adrian Blackledge and Angela Creese, *Voices of a City Market: An Ethnography* (Bristol: Multilingual Matters, 2019).

[48] Charlotte Ryland, "Creative translation to raise aspiration", Webinar presented at The Language Show, 14th November 2020, https://languageshowlive.co.uk/talks/?utm_source=Language+Show&utm_campaign=ad23ddbc84-EMAIL_CAMPAIGN_2020_11_17_10_08&utm_medium=email&utm_term=0_a260b978e0-ad23ddbc84-109024171&mc_cid=ad23ddbc84&mc_eid=4e6c6e6292, accessed 8 December 2020.

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Rossella Latorraca

Translator and Reviser Training.
The White Whales of Italian Academia

Abstract: Over the last decades, translation studies have experienced an almost uncontrolled expansion. However, in Italy, translation studies have not yet earned a place as an independent field of study, raising some important concerns over the existence and nature of experts in an 'inexistent' field and the actual object of training we should deliver to future professional translators. Translator training still struggles with the integration and definition of effective practice and exhibits gaps, especially concerning the almost complete absence of revision in Italian universities' translation programs, as revealed by the survey conducted. Nonetheless, revision is an officially and institutionally acknowledged feature of professional realities and it is an unaware ever-present figure in educational environments, as instructors revise learners' works, raising critical questions on whether current translation trainers exhibit highly developed translation and revision competences.

Drawing on aggregate data, this contribution aims to shed light on three critical aspects: i) the denial of the disciplinary identity of translation studies as an independent and complex discipline that goes beyond the threshold of the specific languages to which it is inextricably linked by Italian academic categories; ii) the alarming absence of translation revision (or at least, the lack of official references to it) in translator training offered by almost all Italian universities offering a Master's Degree in Specialized Translation; and iii) the necessity to involve professional translators in translator training, in order to foster professional realism in class and guide learners through the acquisition of specific knowledge and competences that can only be unveiled by professional experience.

Keywords: *translator training*, *translation revision*, *revision training*, *translation trainers*, *academia*

1. Introduction

The growing interest in translation studies that we have observed over the last thirty years, across many different fields, is undoubtedly a successful outcome of the many efforts devoted to the development of a discipline that is not so young in terms of its existence, although some of its many aspects and applications have only recently been acknowledged by the academia and some others are still neglected. The activity of translation has a long history studded with ancient documents and examples, such as the well-known Rosetta stone or the Treaty of Kadesh, a bilingual peace treaty between the ancient Egyptians and the Hittites that dates back to 1274 BCE. However, it would be reasonable to assume that other occurrences of what we nowadays call 'translational events' have always been around since the very beginning of the development of different languages for communicative purposes. Even translatological reflections can be found already in Roman works, as it is the case of Cicero's comments (1st century BCE) on the nature/s of equivalence or, one century later, of St Jerome's Latin translation of the Bible (1st century CE). However, attention devoted over the centuries to the subject of translation has been desultory and biased by some sort of conceptual fight over the supremacy of adjacent disciplines like linguistics, linguistic philosophy, literary studies, each claiming jurisdiction over the study of translation. It is not until the 1970s that a pioneering paper entitled *The name and nature of translation studies*[1] designates a new emerging and autonomous discipline by the name of 'Translation Studies'. This paper marked a milestone in the history of

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[1] James S. Holmes, "The Name and Nature of Translation Studies", in James S. Holmes, *Translated! Papers on Literary Translation and Translation Studies* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1988), 66-80.

translation studies because it dignified their scientific identity as an actual discipline and not just a minor branch of research overshadowed by other fields. Although in some environments said emancipation has never been acknowledged, research has continued to dig and investigate deeper into the nature of translation. In his paper, Holmes delves into the objective of translation studies, moving far beyond the theoretical aspects of the discipline and identifying the descriptive purposes of this field of research that make translation studies an empirical discipline.

The development of a wide range of descriptive translation studies has led the discipline of translation to cross its own boundaries and the boundaries of other fields, blending with adjacent disciplines like linguistics and literature but also with more distant ones. As a metaphorical interpretation of translation studies' endeavor to carve a niche in a crowded scientific ecosystem, we might dare to say that this has been a Darwinian act of 'academic evolution'.

This niche laid the basis for the shift from multidisciplinarity/interdisciplinarity to transdisciplinarity,[2] which turned out to be a fruitful ecology for the emergence of Translation Process Research (TPR) in the late 90's, when scholars started to look at translation as a problem-solving activity[3], raising interest for the psycholinguistic and neurocognitive components of translation and drawing attention on investigations aiming to probe the translator's mind. Informed by methods and frameworks originally developed for cognitive psychology and artificial intelligence, these research lines aimed to understand the cognitive processes underlying translational cognitive correlates and events occurring during the performance of a translation task. The ultimate goal was to develop new methods and approaches for translator training, driven by the belief that the secrets of a complex professional activity rest enshrined in the mind and experience of a professional.

2. Translator Training in Italy: A Forgotten Discipline

Over the last decades, we have been witnessing a growing and, we might dare to say, almost uncontrolled expansion of translation studies. Several disciplines and fields have started to intertwine to discuss and investigate translation–related aspects. This can be considered a great success for a discipline that, as mentioned above, dates back to more than 2000 years ago and in some countries has not yet managed to emancipate itself from other disciplines. If we take into account the Italian situation, translation studies do not even constitute an autonomous 'settore scientifico disciplinare' (the official denomination of academic fields and disciplines). It is sufficient to surf the Italian National University Council (Consiglio Universitario Nazionale – CUN) website[4] to realize that translation studies do not actually exist at all for Italian academia. We might expect to find them within the area of linguistics (10-G), as many courses offered by Italian universities on translation theories and techniques usually fall under the academic field of "didactics of modern languages" (L-Lin/02). Unbelievably, they are nowhere to be found in that area, among "historical and general linguistics", "educational linguistics" and other unexpectedly relevant subjects like "Albanian language and literature" and "finno-ugric philology", which again (like translation studies) do not have a dedicated label as independent languages/disciplines. The word 'translation' is only mentioned in the denomination "language and translation" within single language-related areas, and not even for all languages. The list only incudes five disciplines acknowledging translation as part of their research scope: Portuguese and Brasilian (L-Lin/09), French (L-Lin/04), Spanish (L-Lin/07), English (L-

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[2] Katri Huutoniemi et al., "Analyzing Interdisciplinarity. Typology and Indicators", *Research Policy*, 39.1 (2010), 79-88.

[3] Michèle Kaiser-Cooke, "Translatorial Expertise. A Cross-Cultural Phenomenon from an Interdisciplinary Perspective", in Mary Snell-Hornby, Franz Pöchhacker and Klaus Kaindl, eds., *Translation Studies. An Interdiscipline* (Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1994), 135-139.

[4] Italian National University Council, *Academic Fields and Disciplines List*, https://www.cun.it/documentazione/academic-fields-and-disciplines-list/.

Lin/12), and German (L-Lin/14). This delineation and, particularly, the exclusion of this critical area creates a quandary for researchers working within translation studies who are therefore set as reckless for venturing into translation in other domains (e.g., interpreting studies, sign language translation, translator training, cognitive translatology, TPR, or even translation in other languages like Arabic, Chinese, etc.) without the backing of an official acknowledgement.

A paradigm where translation studies do not have a place nor an acknowledgement as a discipline raises critical questions concerning i) the existence and nature of expertise and experts in a non-existing field, and ii) the actual object of training we should deliver to future professional translators.

3. The Ecology and Object of Translator Training

Questions on the nature of translation expertise, competence, and training open the field to endless possibilities and answers but their relevance and the viability of options mostly depend on the way we think of translation in the educational environment. Other variables to take into account in this reflection include the scope and the purpose of the settings in which translator training is supposed to take place. Universities, translation agencies, courses at private firms all design and include translator training for different purposes. Translation agencies and Computer Assisted Translation (CAT) software providers tend to target the acquisition of translation–related technical competences[5] or administer short-term courses to provide their in-house/freelance translators with the competences and knowledge needed to shift their specialization from one professional niche to another.[6] The situation gets slightly more complex when it comes to university training, depending on the place allocated to translation by the institution, based on the goals of the relevant university program. Therefore, a distinction shall be made between translation as a means and translation as an end. If we consider translation as a pedagogical exercise[7], we see it as an activity employed to foster Second Language Acquisition (hereinafter SLA).[8] This contribution does not discuss the extent to which translation can be used more or less efficiently as a pedagogical exercise for SLA, which has been part of extensive research conducted over the years in the well-known framework of the grammar-translation method.[9]

The other option is that we consider translation as a professional activity AND an academic discipline. In this case, we dive into a completely different educational ecology, which is specifically designed to train and/or educate future translators and future translation scholars. It is hard to trace a threshold separating the two identities and studies on competence have shown that the two worlds (i.e., the academic and professional realms) are thickly intertwined. The nature of translation competence has been widely discussed and investigated,[10] leading to the distinction between 'translation

[5] Łucja Biel, "Training Translators or Translation Service Providers? EN 15038: 2006 Standard of Translation Services and its Training Implications", *The Journal of Specialised Translation*, 16 (2011), 61-76.

[6] Anthony Pym, "Training Translators".

[7] Jean-René Ladmiral, *Théorèmes pour la traduction* (Paris: Petite Bibliothèque Payot, 1979).

[8] Jean Delisle, *Translation. An Interpretive Approach* (Ottawa: Ottawa U.P., 1988); Anthony Pym, "In Search of a New Rationale for the Prose Translation Class at University Level"; Daniel Gile, *Basic Concepts and Models for Interpreter and Translator Training*.

[9] Shih-Chuan Chang, "A Contrastive Study of Grammar Translation Method and Communicative Approach in Teaching English Grammar", *English language teaching*, 4.2 (2011), 13-24; Cagri Tugrul Mart, "The Grammar-Translation Method and the Use of Translation to Facilitate Learning in ESL Classes", *Journal of Advances in English Language Teaching*, 1.4 (2013), 103-105; Niamh Kelly and Jennifer Bruen, "Translation as a Pedagogical Tool in the Foreign Language Classroom. A Qualitative Study of Attitudes and Behaviours", *Language Teaching Research*, 19.2 (2015), 150-168; Alessandro Benati, "Grammar-Translation Method", in John I. Liontas and Margo Delli Carpini, eds., *The TESOL Encyclopedia of English Language Teaching* (Hoboken: Wiley-Blackwell, 2018), 1-5.

[10] Wolfram Wilss, "Perspectives and Limitations of a Didactic Framework for the Teaching of Translation", in Richard W. Brislin, ed., *Translation Applications and Research* (New York: Gardner, 1976), 117-137; Jean Delisle, *L'Analyse du discours comme méthode de traduction. Initiation à la traduction française des textes pragmatiques anglais, théorie et pratique* (Ottawa:

competence' (i.e., the language- and transfer-related skills needed to produce an acceptable translation) and 'translator competence'[11], further explored as including all the attitudes and skills and wider competences needed to shape the identity of the translator and their theoretical and practical perspective on the discipline of translation.[12] If translation is thus considered as a discipline AND a profession, performed by professional practitioners who exhibit features and competences that do not characterize other professionals like language instructors,[13] it is necessary to assume that translator trainers need to exhibit these same features and competences in order to administer relevant training and enhance the acquisition of exploitable competences. Indeed, scholars have warned that translation is still taught by foreign language instructors with a degree in a field other than translation, or by people with no professional experience.[14] This is concerning, especially seeing as how professional translation experience has long been considered an essential prerequisite for a trainer,[15] especially because "it cannot be expected that language instructors without professional translation expertise will have a professional translator self-concept themselves or that they will be able to help their translation students develop one".[16]

The relevance and role played by academic education in the exercise of the profession is indeed controversial, as academic qualifications tend to be assigned a lower market value compared to professional experience[17]. This is why a deep reflection on and subsequent changes are needed in the nature of academic training and the professional nature of academic trainers in university programs that label themselves as highly specialized, as in the case of LM-94 class of Specialized Translation.

4. Practice Turns out to Be Theory

These concerns on the necessity of having professional practitioners[18] among the ranks of university trainers are framed in a wider discussion on the extent to which practice is implemented in the

Presses de l'Université d'Ottawa, 1980); Christiane Nord, *Text Analysis in Translation*; Anthony Pym, "Translation Error Analysis and the Interface with Language Teaching"; Albrecht Neubert, "Competence in Language, in Languages, and in Translation", in Christina Schäffner and Beverly Adab, eds., *Developing Translation Competence* (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2000), 3-18; PACTE Group, "Building a Translation Competence Model", in Fabio Alves, ed., *Triangulating Translation: Perspectives in Process-oriented Research* (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2003), 43-66; Daniel Gile, *Basic Concepts and Models for Interpreter and Translator Training*, revised edition, first edition published 1995 (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2009).

[11] Donald Kiraly, *A Social Constructivist Approach to Translator Education. Empowerment from Theory to Practice* (Manchester: St Jerome, 2000).

[12] Hereinafter, any further occurrence of 'translator competence' hereby refers to the PACTE Model, see note 10.

[13] Amparo Hurtado Albir, ed., *Researching Translation Competence by PACTE Group* (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2017).

[14] Olga Petrova and Vadim Sdobnikov, "How Can and Should Translation Teachers Be Trained?", *Journal of Teaching English for Specific and Academic Purposes*, 9.2 (2021), 267-277.

[15] Dorothy Kelly, "Training the Trainers. Towards a Description of Translator Trainer Competence and Training Needs Analysis", *TTR. Traduction, Terminologie, Rédaction*, 21.1 (2008), 99-125; Daniel Gouadec, "Position Paper. Notes on Translator Training". In Anthony Pym, Carmina Fallada, José Ramón Biau and Jill Orenstein, eds., *Innovation and E-Learning in Translator Training* (Tarragona: Universitat Rovira i Virgili, 2003), pp. 11-19; Christine Durieux, *Fondement didactique de la traduction technique* (Paris: Didier Erudition, 1988).

[16] Donald Kiraly, *Pathways to Translation. Pedagogy and Process* (Kent (Ohio): Kent State University Press, 1995), 3.

[17] Anthony Pym, David Orrego-Carmona and Esther Torres-Simón, "Status and Technology in the Professionalisation of Translators. Market Disorder and the Return of Hierarchy", *JoSTrans, The Journal of Specialized Translation,* 25 (2016), 174-187.

[18] For a definition of professionalism in translation, see Helle V. Dam and Karen Korning Zethsen, "I Think It Is a Wonderful Job. On the Solidity of the Translation Profession", *JoSTrans, The Journal of Specialized Translation*, 25 (2016), 174-187; Kristine Bundgaard, Tina Paulsen Christensen and Anne Schjoldager, "Translator-computer Interaction in Action – an Observational Process Study of Computer-aided Translation", *JoSTrans, The Journal of Specialized Translation*, 25 (2016), 106-130.

translation class. This is a major topic, very dear to researchers working in the field of cognitive translatology, Translation Process Research (TPR), and translator training research, as it leads to the everlasting quarrel over the balance between theory and practice. Since the development of the functional approach,[19] scholars have tried to promote professional realism in class,[20] in order to conjoin the educational and the professional settings and make learners experience their future. Over the years, other approaches have been suggested, like the process-oriented approach, aiming to "raise [learners'] awareness of problems and suggest good translation *principles*, *methods* and *procedures*"[21] (italics in the original), and the social constructivist approach,[22] which considers trainees as future professionals whose ultimate goal is to join a professional community and, in order for this wish to come true, they need to acquire the knowledge, experience, and mental frameworks that are typical of said community. In other words, they need to shape and work on their threshold concepts in the translational discipline.[23]

All of these approaches and many others, including the postpositivist model,[24] the PACTE dynamic model,[25] and observational models,[26] have outlined new perspectives on translator training to successfully integrate translation theory and practice, hence it would be reasonable to assume that almost all translation university programs include practical activities related to translation. However, to what extent is this practice performed? Should learners be content with any kind of practice? Is it sufficient to bring a text to class and translate it? And what types of texts are to be chosen? What are the criteria applied to make said choice? Are they linguistic criteria and/or translational criteria? Moreover, is a text enough, or further materials are needed, like the ones provided to professional translators in professional environments?

These are all good questions that a trainer should take into account when designing a course but in order for them to ask these questions, they should be aware of the materials other than source texts in use in professional translation environments, of the cognitive factors affecting the learning of complex problem-solving cognitive tasks, and of all the cognitive, social, professional, and identity implications involved in translator training. Translator trainers delivering academic training come from different backgrounds, mostly including – besides translators – language instructors and Translation Studies scholars (Kelly 2014). The ultimate question is then, how can an instructor who has never worked as a professional translator in a professional environment, with no knowledge of cognitive translatology and with no prior training on translation pedagogy, have awareness of these matters?

One of the major concerns with university translation programs is that they still rely on a deductive method,[27] implying that learners need to self-devise procedural knowledge by practicing translation

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[19] Christiane Nord, *Text Analysis in Translation*.

[20] Arnt Lykke Jakobsen, "Starting from the (Other) End: Integrating Translation and Text Production", in Cay Dollerup and Anne Loddegaard, eds., *Teaching Translation and Interpreting 2. Insights, Aims, Visions. Papers from the Second Language International Conference, Elsinore, Denmark, 1993* (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1994), 143-150.

[21] Daniel Gile, *Basic Concepts and Models for Interpreter and Translator Training*, revised edition, first edition published 1995 (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2009).

[22] Donald Kiraly, *A Social Constructivist Approach to Translator Education*.

[23] Jan H. F. Meyer and Ray Land, "Threshold Concepts and Troublesome Knowledge (2). Epistemological Considerations and a Conceptual Framework for Teaching and Learning", *Higher Education,* 49.3 (2005), 373-388.

[24] Donald Kiraly and Sascha Hofmann, "Towards a Postpositivist Curriculum Development Model for Translator Education", in Donald Kiraly et al., eds, *Towards Authentic Experiential Learning in Translator Education* (Göttingen: V&R unipress GmbH, 2016), 67-87.

[25] PACTE, "Investigating Translation Competence. Conceptual and Methodological Issues", *Meta: Journal des traducteur / Meta: Translators' Journal*, 50. 2 (2005), 609-619.

[26] Rossella Latorraca, *Modeling Translation. An Interdisciplinary Approach to Translation Training* (Roma: Carocci Editore, 2020).

[27] Dechao Li, "Think-Aloud Teaching in Translation Class. Implications from Taps Translation Research"*, Perspectives*, 19.2 (2011), 109-122.

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without any purpose and bound to a narrow context, like the translation of a text belonging to a specific genre and/or field.[28] As a result, students risk to acquire situational knowledge that does not turn into episodic content and cannot be used for case-based reasoning in new instances, since they cannot relate the concepts acquired to any actual professional situation.[29] In other words, this hampers the 'transfer'[30] of knowledge, which is a key factor affecting success in problem-solving tasks. When this happens, we are missing our aim in translator training, which is to prepare learners for the professional reality.

A common scenario in traditional translation training is the one where learners are required to self-devise knowledge based on the comparison of their performance with a good 'model' translation or based on the errors that have been marked by the trainer.[31] And here it comes: translation revision. What might be erroneously deemed as 'correction' is actually an exercise of translation revision. Therefore, the trainer performs translation revision but said trainer may be neither a translator nor a reviser, with critical implications, since the outcomes of said revision should serve as a learning tool.

Browsing a series of Italian Master's Degree dissertations on specialized translation[32] that suggest and/or discuss the translation of a specialized text, it is evident that corrections and translation analyses usually rely (sometimes exclusively) on hard-to-eradicate, 30-year-old theory of translation strategies, that do not capture the entirety of translator competence. Moreover, it is still not clear why every piece of literal translation continues to be identified by these students as a 'strategy'. For instance, in a renowned paper[33], the strategy of 'dissolution' is described by offering the example of the French expression *tir à l'arc* translated in English as 'archery'. Such example can be readily found in a graduate thesis produced by Italian students enrolled in specialized translation programs. However, this cannot be deemed as a translation strategy applied. The definition of 'strategy' is strictly linked to the activity of planning the course of action to take when facing a problem. In the case of 'archery' there is no need for the use of strategies, because no problem has arisen. In this case the use of one word to translate a 4-word expression is not the result of any planning or strategy applied by the translator but it is forced by the target language norms, which have a single noun to identify that sport versus than the Italian use of a phraseme. Similarly, there is no amplification when translating the Saxon genitive in Italian by using the preposition 'of', because the rules of the target language prevent us from using the same pattern, we are not pulling a brilliant solution out of the hat and, certainly, we are not applying any strategy. Yet they still permeate hundreds of dissertations on specialized translation along with similar examples of other misunderstood strategies. This state of affairs suggests that there must be something wrong with the way said strategies are delivered to learners and with the use they make of them.

Although, as mentioned before, research on translator competence has proven that said competence is a complex package that includes several sub-sets of subcompetences, a tendency persists of forcing learners to learn strategies, theories and other theoretical tenets outside of any context, without any reference to actual professional situations. Why can we not make peace with the fact that translation is

[28] Wolfgang Lörscher, "Investigating the Translation Process", *Meta. Journal des traducteur / Meta. Translators' Journal*, 37. 3 (1992), 426-439.

[29] Mona Baker and Carol Maier, "Ethics in Interpreter & Translator Training", *The Interpreter and Translator Trainer*, 5.1 (2011), 1-14.

[30] Andreas Lachner and Matthias Nückles, "Bothered by Abstractness or Engaged by Cohesion? Experts' Explanations Enhance Novice' Deep-Learning", *Journal of Experimental Psychology: Applied,* 21.1 (2015), 101-115.

[31] Donald Kiraly, "Project-Based Learning. A Case for Situated Translation", *Meta. Journal des traducteur / Meta. Translators' Journal*, 50.4 (2005),1098-1111.

[32] Aggregate data drawn from hard copies personally consulted, digital institutional theses repositories, and dissertations uploaded and available for consultation on websites (e.g., docsity.com).

[33] Lucia Molina and Amparo Hurtado Albir, "Translation Techniques Revisited: A Dynamic and Functionalist Approach", *Meta. Journal des traducteur / Meta. Translators' Journal*, 47.4 (2002), 498-512.

much more than applying few ill-explained strategies, that we need professional competences to perform this job and professional translation–related competences to teach the job and revise translation products, so that learners can finally be trained as future professionals?

5. Translation Revision Training: The Elephant in the Room

Revision is then something practiced as 'correction' within translator training but seldom addressed and implemented in the design of university translation programs. And yet, there are many reasons for revision and revision competences to be taken into account in the design of translation curricula and, subsequently, with competent translation trainers.

The translation industry is an ever growing market, pushed by an increasingly globalized world where language services are worth almost 47 billion dollars in 2018 and expected to increase up to $56.18 billion by 2021, according to the CSA research annual report on the language services market[34], and the demand continues to rise. International organizations providing standards to ensure quality, safety, and efficiency of products, services, and systems include translation among all other industries, from technology to food safety, agriculture, and healthcare. Despite the academia's insouciance, translation revision is not disregarded by international providers of standards. On the contrary, not only is it considered as a language service that language service providers are required to offer along with translation, it also plays a critical role in the assessment of translation quality, when it comes to the specifications of the product and/or service negotiated with the client.

Both the European Committee for Standardization (ECS) and the International Organization for Standardization (ISO) reserve a special place in their quality standards for the role played and the responsibilities held by the reviser. According to ECS quality standard EN-15038:2006, any translation service under this norm must include translation AND revision, where the reviser is described as a person other than the translator, with appropriate competences in the source and target languages, who shall assess the translation's suitability for purpose. The standard also specifies that the process includes comparing the source and the target text to check its appropriateness of register, style and terminology consistency.[35]

Similarly, ISO 17100:2015/Amd 1:2017 highlights that translation service providers (TSPs) are required to ensure that the content is revised (and even reviewed, if needed) by a person other than the translator, who shall have translation competences and compare source and target texts. Moreover, the reviser shall correct any error and fix any issue detected or report said errors to the translator and demand correction, repeating the process in a loop until both the reviser and the TSP are satisfied.[36]

The reviser is thus a professional assessing the quality of a translation performed by another professional. Although international standards underline the necessity for the two processes of translation and revision to be performed by two different professionals, the same standards describe the revision process as a 'comparison of the source and target language content'. Said comparison is only possible if the reviser exhibits translator competences, besides revision ones. And said standards provide, in effect, the competences required of revisers which include the same competences required of translators (i.e., translation competence, linguistic and textual competence in source and target language, competence in research, information acquisition and processing, cultural competence, and

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[34] Common Sense Advisory (CSA), "The Language Service Market: 2018", Report, 14 June 2018.

[35] European Committee for Standardization, *Quality Standard for Translation Service Providers, EN-15038:2006*, 11.

[36] International Organization for Standardization, *Translation Services – Requirements for Translation Services, ISO 17100:2015/Amd 1:2017 standard*, 10-11.

technical competence) and translator qualifications (degree in translation or five-year full-time professional experience).[37]

It is now clear that revision is a fundamental aspect of translation and that reviser competences are closely intertwined with translator competences, implying that they cannot be overlooked in translator training. As a confirmation, the professional role of the reviser is even acknowledged by the Italian Ministry of Education, when outlining the final goals of the Italian Master's Degree in Specialized Translation and Interpreting (LM-94, the shallow merger of translation and interpreting would require an entire separate critical discussion but it will not be tackled in this contribution), including among said learning goals the 'acquisition of competences pertaining to the editing and revision of texts' (my translation):

> Ai fini indicati, i corsi di laurea magistrale e gli eventuali curricula comprendono, oltre allo studio approfondito dei principi dell'interpretariato e/o della traduzione, attività dedicate all'affinamento della competenza nell'italiano e nelle altre lingue di studio, attività dedicate all'acquisizione delle tecniche dell'interpretazione/traduzione specifiche del settore scelto; attività dedicate all'acquisizione di competenze in merito alle scelte stilistiche e all'analisi del discorso nelle sue diverse modalità di realizzazione; attività dedicate all'acquisizione di tecniche di documentazione, redazione, cura e revisione dei testi.[38]

and identifying the professional figure of the reviser as one of the career opportunities offered by this Master's Degree:

> Sbocchi occupazionali e attività professionali previsti dai corsi di laurea sono, con funzioni di elevata responsabilità, presso enti pubblici, privati e istituzioni internazionali negli ambiti … della traduzione e della redazione, cura e revisione di testi specialistici nei settori giuridico, economico, medico, informatico e della multimedialità, dell'assistenza linguistica nel mondo editoriale, pubblicitario, turistico e culturale, della ricerca e della didattica.[39]

Since the Italian Ministry of Education, Universities, and Research lists revision as one of the professional careers that learners are able to start at the end of their Master's Degree program in Specialized Translation and Interpreting, we can assert that there is an acknowledgement, to some extent, of the existence of this mythological figure of the reviser. Hence, it would be reasonable to assume and expect that universities offering this Master's Degree program also administer classes, seminars, and workshops aiming at the acquisition of revision-related competences. Unfortunately, a survey conducted on Italian universities offering a Master's Degree in Specialized Translation and Interpreting in academic year 2020-2021 suggests otherwise.

Of all the public and private universities and equivalent institutions existing in Italy, only 15 offer a Master's Degree program in Specialized translation and Interpreting (LM-94). Some of them distinguish between two different curricula within the program, one addressing translation and the other one focusing on interpreting. For the aims of this contribution, only translation curricula were taken into account. By looking at the courses scheduled for academic year 2020-2021 in each university program, it is apparent that revision is not taken into account in translator training and even where it is included, it only occupies a marginal space.

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[37] International Organization for Standardization, *Translation Services – Requirements for Translation Services, ISO 17100:2015/Amd 1:2017 standard*, 6.
[38] Italian Ministry of Education, Universities and Research, *Decree nr. 270 of 22 October 2004*.
[39] Italian Ministry of Education, Universities and Research, *Decree nr. 270 of 22 October 2004*.
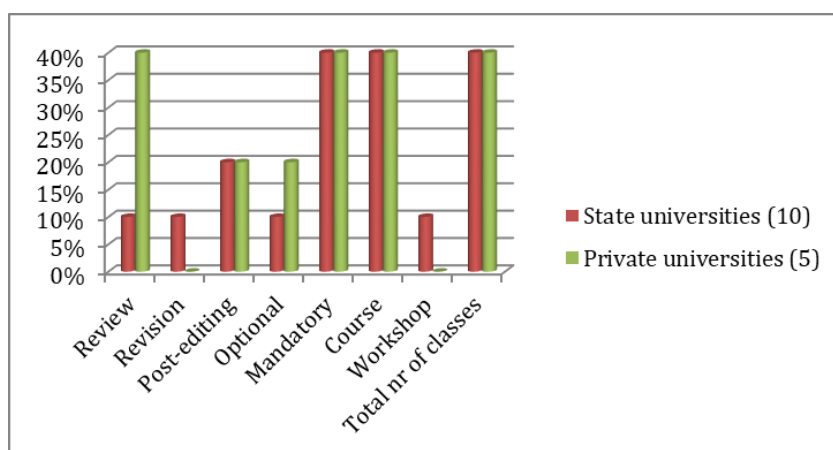
Fig. 1: Distribution of (purported) revision classes across public (red) and private (green) Italian universities, with indications of the nature of the class and attendance requirements.

As shown in Fig. 1, there is no substantial difference between public and private universities in terms of the number of purported revision classes administered and in the modalities of participation. Although this might look promising for evaluating the state of public academia in terms of translation–related pedagogical offer, it is worth to point out that the number of public universities offering LM-94 is almost double the number of private universities offering the same program. This implies that a significant number of public universities does not offer any course pertaining to translation revision, review, or post-editing. (Fig. 1). To get a clear picture of the blatant absence of revision in translator training offered to Italian translation learners, the results of the abovementioned survey are reported in detail in Table 1.

Public university code	Revision	Review/Editing	Post-editing
UNI-a	✘	✘	✘
UNI-b	✘	✘	✘
UNI-c	✘	✘	✘
UNI-d	✘	✘	✘
UNI-e	✘	✔	✘
UNI-f	✘	✘	✘
UNI-g	✘	✘	✘
UNI-h	✘	✘	✔
UNI-i	✔	✘	✔
UNI-j	✘	✘	✘

Private university code	Revision	Review/Editing	Post-editing
UNI-i	✘	✔	✘
UNI-j	✘	✘	✔
UNI-k	✘	✘	✘
UNI-l	✘	✔	✘
UNI-m	✘	✘	✘

Table 1: Distribution of (purported) revision classes by university. For each university (labeled by codes) the absence (red x mark) or presence (green check mark) of revision, review, and post-editing classes are reported.

By observing Table 1, it is clear that the overall situation is not properly described by cumulative data shown in Fig. 1. An examination of each university's LM-94 program revealed that only 6 universities out of 15 'purport' to offer a class on revision. These results are even more alarming if we take into account public universities alone, where only 3 public universities out of 9 'purport' to administer revision courses over their LM-94 programs. The reason why said courses are hereby defined as 'purported' translation revision courses is that they are labeled in their relevant programs as 'Writing and revision workshop' (UNI-e), 'Italian Language Drafting and Revision' (UNI-i), 'Revision, adaptation and text pragmatics' (UNI-l). However, as specified in the relevant descriptions, these classes all tackle the examination, correction, and adjustment of L1 texts, which are not required to be translations nor, even where they might be, source texts are taken into consideration. This process is actually identified as 'review' or 'editing', which is different than 'revision', as outlined by European and International standards, which clearly define 'review' as the monolingual examination of content, also known as 'monolingual editing'.[40] The difference between the two professional activities will surely be apparent to translation scholars, as the discussion on the two definitions has already been addressed[41] and can be summarized by the definitions provided by Mossop, who delves deep into the different nuances of each activity and specifies that editing can be even distinguished from review, inasmuch as editing is 'the process of reading a text that is not a translation (or is not being treated as a translation) to spot errors, and making appropriate amendments',[42] whereas the reviewer is identified as 'a subject-matter expert who examines a manuscript to determine whether it makes a contribution to its field, to suggest additions or subtractions from coverage of the topic, or to identify conceptual or terminological errors.'[43] Finally, revision is defined as the 'process of reading a *draft translation* to spot *errors*, and making appropriate *amendments*'[44] (italics in the original), consistently with the definition provided by the Spanish Department of the Directorate-General for Translation of the

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[40] International Organization for Standardization, *Translation Services – Requirements for Translation Services*, *ISO 17100:2015/Amd 1:2017 standard*, 2; European Committee for Standardization *Quality Standard for Translation Service Providers, EN-15038:2006*, 5.

[41] Anne Schjoldager, Kirsten Wølch Rasmussen and Christa Thomsen, "Précis-writing, Revision and Editing. Piloting the European Master in Translation", *Meta. Journal des traducteur / Meta. Translators' Journal,* 53.4 (2008), 729-947.

[42] Brian Mossop, *Revising and Editing for Translators* [Translation Practices Explained], Manchester/Northampton: St. Jerome (2014), 224.

[43] Ibid., 228.

[44] Ibid.

European Commission, defining revision as the 'comparison of a translation with its original in order to point out and/or correct possible shortcomings, both in terms of content and formal presentation'[45].

It is thus clear that almost all of the courses administered that aim at the acquisition of text-assessment competences cannot be considered as revision classes. Besides post-editing courses, which obviously address different competences, related to IT skills and machine translation (and are indeed labeled as belonging to ING-INF/05 academic field, underlining their strict relationship with IT subjects), the courses purported as revision classes can actually be identified as review/editing classes, which is why they are placed in a separate column in Table 1. As a confirmation, all the LM-94 programs including said classes categorize them as belonging to L-FIL-LET/12 academic field, labeled by the Italian National University Council as 'Italian linguistics'.

Therefore, if we remove from our survey review/editing courses and post-editing courses, there is only one university in the entire Country that officially includes a course focusing specifically on translation revision in their curriculum designed to train future translators. No wonder this same university is one among the four (2 public, 2 private) Italian institutions offering certified Master's Degree programs in translation that belong to the European Master's in Translation (EMT) network.[46]

With reference to the place allocated to translation revision in translator training, the fact that it can only be found as a course in a single university in the entire Italian territory raises concerns about the importance given to this specific aspect of translator competence and to the discipline of translation studies as a whole. In effect, one of the major implications arising from the implementation of translation revision in translator training programs would be the identification of competent instructors suitable for the role of teaching this activity.

6. Conclusions

There are no real conclusions to draw from this contribution but some reflections can undoubtedly be triggered by the discussion and the criticalities described above. In a country where translation studies are still swallowed by a black hole of denial, where the national academia and governmental institutions fail to designate a proper scientific domain solely and entirely to translation studies, the definition of translation professionals, translator competence, translator training, and translation trainers is a matter of utmost urgency. Translation revision is really an elephant in the room, many speak about it, we even purport to offer courses on the topic but we refuse to officially acknowledge the dignity of translation as a discipline and the role played by translation revision in the shaping of translator competence. As a matter of fact, revision is almost absent in Italian translator training programs, as only 1 university out of 15 offer a course in revision within a Master's Degree program in Specialized Translation (LM-94). The only moment over regular translator training programs where we can be sure revision is brought into the picture everywhere is when instructors revise translation tasks and deliver their corrections to learners. We can all agree on the fact that revision can be used as a didactic tool to show learners slips in their performance but the criteria upon which instructors build their revision performance need to be clearly outlined and their annotations should reflect said criteria.

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[45] European Commission, Directorate-General for Translation, Spanish Department, *Revision Manual*, Brussels & Luxembourg (October 2010).

[46] The EMT's Competence Framework, drafted in 2017, identified the areas of competence that must be part of the learning outcomes of learners enrolled in a EMT program, based on the assumption that a MD in translation aims to teach a 'combination of knowledge and skills which will enable students to achieve the competences considered essential for access to the translation industry and to the wider labour market' (page 4). Said competence are distributed across five main areas, including: Language and culture, Translation, Technology, Personal and interpersonal competence, and Service Provision. All MD programs that wish to be part of the EMT partnership must train learners on these five areas of competence.

Moreover, revision should be part of the curricula devoted to translator training, as it is intended in the requirements for translation services outlined by international quality standards provided by the European Committee and the International Organization for Standardization and in the descriptions of Master's Degrees in Specialized Translation provided by the Italian Ministry of Education. The descriptions of our Master's Degree programs include among their learning goals the development of revision skills and include revisers among the professional careers that learners can undertake at the end of their study programs. It is our responsibility to help them acquire the competences and knowledge needed in order to fulfill these desired outcomes.

The main goal of translation training is to prepare learners for the professional reality. This is the main goal of learners as well. When they enroll in a training program, they do it in the hope that they will earn the keys to open the gates of the professional translators' community. Their main aim is to join this community and start a professional career in translation, which includes also revision. Well, according to Common Sense Advisory (CSA)'s 2020 report on professional translators and interpreters, professional translators never offer or perform translation tasks alone. Although translation appears to be a nearly systematic task (97% of respondents), revision seems to be performed by 72% of translators from all around the globe, followed by other tasks such as MT post-editing (35%), and localization (28%).[47] When training is provided by translation agencies, they train vendors both on translation and revision. Hence, revision is part of the professional reality of the translation career and we should train translation learners on the many subtle aspects involved in translation revision that are known and widespread across the professional community but that might be obscure to those who do not work in the field.

This professional communitarian knowledge raises a series of questions on who shall take on the role of training future professionals on important translation and revision matters that are seldom addressed by translator training programs, like the way revisers manage quality assessments, reference materials, client requirements, brand requirements within client requirements, among others. Interpersonal competences are also critical in the outcomes of the revision activity, like the different approaches employed by revisers to negotiate changes with the translator, negotiation occurring with the client, and negotiation occurring with the agency. Furthermore, to what extent should revision affect the product? What happens when the reviser does not apply any change? How do we ask the translator to work on something they have already worked on again?

These are only few of the aspects involved in translation revision as a profession and translator training needs to include revision in relevant university programs. It has been pointed out by scholars that "true expertise can only be developed on the basis of authentic situated action".[48] The use of real-life materials in simulations of professional situations has been widely explored in translator training with effective results, especially when professionals were involved. Previous research has already raised concerns about instructors' training, especially when they are well trained on translation theory and research but not on translation pedagogy, assuming that "those who know, know how to teach".[49] Not only is it difficult to say how 'those who know' are trained to be translation scholars, when translation studies are not even a recognized discipline, it is also hard to tell how many professional translators (legitimately exercising the profession, as freelancers or in-house translators, with a regular activity documented by invoices, contracts, and agreements) are involved in translator training at the university level. The collaboration of professionals and academic scholars might indeed boost the acquisition of both procedural skills and theoretical knowledge, in order to enhance the development of

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[47] Common Sense Advisory Research, *The State of the Linguist Supply Chain – Translators and Interpreters in 2020*, (January 2020) 12-13.

[48] Jacobus A. Naudé, "A Socio-Constructive Approach to the Training of Language Practitioners at the University of the Free State", *Journal for New Generation Sciences*, 6.3 (2008), 61-77, 69.

[49] Dorothy Kelly, "Training the Trainers.", 102.

what we might call 'meta-translational' competence, i.e., the ability to build theoretical and socio-ethical perspectives on the discipline and on the professional ecology in which the discipline finds its practical applications.

It is a hope that the balance between theory and practice can be eventually achieved by opening the doors of the ivory tower to professional translators, who can surely enrich the translation learning process with authentic training that can unveil the most intimate secrets of the profession and create an actual bridge, merging the educational and the professional worlds of translation.

Marina Morbiducci

Connecting Languages and Cultures.
The TIES Trial

Abstract: This paper revolves around three main axes: the first one regards the connection among languages and cultures which translation always performs, building a bridge of mutual understanding at a deep cognitive level by way of the complex transfer taking place among the agents involved in the process, from one code to another and from one linguacultural universe to a different one: this aspect is supported by theoretical tenets, evoked in the paper, which inspire and forge Translation Studies stances in the present scenario, shaped also by linguistic variables and varieties; the second level is represented by the distinctive case of Jhumpa Lahiri who adopted the Italian language as a chosen alternative form of expression in her authorial production, to the enrichment and completion of her own multifaceted identity; the third view is finally provided by a close textual analysis, from a translational point of view, of selected passages taken from Lahiri's version of Starnone's fiction *Lacci* (*Ties*), with an envisaged outcome of pedagogical potential and translational application even in the classroom.

Keywords: *translation studies*, *ELF*, *literary translation*, *intercultural dialogue*,
translation workshop, *pedagogical application*

1. Introduction

The present paper unfolds in a triple direction combining the three vantage points suggested by the acronym of the TIES Conference during which this study was first presented: Translation, Inclusivity and Educational Settings. More precisely, the first section is devoted to the translational background supporting, from a theoretical standpoint, the vision of translation which inspires the paper, that is, the assumption that translation is considered both as a fundamental part of Applied Linguistics – with evident advantages in terms of pedagogical approach and cultural inclusivity mirrored in the educational system – and also as an area of scientific investigation *per se*, useful for teachers' professional development; on a different note, the second section of the paper verges on a more circumscribed aspect, focusing on the rare and somehow "reverse" case of US author Jhumpa Lahiri, who, as a scholar, after being deeply immersed in the Italian cultural world due to her academic research, ultimately decided to switch from English to Italian, adopting it as a form of expression even for her authorial production, showing a form of cultural assimilation which enriched her linguistic options and personal identity; thirdly, the final section of the paper will be devoted to the close textual analysis of three key passages drawn from Domenico Starnone's novel *Lacci* (2014) (the whole novel was translated into English by Lahiri, with the title of *Ties,* and published by Europa Editions in 2016): in this final part of the paper, translational reflections on the facing-page version will provide ground for a brief discussion leading to a pedagogical application envisaged to take place at higher level education.

2. About the Title: *Connecting Languages and Cultures*

The title of the paper, "Connecting Languages and Cultures: The *TIES* Trial", aims to address, as a starting point, the crucial concept expressed in Juliane House's book *Translation as Communication*

across Languages and Cultures (2016)[1], where translation clearly emerges as a cross-linguistic and cross-cultural form of communication in which various ideological, political, and educational issues become interlaced. In subscribing to House's view of translation as occasion for intercultural communication, we particularly share three of her central concepts, that is: - translation as fundamental part of Applied Linguistics (which, as House herself points out in her Introduction to the book, is quite different from "linguistics applied"); - the role of translation in multicultural societies (and nowadays we are no doubt experiencing a multicultural scenario in our societal and educational environment); - translation as recontextualization from the perspective of English as a global lingua franca (if the target language is English, in present times of WE- and ELF-options within English itself, we must beforehand attune our translatorial action being aware of a specific variety of English – and its corresponding linguacultural peculiarities).

Particularly, in this context, we would like to emphasize the transdisciplinary nature of translation which House well clarifies, identifying "neighbouring disciplines such as intercultural communication, cross-cultural research, contrastive pragmatics, second language acquisition and discourse analysis"[2], as strictly interlaced and coming into play when considering any translational event or didactic action set within an educational frame that aims at enhancing the process of language learning via translation. In addition to this, House suggests we review our previous concept of culture, in connection with translation, deconstructing the old thinking about culture being based on national characters, mentalities and stereotypes,[3] in favour of a renewed approach where also small cultures, communities of practice and superdiversity are taken into account.[4] Such stance seems to re-echo in Sarah Maitland's *What is Cultural Translation?*[5], where the author argues for "the relevance of translation thinking to our understanding of how we live and work in globalized societies"[6], especially when this is "confronted increasingly with the presence of difference in all its forms – different ideologies, different modes of being, and different modes of living and acting in the world".[7] With a similar view in mind, House advocates for a "new research avenue in translation studies"[8], incorporating a renewed bilingual cognition orientation and investigating the validity of introspective and retrospective translation process studies. Finally, House highlights the role of English as a global *lingua franca* for translation[9] and its challenges and problems in a multilingual scenario.[10] House does not avoid approaching the ideological issues strictly connected to the question of the power of languages within the frame of reference of Translation Studies, and her stance clearly emerges when she mentions the "ideological influence that certain languages have upon others, for instance the current growing influence of English as a global, 'hegemonic' *lingua franca* on other languages".[11] In House's view, the translator is a mediator inhabiting a "third space".[12] Nor does House miss the crucial point of highlighting the political space that translation might occupy – the so called "alternative space for political action", to put it in a nutshell *après* Mona Baker's words.[13] House claims that there is no

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[1] Juliane House, *Translation as Communication across Languages and Cultures* (London and New York: Routledge, 2016).

[2] Ibid., x.

[3] Ibid., 33.

[4] Ibid., 35.

[5] Sarah Maitland, *What Is Cultural Translation?* (London: Bloomsbury, 2017).

[6] Ibid., 1.

[7] Ibid.

[8] House, *Translation as Communication across Languages and Cultures,* 88.

[9] Ibid., 112

[10] Ibid, 136.

[11] Ibid., 26.

[12] As for this concept of "third space", obviously the reference to Homi Bhabha's notion is evident, and House hints at it in "Beyond Intervention. Universals in Translation?", *trans-kom* 1 (2008), 6-19.

[13] Mona Baker, "Translation as an Alternative Space for Political Action", *Journal of Social, Cultural and Political Protest*, 12.1 (2013), 23-47.

"neutrality of mediation to be taken for granted"[14] in the function of translation, and emphasizes the role of non-governmental institutions, also mentioning "activist groups of translation such as Translators without Borders"[15] who propose "ways of reframing and resisting mainstream discourse".[16]

As for the role of English as a global *lingua franca* for translation, House devotes focused attention to this issue in the entire 11th chapter of her book already mentioned, that section is specifically titled "Globalization and Translation".[17] In these pages House deals with the impact of globalization processes on translation theory and practice: "Globalization and translation are closely intertwined: linguistic superdiversity across the globe is part of globalization and of the growing necessity to translate".[18] Furthermore, House looks at the function of English in the globalized world as pivotal, since we witness an increasing demand for translations, the medium and target of which is English. She reports data from the European Commission showing how 72.5 % of source texts translated by the Directorate-General for Translation were drafted in English.[19] Furthermore, she specifies that "the English texts were frequently written by speakers who are not native speakers of English but by speakers of English as a *lingua franca* (ELF). What this surge in ELF texts may mean for translation … is a field of inquiry that is as yet largely uncharted".[20]

According to House, since the priority of any *lingua franca* is "intelligibility in efficient and easy processes of communication"[21], correctedness is not the major goal, nor are idioms, "routinized phrases full of insider cultural-historical and national references"[22], or other culturally connotative elements, apt to mark the national belonging to a given territory.

Far from being a threat to translational practice, the interconnectedness between ELF and translation becomes even more prominent because the "very same phenomena that have caused the use of ELF to grow have also influenced translation; globalization processes that boosted ELF use have also led to a continuing massive increase in translations worldwide".[23]

2.1 *About the Subtitle: The* TIES *Trial*

So far we have illustrated the rationale behind the choice of the first three words in the title of this paper, that is "Connecting Languages and Cultures" (drawing on House's pivotal work). As for the following word "Trial" inserted in the title, that is obviously taken from Antoine Berman's *Translation and the Trials of the Foreign* (1984),[24] where the author says:

> The general theme of my essay will be *translation as the trial of the foreign (comme épreuve de l'étranger)* … 'Trial of the foreign' is the expression that Heidegger uses to define one pole of poetic experience in Hölderlin. Now, in the poet, this trial is essentially enacted by translation … Translation is the 'trial of the foreign.' But in a double sense. In the first place, it establishes a relationship between the Self-Same (*Propre*) and the Foreign by aiming to open up the foreign work to us in its utter foreignness … In the second place, translation is a trial *for the Foreign as well*, since the foreign work is uprooted from

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[14] House, *Translation as Communication across Languages and Cultures,* 28.
[15] Ibid.
[16] Ibid.
[17] Ibid., 109-117.
[18] Ibid., 110.
[19] Ibid., 112.
[20] Ibid.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Ibid.
[23] Ibid.
[24] Antoine Berman, *L'Épreuve de l'étranger. Culture et traduction dans l'Allemagne romantique* (Paris: Gallimard, 1984). The quotation which follows is taken from the English translation, by Lawrence Venuti, see footnote 25.

its own *language-ground (sol-de-langue*). And this trial, often an exile, can also exhibit the most singular power of the translating act: to reveal the foreign work's most original kernel, its most deeply buried, most self-same, but equally most 'distant' from itself.[25]

It is interesting to note how Berman anticipates some of the issues connected to the experience of translation as enhancement of the potential energy included in the (literary) text, and of the "most self-same" of the author, as Lahiri herself can subscribe to when resorting to Italian. We will deal with such specific topic in the following section. But here, most of all, we would like to specify that the expression "TIES Trial" included in the title of the paper, far from being a reference to a forensic procedure, means to attribute to the term 'trial' the sense of an authorial confrontation projected in a translational environment: Jhumpa Lahiri translating Domenico Starnone's text – in our case – offers specifically a meeting ground for two cultures and two languages coming into close contact by way of a facing-page translation, which, in turn, derives from an empathic form of collaboration and mutual appreciation between the two writers.

Finally, the reference to the word "Ties" is a terminological (lucky and unforeseen) coincidence, in which both the acronym of the TIES Conference held at L'Orientale University, Naples, and the translated title of Starnone's work *Lacci* (*Ties*, into English) find their own formulation. Actually, "ties" can also be considered the term that represents Starnone' and Lahiri's "sodality", being the two authors "tied" in a strong bond of comradeship and cooperation as writers, exchanging public manifestations of mutual involvement with each other's work within their own respective linguacultural systems. The social media coverage of their popularity, in this sense, is surprisingly huge for both authors in both countries, as a quick search on the internet can instantly prove.[26]

The rare case of Lahiri – switching to Italian even as a writer – shows the deep sense of affiliation to the language of the culture that she deeply loves – and also explains the profound influence in terms of personal identity that translation can perform, showing how her devotion to translation into Italian[27] becomes and builds on a new identity. *Ties*[28] is the first of Starnone's novels Lahiri translates into English, soon to be followed by *Trick*, and the constant contact between the two writers makes us guess that probably there will be other collaborations also in the future.

As we well know, the fortune of a book is largely constructed by the collaboration of critics, publishers, editors and translators, committed to bringing a foreign text to the attention of a specific national audience. The task of the translator, more precisely, is to enhance the cultural potential of a text, and transfer it authentically, respectfully, into the target culture; Venuti's foreignization *vs* domestication polarity – a frame of reference which has a great following among Translation Studies scholars – in this case can be easily by-passed since the binary stances are assimilated in one, with the strict relationship existing between the two authors and their mutual involvement in each other's work, as pointed out above. The interchangeability of languages for Lahiri, who is the translator in this case, is a guarantee of a total lack of cultural and linguistic clash between the original and the translated version. Lahiri inhabits Italian as her third language. In Lahiri's version, more specifically, her English

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[25] Antoine Berman, 1984, cit. in Lawrence Venuti, ed., *The Translation Studies Reader*, Second Edition (London and New York: Routledge, 2004), 276.

[26] Just to quote a few: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iXkc95TpFNk&t=46s;
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iXkc95TpFNk;
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7OF_Kb8Lz3U;
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fWhcDuoopRs;
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lIOhBECbcK4.

[27] As for this aspect, it is noteworthy the publication of J. Lahiri's collection of Italian short stories: *The Penguin Book of Italian Short Stories,* ed. by J. Lahiri (London: Penguin, 2019).

[28] Domenico Starnone, *Lacci* (Torino: Einaudi, 2014), translated into English by Jhumpa Lahiri, *Ties* (New York: Europa Editions, 2016). Also the following novel by Domenico Starnone, *Scherzetto* (Torino: Einaudi, 2016) was translated by Jhumpa Lahiri with the title of *Trick* (New York: Europa Editions, 2018).

translation of the Italian novel *Lacci* (*Ties*) may be viewed simultaneously as the linguistic expression of a WE representative member by birth, an ENL speaker by growth and education, and an Italian 'cultural immigrant' by conscious and determinate choice. The strange and reverse case of Jhumpa Lahiri, as a writer, makes her a quite intriguing translator. In this paper some excerpts in parallel versions will show some of her choices and solutions as translator: we trust that the personality, style, and cultural background of the two authors will also impact favourably in classroom settings as an example of cross-fertilization between languages and cultures via translation.

2.2 *Theoretical and Translational Background*

As a backdrop to this paper from the point of view of Translation Studies, we acknowledge the fundamental role played by Susan Bassnett's work, *Translation*,[29] remarkable for its notions of translation as: rewriting, construction of an image of culture, instrument of power and empowerment of the female presence, among others, which are all concepts that come into play in our chosen topic. Bassnett postulates a form of reappraisal of translation also as an alternative way to convey originality and cultural specificity in a global age, and attributes to translation the potential to create unprecedented meanings which originate from the encounter of different cultures, also keeping in mind what Tymoczko and Gentzler state:

> translations are inevitably partial: meaning in a text is always overdetermined, and the information in a source text is therefore always more extensive than translation can convey. Conversely, the receptor language and culture entail obligatory features that shape the possible interpretations of the translation, as well extending the meanings of the translation in directions other than those inherent in the source text.[30]

Another frame of reference inspiring the analysis of our case – in which translation is also meant as a vehicle of inclusiveness in a language learning context - is represented by Sara Laviosa's seminal text[31], *Translation and Language Education: Pedagogic Approaches Explored*. More in detail, we consider Laviosa's contribution for the notions of: - the role played by translation as a means of learning and teaching a foreign language and as a skill in its own right; - a translation-based pedagogy grounded in theory and applied in real educational contexts; - the convergence between the view of language and translation embraced by ecologically-oriented educationalists and the theoretical underpinnings of the holistic approach to translating culture. As a matter of fact, following her stance, it is possible to open up to a sort of holistic pedagogy that harmonizes the teaching of language and translation in the same learning environment. In the process of adopting Laviosa's suggestions, we acknowledge the importance of a multilingual approach in translation, and the place and role of translation in educational contexts worldwide: such posture enlarges and diversifies the amplitude of scope of the discipline, creating the occasion for strict interdisciplinary cooperation between Translation Studies and Educational Linguistics: examples of new pedagogies integrate translation into the curriculum, modifying also teaching methods, design, procedure as well as assessment, as Sara Laviosa thoroughly explores in her *Routledge Handbook of Translation and Education*, edited in 2020 with Maria González-Davies.[32]

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[29] Susan Bassnett, *Translation* (London and New York: Routledge, 2014).
[30] Maria Tymoczko and Edwin Gentzler, *Translation and Power* (Amherst: Massachusetts U.P., 2002), vviii, in Bassnett, 2014, 169-70.
[31] Sara Laviosa, *Translation and Language Education. Pedagogic Approaches Explored* (London and New York: Routledge, 2014).
[32] Sara Laviosa and Maria González-Davies, eds., *The Routledge Handbook of Translation and Education* (London and New York: Routledge, 2020).

Finally, as an additional perspective assumed in our translational stance, we are indebted to Kirsten Malmkjær who, in her recent book titled *Translation and Creativity,*[33] deeply investigates the notion of creativity in translation, first taking into account definitions of creativity *per se*, and then applying them in the context of translation. The description and arguments that Malmkjær provides accounting for the translational process as highly and intimately creative are extremely convincing and pave the way for a new reappraisal of translation as original and "artistic" enterprise. Asking the two fundamental questions: "What is creativity?" and "Can creativity be taught?", Malmkjær implicitly approaches the query in psychological and pedagogical terms, which directly involves us as teachers, too.

The aforementioned translational views are the theoretical framework in which the "inclusivity" set of pedagogical and didactic choices can take place projected in educational settings. To put it in Maria González-Davies's words, "translation pervades most academic fields and everyday communication practices. Therefore, it seems reasonable to inquire into its learning potential for other fields besides translator training to achieve interdisciplinary networking".[34] In this line, we will consider the use of translation in learning contexts other than translators' training, identifying a specific branch that González-Davies reports as TOLC (Translation for Other Learning Contexts). Aa a matter of fact, according to González-Davies "TOLC works on a continuum that spans elementary language learning and advanced language services … many of its features may also cover language learning and intercultural mediation".[35] In the ELT classroom typically translation has most often been viewed as a tool of reinforcement of the so-called grammar-translation method, but in more recent times, translation considered as a didactic linguistic resource has evolved into an informed integrated plurilingual approach (IPA). Through translation "the students' linguistic repertoire can be integrated in the language learning process".[36]

3. The Strange and Reverse Case of Jhumpa Lahiri

In this section we will introduce the case of Jhumpa Lahiri who, against the mainstream literary trends in our globalized era, decided to switch to Italian as her language of authorship.

Nilanjana Sudeshna "Jhumpa" Lahiri is an American author who has recently become quite popular in Italy in the circle of intellectuals, and, in the international scenario, particularly for her choice to adopt Italian as the language to write her novels and essays. In truth, the story of Lahiri with the Italian language shows a slow and gradual process of affiliation and growth, of which she provides full account in her works, noticeably *In altre parole*,[37] a book that she wrote directly in Italian, in 2015, published by Guanda Editore in 2016, and now at its 4th edition. The only part of this text which is in English is the "Author's Note" to the English version, a version which was published in 2016, translated by Ann Goldstein.

By deliberate choice of the author, Lahiri explains why she decided not to translate her own work herself. In the passage "The Hairy Adolescent" contained in this volume Lahiri says that Italian for her is still like a teen-ager, and that her first language - English - would have destroyed the young and feeble texture of her second (third?) language. So, the inspiring metaphor of a "hairy adolescent" creates a parallel between the age of a person - adolescence – and the growth and inclusion of a writer, not yet "mature" in the language of choice. In the epigraph to the book we find an excerpt of Antonio

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[33] Kirsten Malmkjær, *Translation and Creativity* (London and New York: Routledge, 2020).
[34] Maria González-Davies, "Developing Mediation Competence through Translation", in Laviosa and González-Davies, eds., *The Routledge Handbook of Translation and Education*, 434-450, 434.
[35] Ibid.
[36] Ibid.
[37] Jhumpa Lahiri, *In altre parole* (Parma: Guanda, 2016).

Tabucchi's pronouncement reported by Lahiri: "I needed a different language: a language that was a place of affection and reflection".

As a PhD student of Renaissance Studies, in Florence, Lahiri learns how to plunge into the Italian cultural system, and desperately wants to fit in. *In altre parole / In Other Words* is the diary of this autobiographical choice. If Lahiri started her career as recipient of the Pulitzer Prize for Fiction with her debut collection of short-stories *Interpreter of Maladies* (1999) and then achieved worldwide fame with her first novel, *The Namesake* (2003) (which was also adapted into the popular film of the same name by Indian director Mira Nair in 2007), it is probably for her decision to switch to Italian that paradoxically she acquired an international reputation. In her first and second collection of stories in English (*Interpreter of Maladies*, 1999, as above, and *Unaccustomed Earth*, 2008), and her second novel (*The Lowland*, 2013), Lahiri explored the Indian-immigrant experience in America.

In these works she was still wrestling with the two opposite identities: English-American by birth and Indian-Bengali by background. These two opposites never fully harmonized. In an editorial in *Newsweek*, Lahiri claimed that she has "felt intense pressure to be two things, loyal to the old world and fluent in the new".[38] Much of her experiences growing up as a child were marked by these two sides tugging away at one another. Significantly, it is only with Italian that the intimate sense of not belonging, of implacable diversity, of never fully fitting in any scheme is eliminated, and how? Simply plunging into a completely different system which welcomes her without clashes, mismatches or urgent demands.

In 2011 Lahiri moved to Rome for a longish period and has since then published two books of essays (*In altre parole*, in 2016, already mentioned, and *Il vestito dei libri*, in 2017) and also a novel (*Dove mi trovo,* 2018), all written in Italian and published by Guanda. Interestingly enough, in December 2015 *The New Yorker* had published Lahiri's non-fiction essay titled "Teach Yourself Italian",[39] describing her experience of learning Italian. In the essay she declared that she was now writing only in Italian, and the essay itself was translated from Italian into English.

3.1 *Teach Yourself Italian*

In this pivotal article Lahiri, as mentioned above, tracks down analytically the process that led her to render Italian her chosen language as a writer. She moves from the guiding metaphor of exile, up to the concepts of acceptance and hospitality, the latter also a good figurative image for translation:

> My relationship with Italian takes place in exile, in a state of separation … Every language belongs to a specific place. It can migrate, it can spread. But usually it's tied to a geographical territory, a country. Italian belongs mainly to Italy, and I live on another continent, where one does not readily encounter it … I think of Ovid, exiled from Rome to a remote place. To a linguistic outpost, surrounded by alien sounds … I think of my mother, who writes poems in Bengali, in America. Almost fifty years after moving there, she can't find a book written in her language…In a sense I'm used to a kind of linguistic exile. My mother tongue, Bengali, is foreign in America. When you live in a country where your own language is considered foreign, you can feel a continuous sense of estrangement. You speak a secret, unknown language, lacking any correspondence to the environment. An absence that creates a distance within you.[40]

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[38] Jhumpa Lahiri, "My Two Lives", *Newsweek*, 5 March 2006, n. p. https://www.newsweek.com/my-two-lives-106355.
[39] Jhumpa Lahiri, "Teach Yourself Italian", *The New Yorker*, 7 December 2015, n. p, https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2015/12/07/teach-yourself-italian.
[40] Ibid.

This sense of being split in two, which creates a "distance within you", pushes the writer to look for another space, a space where she can be born anew, and forget about the painful sense of not belonging caused by her lack of authority in a land of immigration. The question of mother tongue becomes crucial in terms of cultural identity. She continues in the same interview: "In my case there is another distance … I don't know Bengali perfectly. I don't know how to write it, or even read it … I speak without authority, and so I've always perceived a disjunction between it and me … I consider my mother tongue, paradoxically, a foreign language".[41] Lahiri unravels her story of linguistic affiliation in complete openness, and reveals the paradoxical truth of fusion, even in a distant land: "As for Italian, the exile has a different aspect. Almost as soon as we met, Italian and I were separated. My yearning seems foolish. And yet I feel it".[42] In the same interview she continues:

> In graduate school, I decide to write my doctoral thesis on how Italian architecture influenced English playwrights of the seventeenth century. I wonder why certain playwrights decided to set their tragedies, written in English, in Italian palaces. The thesis will discuss another schism between language and environment. The subject gives me a second reason to study Italian.[43]

In short, this account describes the incipience steps of Lahiri's entrancing love-bond with the language of her studies, which also becomes the language of her self-expression, freedom and inclusivity. She feels included even though not quite still belonging. In an interview in *The Guardian* she confesses: "I'm, in Italian, a tougher, freer writer".[44] In the caption we can read: "The author's new book, written in Italian and accompanied by English translation, is the result of an infatuation with Italy that began with her first visit in 1994": the book here referred to is actually *In altre parole*, an expression often used for translation, too.[45]

Lahiri envisages Italian as a form of metamorphosis and flight, in search of freedom: "I think that my writing in Italian is a flight. Dissecting my linguistic metamorphosis, I realize that I'm trying to get away from something, to free myself. I've been writing in Italian for almost two years, and I feel that I've been transformed, almost reborn".[46] She then introduces the similitude with Daphne as expression of metamorphosis, a topic that she will further develop in her piece "The Metamorphosis" in her previously quoted book *In Other Words* (needless to remark that the book was written in Italian). Lahiri shares with the reader that sense of confinement and restriction, and yet of liberation, too, that she experienced, moving from English into Italian:

> the change, this new opening, is costly; like Daphne, I, too, find myself confined. I can't move as I did before, the way I was used to moving in English. A new language, Italian, covers me like a kind of bark. I remain inside: renewed, trapped, relieved, uncomfortable.[47]

And finally Lahiri asks herself: "Why am I fleeing? What is pursuing me? Who wants to restrain me? The most obvious answer is the English language"[48], but she also specifies:

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[41] Ibid.
[42] Ibid.
[43] Ibid.
[44] Jhumpa Lahiri, "I am, in Italian, a tougher, freer writer", *The Guardian,* 31 January 2016, n. p., https://www.theguardian.com/books/2016/jan/31/jhumpa-lahiri-in-other-words-italian-language.
[45] We cannot but think of the famous textbook for translation courses titled *In Other Words*, *A Coursebook on Translation* by Mona Baker (London and New York: Routledge, 1992/2011).
[46] Lahiri, "Teach Yourself Italian", n.p.
[47] Ibid.
[48] Ibid.

I think it's not so much English in itself as everything the language has symbolized for me. For practically my whole life, English has represented a consuming struggle, a wrenching conflict, a continuous sense of failure that is the source of almost all my anxiety. It has represented a culture that had to be mastered, interpreted. I was afraid that it meant a break between me and my parents. English denotes a heavy, burdensome aspect of my past. I'm tired of it.[49]

And the story is yet to be continued … We can only add that in Italy she is now a real celebrity, invited to important cultural events as special guest, from the "Biennale di Venezia" (2014), to "Mantova Letteratura" (2018), from book launching at the Centro Studi Americani to the LUISS *Lectio Magistralis* for the opening of the academic year, in 2019, and so on. On June 6th, 2019 Lahiri was received in full splendour at the Quirinale by President Sergio Mattarella, and Jhumpa donated a copy of her *The Penguin Book of Italian Short Stories* (Lahiri 2019)*,* a collection of 40 Italian short stories, already mentioned, at that time just off the press – that Lahiri selected, edited and partly translated. On June 13, 2019, Lahiri was featured at the "Normale di Pisa"[50] conversing about her literary and translational choices. She had already manifested her ideas on translation also on the occasion of the above mentioned LUISS *Lectio Magistralis*:[51] translating is like creating an "echo" – the reference to the myth of Narcissus and Echo is obviously explict – and language knows no boundaries, it propagates freely spreading knowledge and experiences. From this perspective, to cross symbolically a border for Lahiri means welcoming a new language, a new culture, new places, it means making them your own land and identifying yourself with them. Translation allows the profitable experience of getting rid of what could be seen as a sort of solipsistic attitude and opens you up to diversity (including you in it). "Only by confronting with each other," underlines Lahiri, "will you avoid being trapped, like Narcissus, in an everlasting reflection on yourself".[52] In this *Lectio Magistralis* Lahiri invited the students to reflect on the edifying power of dialogue as a way to enrich and grow. Just as a translator must reflect on the meaning that an author wanted to express with her/his own words, opening "entire kingdoms of possibilities, unexpected paths that lead him in new directions and inspire the world of the writer"[53], future professionals, in this complex moment in time, must open to new ways of thinking and understanding, with empathy and resilience: "The richest moments of literary history were those in which the identities of writers and translators melted away, where one activity strengthened and revitalized the other",[54] added Lahiri in her *Lectio Magistralis*.

4. *Lacci & Ties:* When Translation Unites

The fourth section of this paper is devoted to the textual analysis of three crucial passages drawn from Domenico Starnone's novel *Lacci*, translated into English by Jhumpa Lahiri, as already specified. In accordance with what we remarked earlier, the comradeship and collaboration of the two writers is mutually acknowledged and cherished. Jhumpa Lahiri, in the chapter titled "The Metamorphosis" (original title "La metamorfosi") of the quoted *In altre parole,* mentions the important role played by Starnone, as an Italian writer, to help her as a would-be Italian writer:

Shortly before I began to write these reflections, I received an email from a friend of mine in Rome, the writer Domenico Starnone. Referring to my desire to appropriate Italian, he wrote, "A new language is

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almost a new life, grammar and syntax recast you, you slip into another logic and another sensibility". How much these words reassured me. They seemed to echo my state of mind after I came to Rome and started to write in Italian. They contained all my yearning, all my disorientation. Reading this message, I understood better the impulse to express myself in a new language: to subject myself, as writer, to a metamorphosis.[55]

Therefore, it is not surprising that Lahiri decides to translate his novel, and this event too has stirred a lot of interest from the media and professionals belonging to the cultural *coté* of the authors, both in Italy and US. The translation that Lahiri provided is what we would define a quite 'faithful' version of the original text; we realize that Lahiri wants to respect the choice of the author as much as the two different linguistic systems allow, and she changes words only when absolutely necessary; in general, we are rarely in front of dissimilarities in lexicon and syntax. This is probably due to the fact the Starnone's style is characterized by a cultured form of standard Italian ("uncontaminated Italian" Lahiri defines his language), which Lahiri was familiar to for her previous studies. At the same time, Lahiri is able to gather, interpret and render the level of sophisticated irony which pervades Starnone's texts. The *double-entendres*, the subtle puns, the polysemic elements, the rhetorical devices, the discursive rhythm and poetic prose that Starnone profuses, are all well captured and rendered by Lahiri. The empathic bias which leads the American author to a sort of devoted attitude of admiration and fidelity in translating the Italian colleague and friend is evident.

In her Introduction to the English version, Lahiri begins with an etymological digression, which is revelatory of her approach to the text at hand, in this specific case, and also more in general. Lahiri considers:

> The need to contain and the need to set free: these are the contradictory impulses, the positive and negative charges that interact in Domenico Starnone's novel, *Ties*. To contain, in Italian, is *contenere,* from the Latin verb *continere.* It means to hold, but it also means to hold back, repress, limit, control. In English, too, we strive to contain our anger, our amusement, our curiosity.[56]

The lexicographer's mindset continues to unravel in her "Introduction" and the reference to the dictionary as a necessary tool for capturing the intimate essence of our experience of the world, via language – an element which is also present in *In Altre parole* and runs through all of Lahiri's works – is constantly reiterated. More particularly, Lahiri devotes the second half of her introductory notes to the novel to the task of the translator:

> As the translator of *Ties* into English, I too have had to break open a formidable container: the container of Italian. For many years I have searched within that box, trying to piece together a new sense of myself. My relationship to Italian incubates and evolves in a sacred vessel I hold dear. My impulse has been to guard it, to not contaminate it. [57]

In the following paragraph she narrates her encounter with the specific text at hand:

> Then I read *Ties* when it was published in Italy, in the autumn of 2014, and I fell in love with it. I had not yet translated anything from Italian to English. In fact, I was resistant to the idea. I was immersed in Italian, in a joyous state of self-exile from the language (English) and the country (the United States) that

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[55] Lahiri, *In altre parole*, 161.
[56] Lahiri, "Introduction", 11.
[57] Ibid., 15.

have marked me most significantly. But the impact of this novel overwhelmed me and my desire, as soon as I read it, to translate it someday.[58]

As it clearly appears, we are in front of a proper *coup-de-foudre* for the text and the language, but we also witness a sort of initiation process for the writer who, becoming a translator, turns into re-writer (as Levefere and Bassnett would put it). The theoretical translational stances that we referred to in the previous section are now re-echoing in the words of Lahiri as translator. Language is home. Language is inclusive for those who inhabit it. Translation entitles you to be an active and constructive member of that commuunity and culture whose language you admire, worship and respect.

4.1 *Close-up on Textual Translation*

As announced, in this section we mean to have a closer look at the actual translation of three chosen excerpts from the original work by Domenico Starnone, *Lacci*, translated into English by Jhumpa Lahiri. The passages that have been selected for close translational juxtaposition are also the ones which give reasons for the title, here again a double meaning of the word, both in Italian and English: "lacci" can be literally "shoelaces," but also metaphorically "bonds", "ties":

> But *Lacci* in Italian are also a means of bridling, of capturing something. They connote both an amorous link and restraining device. "Ties" in English straddles these plural meanings "Laces" would not have. Having made this choice, I am struck by the relationship in English, too, between *untie* and *unite*, two opposite actions counterpoised in this novel. [59]

The episodes selected are from Book Two, Chapter 8: the narrator is the father (Aldo) who left his wife and now meets his children (Anna and Sandro), after two years. He is anxious to cut a good figure with them, but the seriousness and gravity of the scene is softened by the pervading sense of humor running through the narration.

Here follow the chosen excerpts in parallel versions:

Li portai al bar, affollai il tavolo di cose buone da mangiare e da bere. Cercai di conversare con loro, finii per parlare sempre di me. Non mi chiamarono mai papà; io invece, in ansia, pronunciai mille volte i loro nomi. Poiché temevo che mi ricordassero solo per il terremoto che avevo causato nelle loro vite, per come li avevo fatti soffrire, cercai in modo disordinato di presentarmi come una persona rispettabile, di carattere bonario, che faceva un lavoro di cui potevano vantarsi coi compagni di scuola. Mi sembrò dai loro sguardi attenti, da qualche sorriso, perfino da una risata lieta di Anna, che li avessi convinti. Sperai che mi facessero domande	I took them to a café, I filled the table with good things to eat and drink. I tried to converse with them, but I ended up talking about myself. They never called me Dad. I on the other hand, anxious, said their names a thousand times. Since I feared that they remembered me only for the earthquake I'd caused in their lives, for how I'd made them suffer, I tried in a muddled way to present myself as a respectable person, mild-mannered, with a job that they could brag about to their classmates. It seemed to me, from their attentive gazes, from an occasional smile, even from Anna's cheerful laughter, that I'd convinced them. I hoped that they would want to know, for

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[58] Ibid.
[59] Lahiri, *Ties*, 17.

per sapere, ad esempio, cosa dovevano fare per seguire da grandi le mie orme. Ma Sandro non disse niente e Anna mi chiese, accennando al fratello: «E' vero che gli hai insegnato tu ad allacciarsi le scarpe?»	example, what they would have to do in order to follow in my footsteps as adults. But Sandro didn't say anything, and Anna asked, nodding to her brother: Is it true that it was you who taught him how to tie his shoes?
(Domenico Starnone, *Lacci*. (Torino: Einaudi, 2014) 79	Jhumpa Lahiri (trans.) *Ties*. (New York: Europa Editions, 2016) 96-7

Excerpt 1.

Whereas the protagonist, in his faked father-like guise, was expecting to be forced to play a solemn role, the one of an educator and model for the siblings to imitate, it turns out that the eager curiosity of the children is concentrated only on how he ties his shoes, because, the boy claims, it was Father who taught him (and the girl is jealous because she didn't get such privilege):

Mi imbarazzai. Avevo insegnato a Sandro ad allacciarsi le scarpe? Non me lo ricordavo. E a quel punto senza una ragione immediata, non mi meravigliai più che mi fossero estranei, il senso di estraneità era implicito nel nostro rapporto originario. Finché ero vissuto con loro ero stato un padre distratto che per riconoscerli non sentiva il bisogno di conoscerli. Ora che per fare una buona figura volevo assorbire tutto di loro, li guardavo con un'attenzione eccessiva – come degli estranei appunto – divorando dettagli per la smania di saperne tutto in pochi minuti. Risposi mentendo: sì credo di sì, gli ho insegnato tante cose, a Sandro, forse anche ad allacciarsi le scarpe. E Sandro borbottò: nessuno si allaccia le scarpe come me le allaccio io. Mentre Anna mi disse: se le allaccia in un modo ridicolo, non ci credo che anche tu te le allacci così. [...] *Anna mi guardò diritto negli occhi. [...] Disse: mostraci come fai [...] Chiesi: volete che adesso, qui vi faccia vedere come mi allaccio le scarpe? Sì, disse Anna.*	I felt embarassed. Had I taught Sandro to tie his shoes? I didn't remember. And at that point, for no precise reason, I no longer marveled that they were strangers to me; the sense of estrangement was intrinsic to our original bond. All the time I had lived with them I'd been a distracted father who didn't feel the need to know them in order to recognize them. Now, in order to make a good impression, wanting to absorb everything about them, observed my children with excessive attention – that, precisely, of strangers – devouring details, yearning to know them fully in a few minutes. I replied, lying: Yes, I think so, I taught Sandro a lot of things, maybe also also how to tie his shoes. And Sandro mutttered: no one ties their shoes the way I do. Meanwhile Anna told me: It's ridiculous how he ties them, I don't believe you tie them like that, too. [...] Anna looked me straight in the eyes. [...] Show us how you do it. [...] I asked: Do you want me to show you now, here, how I tie my shoes?
Domenico Starnone, *Lacci*. (Torino: Einaudi, 2014) 80	Jhumpa Lahiri (trans.) *Ties*. (New York: Europa Editions, 2016) 98

Excerpt 2.

Rather than in the deep complexity of the feelings represented (from sense of guilt to real nostalgia), the climax of the scene reaches its apex in a sequence of physical actions, meticulously described in all details, and the lack of explicit reference to the children' and father's emotional state makes the readers imagine them on their own. By not saying, the author tells a lot, perhaps much more, and the translator sticks to the same strategy of communication:

Mi slacciai una scarpa, poi la riallacciai. Tirai i due capi della stringa, li incrociai, passai un capo sotto l'altro, strinsi energicamente. Li guardai, tenevano entrambi lo sguardo sulla mia scarpa, a bocche socchiuse. Con un po' di nervosismo tornai a incrociare i capi, tornai a passarne uno sotto l'altro, strinsi di nuovo, formai un occhiello. Feci una pausa, incerto. Gli occhi di Sandro cominciarono a ridere di soddisfazione. Anna mormorò: e poi? Afferrai l'occhiello, lo chiusi stringendolo tra le dita, ci passai sotto il capo che mi era rimasto, formai un nuovo occhiello e tirai. Ecco, dissi a Sandro, tu fai così? Sì, lui rispose. E Anna disse: è vero, solo voi due ve le allacciate così, voglio imparare anch'io.	I unlaced a shoe, then I laced it again. I pulled the two ends of the string, I crossed them, I passed one end under the other, I pulled tight. I looked at them. They both had their eyes trained on my shoe, their mouths half-open. Somewhat nervous, I went back to crossing the ends, again I passed one under the other, I pulled once more, I made a loop. I paused, uncertain. Sandro's eyes started to light up with satisfaction. Anna said softly: And then? I grasped the loop, I closed by pulling it between my fingers, I passed it under the end that remained, I formed another hole and pulled. There, I said to Sandro, is that how you do it? Yes, he replied. And Anna said, it's true, only the two of you tie your shoes like that, I want to learn, too.
Passammo il resto del tempo ad allacciare e slacciare i miei lacci e quelli di Sandro finché Anna, inginocchiata davanti a noi due, non imparò per bene a riallacciarli a entrambi nella nostra maniera.	Sandro and I spent the rest of the time tying and untying our laces until Anna, kneeling in front of the two of us, learned properly how to tie them this way.
Domenico Starnone, *Lacci* (Torino: Einaudi, 2014), 81	Jhumpa Lahiri (trans.), *Ties* (New York: Europa Editions, 2016) 98

Excerpt 3.

The tension of the encounter between the two broken ends of the family becomes heroicomically diminished in the reduced dimension of a mere physical and banal action: tying one's shoes. And yet, this peculiar fashion of performing a routine gesture becomes the link which ***ties*** the two discarded poles of the family group, presently dismantled and far apart. The reiteration of the simple gesture provides the opening key into an initiatory therefore inclusive ritual: it is by repeatedly tying her/his own shoes in the same way as (missed) (patriarchal) Father does, that Anna and Sandro reconstitute the family. Tie/untie, a binary opposition, but "untie" is anagram of "unite", as Lahiri perceptively highlighted in her "Introduction". Here lies the paradox: in an opposition of terms, even if only in a linguistic game, a play with words, we can find real fusion and human compenetration.

The function of translation is also the one of revealing the hidden meaning, the most intimate layer of signification that not always a native user of a given language immediately perceives. The attention that the translator devotes to each single word and expression in order to render it in the target

language in the most effective way makes, of such virtuous exercise, a powerful means of understanding and way of inclusivity.

As we said above, the type of translation that Lahiri produces is totally respectful of the lexical choices and stylistic cypher of the author; the register of irony, self-sabotage, self-derision and crude description of facts (through which he reveals important hiddem truths) are all reproduced in the target language. The rhythm of the syntax mainly structured in short sentences is replicated in the parallel version in English.

Starnone's style, primarily based on the accurate description of the inner feelings of the characters, without indulging in a plethora of words, gets its corresponding reproduction in Lahiri's translation. It's as if the two authors are perfectly attuned in the way of perceiving the world and therefore in the choice of the linguistic elements apt to represent it. What the learner of English at Higher Education level may appreciate from Lahiri's version is the effective rendering in the target language of some adjectives such as "muddled" for "disordinato", or "mild-mannered" for "bonario", and "occasional" for "qualche" in Excerpt 1, for instance. These are translational choices that, in our opinion, would not occur as first option to the students who are involved in the process: they would probably opt for adjectives more similar to the source text. In this way, indirectly, the learner would enrich their lexical repertoire. Similarly, the rendering of "in ansia" as "anxious" – again in Excerpt 1 – applying a typical process of transposition (according to Vinay' and Darbelnet's shift scheme), would be an additional element in the refinement of the learners' lexicon. Another case of transposition could be detected in the rendering of the source word "smania" (in Excerpt 2) as "yearning" in the target text. Particularly interesting is the choice of "bond" for "rapporto", in the same Excerpt 2, in which we see Lahiri creating a stronger relationship of the word chosen by the author, qualifying it almost in a synonymic fashion with the word of the titles, "tie-s", beloging to the same semantic sphere of "bond". In this way Lahiri creates an even stronger form of textual cohesion. These and other translational remarks that the instructor can point out to the students might make them more responsive to the literary ability of the writers, and more involved in the process of translation as a way of improving their language competence.

We have in mind Juliane House's words when she talks about using the narrative approach in translation: "Translation is then seen as a form of (re)narration which constructs rather than represents events, states of affairs and human beings renarrated in another language".[60] We totally subscribe to such view, and also share the following assumption: "This means that a translator participates actively in configuring intercultural encounters which are embedded in the existent narratives and also contributes to changes and dissemination of these narratives through the translations".[61] The narrative approach to translation is extremely empowering, and Baker distinguishes four types of narratives to take into consideration: "personal narratives, public narratives, conceptual narratives and meta-narratives".[62]

Here, with *Ties*, we are in front of a specific form of literary narrative, where the above mentioned distinctions can be fused together, but we find appropriate for our case at hand what House adds: "For an application of the narrative approach to translation another set of categories is also important: selective appropriation, relationality, temporality and causal emplotment".[63] These are all elements that the instructor can point out to the attention of the learners performing the translation task.

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[60] House, *Translation as Communication across Languages and Cultures*, 28.
[61] Ibid. See also Baker, "Translation as an Alternative Space for Political Action".
[62] Ibid., 29.
[63] Ibid.

5. Conclusions

In this paper we wanted to highlight the importance of translation as an empowering tool for the improvement of the linguistic competence of the learners of English. In part one we started from House's stance that sees translation as a form of communication across language and cultures; in part two we then considered other theoretical translational assumptions such as Berman's "trial of the foreigner", Bassnett' and Lefevere's notion of translation as "re-writing" and Laviosa's and González-Davies's view of translation as a pedagogical and educational resource.

In the second part of the paper we wanted to draw the readers' attention to the strange case of Jhumpa Lahiri who opted for Italian as language of her authorial expression, meanwhile being a successful translator of the relevant Italian writer Domenico Starnone whose novel *Lacci*, Lahiri translated with the title of *Ties*. We analyzed some of the cultural, professional and also personal reasons why Lahiri decided to plunge into Italian. In her case we found a desire, if not an urge, of being included in the cultural system of the language she selected. Like Lahiri, many other authors might have switched to a different language than their own in order to fully express their true (or desired) identity. In a multicultural world the case of Lahiri is particularly appealing and significant. Presenting it to our audience of students at university level can be extremely beneficial in order to make them aware of the necessity of acknowledging a process of inclusiveness essential in a superdiverse world. Translation, an activity that Lahiri herself exercised, can be one of the ways to appreciate cultural and linguistic differences and superdiversity in the sense attributed to the term by Blommaert.[64]

Finally, in the third section, we took into consideration three excerpts chosen from *Ties*, in parallel versions. We pointed out the potential inherent in the chosen texts in terms of form and content. The story of the father who rejoins with his children via the simple action of tying his shoelaces is an example of possibility of inclusiveness – to become part again of the broken family. He is accepted anew because he is still present in a banal but necessary gesture that the boy performs daily. This habit recreates a community (of practice!), and as Lahiri wants to be part of the Italian literary system, the fictitious father in *Lacci* wants to be recognized as a parent by his daughter and son. Paradoxically enough, this comes true by way of literal and literary TIES.

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[64] Jan Blommaert, *Ethnography, Superdiversity and Linguistic Landscaping* (Bristol: Multilingual Matters, 2013).

Francesca Caterina Cambosu

Keeping Regional Identities Through Translation

Abstract: The paper tackles the notion that translation builds a bridge through different languages and cultures by analyzing the double function of translation in the analysis of two 'regional' works: Sergio Atzeni's *Bakunin's Son* (1991) and *Bellas Mariposas* (1996). These translations, of which the latter consists of film subtitles, are considered in terms of ethical reciprocity, on the basis of the three common alternatives a translator has to face: a non-translation, an equivalent translation and a manipulated translation. The study claims that, from a perspective of reciprocity, translation has to imply a project where either active parties (individuals, collectivities and nations) or passive entities (texts, languages and cultures) ought not to be harmed but rather mutually benefited, aiming at ethical reciprocity. The analysis concludes that translations should strike a balance between the ethical aspects related to this field, as far as a faithful transfer of form and content from the source text into the target language is concerned.

Keywords: *translation*, *alternatives in translation*, *ethics in translation*, *culture*

1. (Dis)-Placing Cultures – The Sardinian Identity

When we speak about cultural identity, we mean the identification with a particular group based on different cultural categories.[1] From the same perspective, also the language expressing the forms of communication in each group represents a specific model of reality, "a phonic association with the universe it describes".[2] Consequently, languages act as mediators between peoples and cultures, so that what represents us as a specific identity, acquires a lexical and phonological uniqueness that cannot be misunderstood. Therefore, translation can build a bridge through different languages and cultures, both "constructing and de-constructing identities, providing a means to mutual understanding either to the original text and the target one".[3] The present paper will start from these premises and explore the double function of translation in the analysis of two 'regional' works, known to an international audience through versions that are far from being ethically reciprocal. They are Sergio Atzeni's *Bakunin's son* (1991) and *Bellas Mariposas* (1996), the only two works by the Sardinian writer translated into English. These translations (the latter in the subtitles of the film version) will be considered in terms of ethical reciprocity, based on the three common alternatives a translator must face: a non-translation, an equivalent translation, and a manipulated translation.[4] The study claims that, from a perspective of reciprocity, translation must imply a project where either active parties (individuals, collectivities and nations) or passive entities (texts, languages and cultures) ought not to be harmed but rather mutually benefited, aiming at ethical reciprocity.

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[1] Ilze Bezuidenhout, *What Constitutes Cultural Identity. A Discoursive Semiotic Approach to Cultural Aspects in Persuasive Advertisements* (Randse Afrikansee Universitait, 1999), 1.
[2] Micaela Muñoz-Calvo and Carmen Buesa Gómez, *Translation and Cultural Identity. Selected Essays on Translation and Cross-Cultural Communication* (Newcastle Upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010), 2.
[3] Zaixi Tan, "The Translator's Identity as Perceived through Metaphors", *Across Languages and Cultures,* 13.1 (2012), https://doi.org/10.1556/Acr.13.2012.1.2.
[4] Jeremy Munday, *Evaluation in Translation* (London and New York: Routledge, 2012).

2. The Reasons for an Ethics of Translation

Translation ethics started to be a serious issue in 1984 after Berman's publication *L'Epreuve de l'étranger: Culture et traduction dans l'Allemagne romantique*, where the author introduced his notion of "respecting the foreignness of the foreign".[5] It was later claimed that "the study of translation has always been, for the most part, a speculation about ethics",[6] although what ethics specifically means is not clear yet. An ideal model of ethics should start "asking questions about ethics",[7] in a perspective of normative criteria that may define the best principles for both an ethical decision-making and a conscious evaluation of any translation project.

Since translation contributes to an intertextual, interlingual and intercultural connection, reciprocity is crucial in our relationship with the others, and it is one of the key elements that facilitate a mutual cultural exchange, putting, in Brisset's words, "two alterities into contact".[8] Though often faced from a rather political point of view, the issue deserves a careful attention, especially with reference to what is defined a regional product.

Sergio Atzeni and other Sardinian writers in the contemporary literary panorama, have achieved recognition at an international level only through translations that, unfortunately, did not turn to be totally reliable, from both a cultural point of view and in terms of conservation of the identities they express. Since translation deals with culture and society, being the medium through which the target reader interprets a given people and a country, a faulty work may affect the representation of a given reality, the '*intervention*' on it, the relation to the Other and the construction of a unique identity. Translators thus acquire a powerful role in terms of mediators between cultures. According to Chesterman,[9] translation becomes a combination of strategies and norms that are governed by values: the clarity of the text, corresponding to the expectancy norm; the truth to the original text, corresponding to the relation norm; the trust between all the parts involved, corresponding to the accountability norm, and the understanding, corresponding to the communication norm. Translation ethics, then, develops both at a macro- (in the relation between the translator and the world) and at a micro-level, in a close relationship between the translator and the text. Chesterman's ideal of a translation ethics is better expressed in his *Proposal for a Hieronymic Oath*[10] where he distinguishes four models of translation ethics: the ethics of representation, the ethics of service, the ethics of communication, the norm-based ethics; this suggests a model more focused on the translator's engagement, according to commitment, loyalty to the profession, understanding, truth, clarity, trustworthiness, truthfulness, justice, excellence. He also separates personal ethics from professional ethics, limiting the translator's political commitment to the personal sphere and dissuading from any other implications.[11]

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[5] Antoine Berman, T*he Experience of the Foreign. Culture and Translation in Romantic Germany*, trans. by Stefan Heyvaert (New York: SUNY Press, 1992), 4.

[6] Rosemary Arroyo, "The Ethics of Translation in Contemporary Approaches to Translation Training", in Martha Tennent, ed., *Training for the New Millennium. Pedagogies for Translation and Interpreting* (Amsterdam: Benjamins Translation Library, 2005), 5, doi: https://doi.org/10.1075/btl.60.18arr.

[7] Peter Singer, "Ethics", *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Online Edition, 2012.

[8] Anne Brisset, "Alterity in Translation. An Overview of Theories and Practices", in Susan Petrilli, ed., *Translation Translation* (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2003), 125.

[9] Andrew Chesterman, *Memes of Translation. The Spread of Ideas in Translation Theory* (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1997).

[10] Chesterman, "Proposal for a Hieronymic Oath", *The Translator*, 7.2 (2002), 172.

[11] Chesterman, "The Name and Nature of Translator Studies", *Hermes. Journal of Language and Communication Studies*, 42 (2009), 13-22.

Nevertheless, when ethnocentrism is "at the heart of translation"[12], the choice of minor source texts becomes a declaration of responsibility, contributing to their *'foreignization'*, in Venuti's words, and inclusion in a wider context.[13] On the one hand, it may facilitate cultural exchanges and innovation in the source culture, but if the translation is poorly performed, it may give way to both stereotypes and prejudices, not only in a single reader but also in the whole community. Disappointingly, this accounts for the many legends born around Sardinia, as a land of bandits, kidnappers, and narrow-minded people.

Translation may therefore build both bridges and barriers between cultures. It has been wondered how easily this can lead to the subjugation of small communities to more dominant influences,[14] implying that translators may have an enormous responsibility in depicting a people or in their building representations "taken as realities in the receptor culture".[15] Paradoxically, although close linguistic transfer is one of the main priorities to deliver knowledge and values, when a specific culture is not properly represented in translation what will suffer most is the target culture, rather than the source one, missing the opportunity to get inside the Other.

In this perspective, reciprocity entails mutual duties and commitment, which, after all, is what should permeate social relations anyway.

3. Sergio Atzeni and the Linguistic Identity

Sergio Atzeni is one of the main interpreters of the Sardinian ethnicity, who developed a narrative style out of the constraints of stereotypes, leading to a dynamic and dialectic model of identity that does not exclude, but rather incorporates the Other, and enhances its peculiarity at the same time. In a famous interview, Atzeni recognized two types of Sardinian literature: one, in the Sardinian language, that does not include any representatives at an international value; and another, in the Italian language, represented by a Nobel prize, Grazia Deledda, and many other excellent writers, such as Antonio Gramsci and Emilio Lussu. He concludes: "Denying they all have a common trait is denying reality. They cannot be defined Italian writers, simply: they are Sardinian writers who wrote in Italian".[16]

Atzeni wrote *Bakunin's son* in 1991. The novel is a collection of thirty-two interviews, released to a young journalist investigating on the controversial figure of Tullio Saba, a man who had had a remarkable role in the social and political changes of his community.

Tullio Saba was born in the 1930s in a small Sardinian village, in the mining area named Marmilla. He was called Bakunin's son, for his father's anarchic ideas. At the end of an adventurous life, a hero for someone, a bandit for others, he would die, lonely and devastated by cancer, in the company of a young housemaid, too ignorant to help him find a last, extreme dignity.

Bakunin's Son was translated by John H. Rugman, an American translator, in 1996. Very little is known about him, nothing about his reasons for dealing with this project. However, a review in Publisher's Weekly[17] describes the book in negative terms, as "a disappointing Italian novel, in brief sections, meant to be interviews with different characters about a man named Tullio Saba".

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[12] Lawrence Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility. A History of Translation*, Second Edition (London and New York: Routledge, 2008).

[13] Maria Tymoczko, *Enlarging Translation, Empowering Translator* (Manchester: Saint Jerome Press, 2007), 4-5.

[14] Tymoczko, *Enlarging Translation, Empowering Translator*, 4-5.

[15] Maria Tymoczko, "Censorship and Self-Censorship in Translation. Ethics and Ideology, Resistance and Collusion", in Eiléan Ní Chuilleanáin, Cormac Ó Cuilleanáin and David Parris, eds., *Translation and Censorship* (Dublin, IE: Four Courts Press, 2009), 41.

[16] Atzeni in Gigliola Sulis, "La scrittura, la lingua e il dubbio sulla verità. Intervista a Sergio Atzeni", *La Grotta della Vipera*, 20.66/67 (1994), 34-41, my translation.

[17] *Publisher's Weekly* (11 March 1996), https://www.publishersweekly. com/9780934977449, accessed 22 March 2021.

The reviewer's opinion is sharp and does not leave much choice about any motivation to read it, apart from a brief hint to Atzeni, recognized as a writer who "cleverly retells Italian history through the recollections of people in numbered interviews".[18]

Margherita Heyer-Caput[19], an Italian researcher, analysed the impact of Rugman's translation on American readers, starting from that blunt definition of a *disappointing Italian novel* expressed in the magazine, and revealed a clear displacement of ethnicity in the target text, that prevented the American readers from receiving the source text ethically:

> An ethnical obliteration that has misinterpreted the ideal extent and the communicative power of his (*Atzeni's*) work in that "symptomatic America" he loved so much as a continent of "emerging minorities".[20]

The choices and strategies Rugman adopted in translating *Bakunin's Son* are various and inconsistent with the general tone of the novel, failing to feature the choral dialogic process that connects the interviews in a political and moral sphere and resulting in differences between the source language and the target one.

4. Methodology

The study has compared the two versions of the novel, in a perspective of ethics of translation and reciprocity, according to the models proposed by Chesterman (2001): ethics of representation, ethics of service, ethics of communication, and norm-based ethics. These substantiate the concept of reciprocity developed through specific choices in translation: not translating; with equivalent translations; with the manipulation of the re-writing process. To this purpose data were collected both comparatively and descriptively, while the source text and the translation have been carefully analysed to identify the most common models of ethics used in the corpus. Examples, from the source text and the target one, have been listed to compare the data, and different models of translation ethics have been determined to find the dominant one. The translation of the selected corpus has been classified according to Chesterman's models of translation ethics:

- ethics of representation, based on loyalty towards the source text, as well as loyalty towards an ethical representation of the Other;

- ethics of service, based on a view of translation as a service and, consequently, the ideals comprised in it as a professional performance (not common in the analyzed texts);

- ethics of communication, based on the principle of enabling communication and cooperation;

- norm-based ethics, based on the idea that norms encode the ethical values held at a particular time, in a particular society, and that ethical behavior corresponds to behaving in agreement with these norms as socially sanctioned expectations.

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[18] Ibid.

[19] Margherita Hayer-Caput, "Itinerari anglo-americani della scrittura di Sergio Atzeni. A Work in Progress", in Sylvie Cocco, Valeria Pala and Pier Paolo Argiolas, eds., *Sergio Atzeni e l'arte di inanellare le parole* (Cagliari: AIPSA, 2014), 118.

[20] Ibid., 118.

The following examples present models of translation ethics extracted from the corpus. Some sentences will refer to omissions in the translation of words/sentences/clauses; some will refer to any alteration of the original sense or structure and, as such, opposed to the ethics of representation. Finally, other parts of the translated text will be shown as literal transpositions of the source language into English, with a marked tendency to change or modify the original punctuation.

5. (Dis)similarities in Translation: *Bakunin's Son* (selected samples)

Source language	Target language	Comment
Ma a Cagliari non conoscete nessuno? (14)	*You know anyone in Cagliari?*	This is not what the interviewee wanted to say. He actually asks: 'don't you know anyone in Cagliari?', and the tone is ironic, when he realizes that the journalist doesn't have any idea who they are talking about.
[…] *che pure insegna l'abbicì, che è più importante che cuocere panadas.* (19)	*Teaching the ABCs is more important than cooking panadas*	The noun 'panadas' is not translated but kept in the original form. The translator seems to ignore what he is talking about, so it is not specified that this is a kind of local pie, filled with fish or meat, very popular in the south of Sardinia.
Avrebbe chiamato in giudizio Benito perché aveva fatto la guerra? E sé stesso per quei cottimi? (62)	*Would the director call Benito Mussolini to trial because he had led us into war? Or would he have persecuted himself for having instituted the piecework system?*	The translator added the dictator's surname, and this helps the reader understand who is referred to. In Italy Benito is Mussolini, but not necessarily in the rest of the world.
Sei curioso di me... (11)	*You are curious about him*	The translator uses a different object pronoun and shifts the interviewer's interest from the interviewee to Tullio.
Tullio Saba era un bambino vanitoso. (18)	*Tullio Saba was a very egotistical child*	The translator changes the adjective, and displaces the sentence from the context, where what was considered was the sudden poverty Tullio had to face and the contrast with his childhood years, when

		he would have the best dresses and shoes.
[…] *girava il mondo come un anticristo.* (21)	[…] *travelled the world like an aristocrat*	The translator changes the meaning of the noun, failing to explain that Bakunin, the Russian revolutionary, represented a dangerous antichrist in the rigidly Catholic society of the time. Aristocrats would not be so dangerous.
Amici per la pelle, ché ognuno dei due volentieri gliela avrebbe fatta all'altro la pelle. (29)	*They were best of friends. The one would have risked his neck to save the other.*	The translator changes the original sense of the sentence, where the writer says that despite friendship there was a hidden rivalry between the two friends, who could have killed each other. The translation gives the reader exactly the opposite idea.
Quando lui lavorava a Bacu Abis, io stavo in campagna. (33)	*While he was out with the army in Africa*	The translator ignores that Bacu Abis is a village in the south of Sardinia, and not in Africa.
Oe no amos ne naves ne portos, ne arsenales che prima vattos. Ai, cantos feridos, cantos mortos, cantos isperdidos, cantos mutilados. Custa fit s'allegria, sos cunfortos, ch'isperaian sos soldados nostros. (36)	*Oe no amos ne naves ne portos, ne arsenales che prima vattos. Ai, cantos feridos, cantos mortos, cantos isperdidos, cantos mutilados. Custa fit s'allegria, sos cunfortos, ch'isperaian sos soldados nostros.*	The text is kept in the original form, in the Sardinian language, no hint at its meaning or at the fact that it was a traditional, melancholic song, describing the mood of the men facing a disastrous imperialistic war. People used to sing it because they could protest against the regime without being understood.
[…] *giocavo in campagna a riconoscere le tracce della lepre, a raccogliere margherite, a nascondermi dietro un albero pensando che ero un'altra, la figlia di un padrone, e che aspettavo il fidanzato, che era ricco e che*	[…] *playing in the countryside, looking for rabbit tracks while I gathered daisies, or maybe playing hide and seek, pretending I was some rich landowner's daughter who would one day be taken away by a handsome prince on a*	The original text speaks about a hare, not a rabbit, much more common in the Sardinian countryside. Moreover, the word order is somewhat different, in the translation the adjective 'rich' refers to the landowner, the father the girl

doveva venire a prendermi con due cavalli…(37)	*horse…*	dreamt of, and not to the fiancée, as in the original text.
Andavano a trovare la vedova, che non aveva voglia di vederli. (45)	*They went to visit the widow, not that they had any interest in seeing her*	The translator changes the sentence subject. Originally it was the widow the one who did not want to meet people, consistently with her mood after the downfall.
Ma si capiva che con me stava bene. (46) .	*But I could tell she wasn't well*	Again, the translation says exactly the opposite of the original text. The woman interviewed describes her good relationship with Donna Margherita, and not her state of health.
[…] *tosse da fumatore incallito e da silicosi.* (53)	[…] *a heavy smoker's cough*	The disease, *'silicosis'*, is omitted, although it was sadly common among miners and could have further emphasized how badly mining work had affected the protagonist's health.
Dopo un'ora buona mandano su un carabiniere semplice, un ragazzo lucano. (62) .	*After a good hour they sent up a carabiniere private, a boy from Lucano*	The boy was 'lucano' because he came from Lucania, an Italian region, not a town.
[…] *arrivai laggiù in colonia, non se ne abbia a male, si diceva così, a quel tempo, e non mancavano le ragioni all'evidenza. Avevo ventisette anni.* (78)	*I was twenty-seven years old when I arrived at Montevecchio. "Don't take it so hard", I'd been told, and right off the bat I could see why.*	The translator changes the word order and the punctuation in the original sentence. He quotes Montevecchio, thus revealing some knowledge of the territory. It was a mining site but also a colony, according to the writer, who wanted to emphasize that even though the resources were local, properties were not. This is not clear in the translation, only focused on the protagonist's regret for his misfortune.

Anche scontando ogni differenza dovuta all'economia di guerra, si trattava pur sempre di un calo vertiginoso, proprio nel momento in cui il mercato riprendeva a tirare verso l'alto e i prezzi salivano. (78-79)	*Even taking into account factors such as the differences between the war economy of a bellicose nation and the post war economy of the defeated one, the decline in productivity was exaggerated, especially at a time when the market tended towards upswing and prices were rising.*	The translator adds a long reflection on the economic trend of the countries involved in the mines business, but this is not in the original text.
Trovai il ritratto dopo due giorni, era in un angolo delle latrine. (80)	*I found that picture in a corner of the bathroom.*	The term used is inconsistent with the described place, a loo and not a bathroom, to make the finding even more humiliating.
Cercavo di immaginare come fosse quel mio padrone. Anche il letto sembrava da vecchio, un letto tutto di ferro smaltato, come quello che c'era nella camera dei miei genitori, nero nero. (111)	*I tried to imagine what my master, the sick man, would be like.*	The description of the man's bedroom has been omitted; he is referred to as a sick man, but this was not said in the original text. Moreover, the translator omitted to compare the man's room to the girl parents', which would have explained how she felt to him.

6. *Bellas Mariposas*

If *Bakunin's son* was Atzeni's personal contribution to the miners' struggles for more human working conditions, *Bellas Mariposas* (2012) is one of Atzeni's best expressions of his belonging to Cagliari and its complicated urban frame. The film is an idea of the Sardinian film director Salvatore Mereu. The main character, Caterina, is an adolescent living in a dysfunctional family, who narrates her story through a long interior monologue. The text is appealing but also embarrassing, Caterina speaks swearing and swears speaking, with very strong and harsh expressions that only those who know the 'cagliaritano' slang can understand. The film opens with two young boys on a motorcycle passing by a mate of their same age and shouting "burdu" at him, i.e. bastard in the Sardinian language. Traditionally, the term is an insult, and, according to both local and national standards, referring to a never established paternity is offensive. However, the expression may imply a different interpretation, devoid of its original meaning, used to tease someone that is not highly estimated but unlikely to be blamed for not having a legitimate father. The translation "*Oh ugly bastard!"* anticipates the difficulties translators must face in subtitling, especially when what must be conveyed is a cultural specificity that might have no equivalence in the target language.

Subtitling is the process of adding a text to moving pictures, giving an allophone community a sense of the language that is being spoken. As such, it simply becomes a practice that consists in presenting a written text, generally on the lower part of the screen, endeavouring to recount the

original dialogues, the discursive elements in the images (letters, inserts, graffiti, inscriptions, placards, and the like), as well as the information contained on the soundtrack (songs, voices off).[21]

As such, subtitles provide a message for interpretation at a multisensorial level, namely the audio- and the visual one. They: "… appear and disappear, to coincide in time with the corresponding portion of the original dialogue and are almost always added to the screen image at a later date as a post-production activity".[22]

However, the comprehension of the message in the source text can be limited in terms of cultural specificity, for the spatial-temporal constrictions inherent in the means itself and that may weaken the semiotic transfer of the spoken language into the written one.[23] As a matter of fact, subtitling works in a limited space ("a maximum of two lines*"[24]*), with a limited number of characters ("forty English letters and spaces"[25]) for each line. The latter also depends on the devices used to watch the product, on the font/type of the letters and on the higher/lower frequency of capital/small letters. Temporal limits are strictly connected to the spatial ones, as well as to the viewers' speed in reading (which, in turn, is linked to other variables such as the viewers' age, education, social rank…). Gottlieb formulated the "12 CpS rule*",* arguing that a subtitle in two lines, comprising thirty-six characters, should stay on the screen for 6 seconds, with an average of twelve characters per second.[26] The calculation is approximated, for the above said variables and for the type of syntactic structures, so the cultural specificities featured in the film require the viewer a variable amount of time to understand. Any failure in translating these cultural specificities, however, implies the risk of *culture bumps,* that is what occurs, in Archer's words: "when an individual has expectations of a particular behaviour within a particular situation and encounters a different behaviour when interacting with an individual from another culture".[27]

Confronting culture bumps, film viewers:

> […] feel disconnected […] and adopt coping strategies to relieve their discomfort. A primary strategy is to attempt to understand the motive for the Other's behavior, assuming this understanding will alleviate the anomie that emanated from the culture bump.[28]

According to Pedersen,[29] retention is the translating strategy that keeps the Target Text closer to the Source Text and culture*,* allowing the cultural specificity to get to the target one unvaried. It is the most popular strategy but does not provide the target viewer with a proper interpreting support. Specification is true to the original text but enriched with information defining the cultural element in the Target Culture or Target Text, with more details than the ones provided in the Source Text. On the other hand, in direct translation, the cultural specificity does not lose the semantic value, because no adaptations or integrations are considered. Generalization is the strategy closer to the target viewer, since the original element is substituted with a more general one, often in combination with a

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[21] Jorge Diaz Cintas, "Subtitling. The Long Journey to Academic Acknowledgement"*, The Journal of Specialised Translation*, 1 (January 2004), 15.

[22] Georg-Michael Luyken, *Overcoming Language Barriers in Television* (Manchester: The European Institute for the Media, 1991), 31.

[23] Jan Pedersen, 2011, *Subtitling Norms for Television. An Exploration Focusing on Extralinguistic Cultural References* (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2011), 18.

[24] Henrik Gottlieb, "Subtitling", in Mona Baker, ed., *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies* (Shanghai, CN: Shanghai Foreign Language Education Press, 2005), 245.

[25] Luyken, *Overcoming*, 43.

[26] Pedersen, *Subtitling*, 20.

[27] Carol M. Archer, *Living with Strangers in the U.S.A..Communicating Beyond Culture* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2012), 17.

[28] Ibid., 335.

[29] Ibid.

translation. In <u>substitution</u> the translator vehiculates the cultural specificity by paraphrasing different cultural-specific elements, either in the target culture or in other transcultural elements. With <u>omission,</u> the translator faces two possible choices, opting for this strategy "responsibly, after rejecting all alternative strategies, or irresponsibly, to save him/herself the trouble of looking up something s/he does not know".[30]

The study will try to identify the cultural specificities interpreted in the subtitled version of *Bellas Mariposas*, in a perspective of ethics and reciprocity of translation, as already argued in the analysis of *Bakunin's Son*. The following are representative samples, where the translator basically resorts to two different strategies: equivalence, depriving the text/subtitle of meaningful references to the local culture; and omission, revealing a total disregard for the specific cultural identity the translating project was expected to represent.

Source Language (Sardo-Cagliaritano)	Target Language (English)	Comment
Ma ita gazzu!	*What the fuck!*	The expression is translated literally. The original sense of fun and irony is not always perceived
Calloni!	*What a jerk!*	Sardinian swearing does not always aim at offending, sometimes it just expresses ironical sympathy
Minca, ita è, mi ollisi lassai a solu?	*Are you leaving me alone, then?*	The reference to the male sexual organ is omitted. Instead, the term is commonly used as a filler word in everyday speech
L'as callonis!	*Don't be a pain!*	The translation is not literal, the reference to male sexual organs is omitted, the ironical expression loses power
Fill'e bagassa!	*Son of a bitch!*	Literal translation, but the regional expression is also used to express amusement and even sympathy
No pighis po culu a mei!	*Don't screw me around!*	The expression has different references. In the local mentality, sodomy is the worst

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[30] Ibid, 9.

		insult.
Cravadiddu in su culu!	*Shove 'em up in your ass!*	Translation is literal but without the ironical hints it originally had.
Sesi calloni!	*You are a dickhead!*	The expression is sympathetic, not always offensive, but the literal translation hides it.
Babbo si fa i cazzi che vuole!	*Dad does what he damn wants!*	The translation is a literal one. In this case the two versions correspond, and the swearword has the same power.
Come minca è che si chiama	*What's his fucking name?*	The male sexual organ is hinted at, the taboo word loses its original sense and becomes just a filling word
Dai, cazzo, siediti!	*C'mon, sit down!*	The filling word is omitted, the expression loses urgency and power
Esti una bagassedda!	*She's a little hooker!*	The swearword in Sardinian does not always refer to moral habits, it is also a term of endearment, quite common in lower classes

As it can be noticed, male sexual organs are constantly referred to (*minca, calloni, is callonis*). The translator occasionally omits the term, in an attempt to lighten up the tones and the atmosphere in the scenes ('*Dai, cazzo, siediti'- C'mon, sit down!; Minca, ita è, mi ollisi lassai a solu - Are you leaving me alone, then?),* or simply because (s)he takes for granted everybody knows what they really mean; in other cases (s)he substitutes the original term with a different (and more orthodox) one (*L'as callonis - Don't be a pain; Calloni! - What a jerk!*), avoiding any references to what the story hints at, the '*cagliaritanità',* or the identification with a complex and unique cultural specificity. These interpretations are justified by the difficulty of the linguistic features implied, at the same time there is no justification for the annihilation of the social reality they connoted. Equally, the direct and mere translation of swear words into their English equivalent corresponding to THAT part of the body or THAT physiological function, is reductive and superficial, and does not convey the peculiar use of the term in the Sardinian language and, in particular, in the variety called '*cagliaritano*'. Expressions like '*sesi calloni', 'fill'e bagassa'* in reality reveal an ironic approach to life, meant to make fun of human flaws, almost tender if pronounced in a specific intonation, but, disappointingly, this does not emerge

in the subtitles. Undeniably, in the transference from a language (particularly a minority one) something gets inevitably lost. For this reason, authors sometimes provide footnotes or glossaries of the most common regional expressions, often even explaining them, to avoid betraying the source text through omissions and substitutions. However, this is possible in narrative texts, not in subtitles, and in this specific example of subtitles for an English-speaking audience the '*cagliaritanità*' (or the geo-specificity) seems to fade away scene after scene, despite the realism of the actors' performance, none of which was a professional.

7. Conclusions

Translation can build a bridge through different languages and cultures, providing the tools for mutual understanding and appreciation of cultural specificities. Too often minor realities have been penalized by misshaped interpretations of these specificities, filtered through stereotypes and prejudices that 'faulty' translations contributed to perpetrate. The analysis of Sergio Atzeni's *Bakunin's son* and *Bellas Mariposas*, translated into English for a more international audience, raises the issue of ethical reciprocity, and the need to establish priorities during any translation process, so as to limit any possible harm to both active parties and passive entities. In this perspective, the three alternatives provided comprised not-translating, equivalent translation and manipulated translation, a model that has been verified, to test its validity, in the only two attempts made so far to translate Atzeni's works, where both the writer and his geo-specificity come to be shared with a wider audience through different media, with remarkably different results. Assuming culture as a dynamic process, any bridge between different realities should integrate values, representations and linguistic features that change from people to people, determining the low 'translatability' of some cultures, and the risk to give the reader/viewer of a target audience a distorted image of a specific text. Admittedly, translators have the specific responsibility to preserve this cultural identity, in an ideal model of reciprocity where texts, languages and cultures may interact at equal levels. A deeper knowledge of specific cultures, maybe some cooperation between the author and the commissioner (when possible) can improve the shortcomings inherent to the text and avoid cultural misunderstandings, as it has been shown in the translation of specificities in *Bakunin's Son* or the swearing in *Bellas Mariposas*, where, although manipulation occasionally proved to enhance the effect of the original expression, it also spoiled and dis-placed the peculiarity of the Source Language at the same time. Therefore, the core of the issue is avoiding harm to the source culture; a literal translation may appear as a clumsy attempt to avoid this risk, but it may also lead to a sterile interaction between communities, where any mutual interest vanishes with the last lines of a text, either in a novel or in a subtitle. If the essence of translation ethics is realizing mutual benefits and minimizing harms, the two works analysed have some merit because they contributed to make the writer known in other parts of the world. From this point of view, it cannot be neglected that, after all, the more visibility is given to other identities, the more cultural common ground can be shaped between our own identity and the identity of the Other.[32] At the same time, omissions and manipulations have levelled specificities in the reception of the target reader or audience, taking for granted that the latter had a previous knowledge of a given people and country. And when reciprocity fails in connecting the two parties, it may only lead to personal assumptions or inferences, which, ethically speaking, is not a minor issue at all.

Mary Wardle

Defining Difference.
Inscribing Linguistic Variation in British and American English Translations

Abstract: While English as a Lingua Franca has been increasingly researched in relation to language pedagogy and typically in commerce, diplomacy, tourism and academia, there is little investigation into how different varieties of English are chosen, promoted, excluded or otherwise dealt with within the publishing industry and, more specifically, within the field of translations into 'English'. This paper provides an overview of the current situation, presenting a wide variety of case studies drawn from contemporary English translations of foreign-language texts, highlighting the many different strategies adopted by the industry on both sides of the Atlantic. One of the recurring characteristics across the corpus is the lack of transparency surrounding the various behaviours: this paper aims to foreground the phenomenon and lay the groundwork for further research.

Keywords: *ELF*, *American English*, *British English*, *nationlects*, *translation*, *publishing industry*

Over the last two decades, there has been a stimulating expansion in research revolving around a number of issues connected to English as a Lingua Franca (ELF). As Barbara Seidlhofer observes, it "is a fascinating object of study in that due to its extremely widespread and frequent use by speakers from a vast number of first languages it affords us the opportunity of observing language contact, variation and change happening in an intensified, accelerated fashion right before our eyes".[1] As discussed by Henry Widdowson, there is a two-way pull, with the cooperative principle on the one hand and the territorial imperative on the other.[2] This dichotomy also underlies Seidlhofer's remarks that in any linguistic interaction "we need to continually modify and fine-tune our language in order to communicate with other people" while "we adjust our language in compliance with the territorial imperative to secure and protect our own space and sustain and reinforce our separate social identity, either as an individual or as a group".[3]

As the use of English expands among non-native speakers, scholars are questioning the long-held aspiration to speak 'authentic' British or American English (BrE, AmE), just as second-language acquisition pedagogists are formulating calls to challenge the authoritative role of inner-circle, native-speaking instructors as gate-keepers to the 'correct' of the language. For the majority of users of ELF today, English represents a means of international communication: in general, little attention is paid to norm-driven grammatical prescription and even less to identification with any of the native-speaking communities. The issue of International English is addressed therefore with reference to both the English Language Teaching (ELT) industry and also the wider spheres where ELF is generally used, typically in commerce, diplomacy, tourism and academia. This paper, however, seeks to investigate the question in relation to the publishing industry within the English-speaking context–the United States and the United Kingdom in particular–and more precisely how native speakers of English relate to the different varieties of the language. It will seek to understand how texts respond to the tension identified above between the cooperative principle and the territorial imperative. Examples

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[1] Barbara Seidlhofer, "Accommodation and the Idiom Principle in English as a Lingua Franca", *Intercultural Pragmatics*, 6.2 (2009), 195.
[2] Henry G. Widdowson, "Learning Purpose and Language Use" (Oxford: Oxford U.P., 1983), 78.
[3] Seidlhofer, *Accommodation*, 196.

analysed will be drawn from works written originally in English before moving to the more specific question of the variety of English adopted for the translation of (literary) texts 'into English'.

The interdependence of co-operation and territoriality can be seen in terms of communication accommodation theory, where convergence, in line with co-operation, is described as "a strategy whereby individuals adapt to each other's communicative behaviors in terms of a wide range of linguistic/prosodic/non-vocal features",[4] with the aim of modifying their own strategies to resemble the patterns of their interlocutor. Although referred to speech acts, a similar tendency can be observed in written discourse, and, more specifically in the domain of translations, where domesticating strategies prevail. Territoriality, on the other hand, implies divergence, "the way in which speakers accentuate speech and non-verbal differences between themselves and others",[5] to differentiate themselves and can be equated in certain circumstances with the translation strategy of foreignization.

Producing different versions for different markets has long been one of the standard practices of the Anglophone publishing market but has received little academic attention. In translation studies, Lawrence Venuti talks of the "regime of fluency" when it comes to the reception of translations, especially in the context of the Anglo-American publishing market, taken as one entity. He quotes a long list of excerpts from reviews of books translated into English, highlighting the dominance of fluency as the most-prized quality. Much evidence does indeed point to the fact that "the effect of transparency conceals the numerous conditions under which the translation is made, starting with the translator's crucial intervention. The more fluent the translation, the more invisible the translator, and, presumably, the more visible the writer or meaning of the foreign text".[6]

In order to achieve the highest degree of fluency, it therefore makes sense for different translations, or, at least, different versions of the same translation to be produced for the various English-speaking territories. Limiting the investigation to the United Kingdom and the United States,[7] it is true to state that, while the linguistic differences are not unsurmountable, they can be obtrusive. In her discussion of various cognitive biases affecting native speakers of BrE and AmE when it comes to their use of language, perhaps the most significant for the present discussion is that which Lynne Murphy terms the "novelty bias", whereby we notice new and unusual linguistic elements, while ignoring the familiar.[8] Any element not belonging to our own particular nationlect, whether purely linguistic or cultural, will be foregrounded. This desire for fluency emerges as a key factor not only in the production of translations but also in English-language source texts in the two principal Anglophone markets and, although, there is no single predominant behaviour to achieve this end, a number of strategies can be observed among the mainstream publishing companies of the United States and the United Kingdom. This article surveys the most common strategies adopted, although they remain a well-kept secret, with very little indication from the imprints themselves or discussion among writers, critics or academics.

The first two categories of Roman Jakobson's famous tripartite division of translation (intralinguistic and interlinguistic–the third being intersemiotic) can be useful here even though he makes no specific reference to shifts from one idiolect/dialect/nationlect to another when he talks of intralingual translation–his emphasis is on such practices as paraphrase and *précis* writing. We can, however, agree with Linda Pillière's assessment that "the term's somewhat loose definition enables us to interpret it as covering a wide range of possibilities from transforming one sociolect into another to

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[4] Howard Giles et al., *Accommodation Theory. Communication, Context, and Consequence* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1991), 63.

[5] Ibid., 65.

[6] Lawrence Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility. A History of Translation* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2002), 1.

[7] The article concentrates on these two territories as they represent the overwhelming proportion of English-language publishers worldwide. According to recent statistics, the US and UK have 30% and 4% of the global book market respectively, while representing only 4.25% and 0.87% of the global population, www.statista.com/statistics/288746/global-book-market-by-region/; www.worldometers.info/world-population/population-by-country/, accessed 10 June 2020.

[8] Lynne Murphy, *The Prodigal Tongue* (London: Oneworld, 2018), 36.

rewriting one dialect in the terms of a different one".[9] The initial part of the paper, therefore, will be dedicated to texts originating in either BrE or AmE and how they can vary (or not) when published on the opposite side of the Atlantic. The first set of publications can be seen almost as the *degré zero* of editorial intervention: the text itself appears in an identical format on both sides of the Atlantic, although most commonly some of the peritextual elements are adapted for the local market. Even when the cover illustration remains the same, the blurb and especially the endorsements and excerpts of favourable criticism feature sources the reader is more likely to be familiar with. There is minimal editorial intervention, limited to spelling, more common in the transfer from BrE to AmE than vice versa. Most changes at his level can be ascribed to the implementation of rules set out in (in-house) style guides adopted by the 'new' imprint. A recent example is that of the dual versions of Sally Rooney's *Conversation with Friends*.[10] The UK edition features two quotes from British newspapers (*The Sunday Times* and *The Sunday Telegraph*) on the front cover, while the US edition quotes *The New Yorker*, as well as adopting American spelling: *humor*, *favorite*, *practice* (v.). To some degree, this intralingual convergence can be seen in the writing process itself: in line with the phenomenon described by Rebecca Walkowitz as the 'Born Translated' novel,[11] the American author Lionel Shriver, who has long resided in the UK, explains how, under pressure from her publishers to achieve a form of linguistic "ethnic cleansing", so that her novels can be published as they stand in all territories, "my characters are required to speak with a colloquial purity at odds with the messy interaction between the two argots that I observe in real life".[12]

Whether it be a series of light-hearted children's books or a text from the literary canon, there are multiple examples of books whose titles have been changed in their journey from the United Kingdom to the United States. On the one hand, therefore, Martin Handford's *Where's Wally?*, for example, begins life in the UK before becoming *Where's Waldo?* in America,[13] whereas Joseph Conrad's 1897 novella *The Nigger of the 'Narcissus'* is published in the same year in America as *The Children of the Sea*, not through any sensibilities over the racist slur in the title but rather because the New York publishers, Dodd, Mead and Company, feared that a book with a black protagonist would not stimulate much interest among the book-buying public–indeed, one American critic commented that the US title "offered evidence of superior refinement".[14] Most Agatha Christie novels have different titles on opposite sides of the Atlantic: *Lord Edgware Dies* becomes *Thirteen at Dinner*[15]; and the complicated case of one of Christie's most famous novels, *Murder on the Orient Express* that was published the same year in America as *Murder in the Calais Coach*[16] to avoid confusion with Graham Greene's novel *Stamboul Train* (1932) which, in turn, had been published in the States as *Orient Express*.[17] A film version of Greene's book, again titled *Orient Express*, came out in America in exactly the same year as Christie's novel and it was felt, therefore, that the similarity could lead to confusion and the

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[9] Linda Pillière, "Conflicting Voices. An Analysis of Intralingual Translation from British English to American English", *E-Rea*, 8.1 (December 2011), 1.

[10] Sally Rooney, *Conversations with Friends* (London: Faber and Faber, 2017); Sally Rooney, *Conversation with Friends, a Novel* (New York: Hogarth, 2018).

[11] Rebecca L. Walkowitz, *Born Translated* (New York: Columbia U.P., 2015).

[12] Lionel Shriver, "Cripes, a Bumbershoot! The Love–Hate Relationship between American and British English", *Times Literary Supplement* (20 April 2018).

[13] Martin Handford, *Where's Wally?* (London: Walker Books, 1987); Martin Handford, *Where's Waldo?* (New York: Candlewick, 2019).

[14] Donald W. Rude and Kenneth W. Davis, "The Critical Reception of the First American Edition of *The Nigger of the 'Narcissus'*", *The Conradian*, 16. 2 (June 1992), 48.

[15] Agatha Christie, *Lord Edgware Dies* (London: Collins, 1933); Agatha Christie, *Thirteen at Dinner* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1933).

[16] Agatha Christie, *Murder on the Orient Express* (London: Collins, 1934); Agatha Christie, *Murder on the Calais Coach* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1934).

[17] Graham Greene, *Stamboul Train* (London: Heinemann, 1932); Graham Greene, *Orient Express* (New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company, 1933).

decision was taken to rename the mystery tale. Examples of the phenomenon in the 'other direction', of original American titles adapted for the UK market, are far less frequent with Louisa May Alcott's second volume, *Little Women II*, published in London as *Good Wives*,[18] a notable exception.

There are many cases also where the text itself undergoes varying degrees of editorial intervention to avoid features that might prove jarring for the non-local reader. The novel *Bridget Jones' Diary* is very clearly set in England and the author/publishers are keen to maintain the Britishness that is at the centre of Bridget's character–*flat* and *coriander* have been maintained–rather than *apartment* and *cilantro*–and even references to celebrities that an American is unlikely to know ("Una threw herself across the room like Will Carling"–a famous rugby player) have been maintained.[19] The behaviour is somewhat idiosyncratic however with *shopping trolley* swapped for *shopping cart*, the British actress Joanna Lumley being substituted with Goldie Hawn and, when Bridget charts her weight, her *9st3* has become *129lbs*. A more high-profile example and systematic treatment is that reserved for J.K. Rowling's *Harry Potter* novels, where the first volume of the saga, published by Bloomsbury, appeared in its original UK format as *Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone* while the title was adjusted to *Harry Potter and the Sorcerer's Stone* by the US publisher Scholastic for the North American market.[20] Most BrE spellings and lexical items have been replaced with AmE equivalents: 'packet of crisps' becomes 'bag of chips', 'dustbin' is now 'trashcan', 'gummy' is rendered with 'toothless' and 'shan't' is converted to 'won't'.

Texts can also appear in different formats in conformity with different moral or ethical sensibilities. While the two editions presently available of Rosamond Lehmann's controversial 1936 novel *The Weather in the Streets* differ only in punctuation–the *cherry-coloured curtains* have not become *cherry-colored drapes*–the 1936 editions tell another story. The excerpt below narrates the scene of Olivia's miscarriage. All the parts in italics were omitted by the London publishers but remained in the New York edition:

> She heard herself say clearly:
> "I'm having a miscarriage."
> "Shall I get a doctor?"
> "Yes… Quick."
> He went hurtling down the stairs.
> She cried out, on a tag-end of breath:
> "Don't be long!"
> He wouldn't have heard.
> *Alone. Must get down to the bathroom. I can get there… because I will…. She accomplished it, in one rigid flight. Don't lock the door… in case I die in here….*
> *Mother, Kate, - oh, Kate!...Rollo!... "Don't tell them," I should have said to Ivor…. "Just say love, sorry…." I won't die. "Say to Rollo…."*
> *She died and presently came back to life lying on the pale blue linoleum. How cold, and the smell of oilcloth….She crawled out, up the stairs, on her hands and knees, reached the bed; crouched down beside it, her head buried against it, as if in an ecstasy of bedtime prayer…. Can't be found like this…. An ultimate effort heaved her on to the mattress, rolled her down flat, motionless, extinct, between the sheets.*[21]

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[18] Louisa May Alcott, *Little Women II* (New York: Roberts Brothers, 1869); Louisa May Alcott, *Good Wives* (London: J. Nisbet, 1890).

[19] Helen Fielding, *Bridget Jones' Diary* (London: Picador, 1997), 38; Helen Fielding, *Bridget Jones' Diary* (New York: Berkley Publishing, 1997).

[20] J. K. Rowling, *Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone* (London: Bloomsbury, 1997); J. K. Rowling, *Harry Potter and the Sorcerer's Stone* (New York: Scholastic, 1998).

[21] Rosamond Lehmann, *The Weather in the Streets* (London: Collins, 1936), 286; Rosamond Lehmann, *The Weather in the Streets* (New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, 1936), 322. For a more detailed discussion of this text and its translations into

Moving away temporarily from literary texts, we can observe that the same phenomenon is present in other forms of discourse. Tim Harford's bestselling non-fiction book *The Undercover Economist*, illustrating economic principles for the general reader, is a case in point. In a private communication, the British author explains how he first wrote part of the text while living in London— "and some of the scenes speak very clearly about that experience." Having moved to Washington DC, he signed contracts with both UK and US publishers and proceeded to rewrite parts of the text, adapting the UK book for the US reader. While there is nothing in the paratext of either edition (including listings on Amazon or other websites) to suggest that the two books are different in any way, the following example highlights the reworking. Here Harford is explaining how train-station coffee stalls make their profit. In the edition written for the UK, he establishes London's Waterloo Station as his site of enquiry, not so in the US version:

UK version	US version
In this oasis, rare delights are served with smiles by attractive and exotic men and women–today, a charming barista whose name badge reads 'Jacinta'.	In this oasis, rare delights are served with smiles by attractive and exotic men and women–today, a charming barista whose name badge reads '*Maria*'.
I am thinking, of course, of the AMT coffee kiosk.	I am thinking, of course, of *Starbucks*.
Even if you've never heard of AMT coffee, you'll know exactly what I'm talking about.	
	The café is placed, inescapably, at the exit to International Square. This is no quirk of Farragut West: the first storefront you will pass on your way out of nearby Farragut North Metro is–another Starbucks.
You find the same kind of thing all over the planet–and catering to the same desperate commuters.	You find *such conveniently located coffee shops* all over the planet and catering to the same desperate commuters.

Table 1: Excerpt from *The Undercover Economist* (2006), Tim Harford. [22]

Waterloo Station has been substituted with Farragut West, a metro station in Washington, along with the barista's name and the coffee chain she works for. Although the point being made by Harford is the same, the standing of AMT and Starbucks within their respective cultures is not and we can observe how the discourse has been modified to accommodate the fact that one operates out of kiosks while the other is typically present as shops and that they enjoy differing levels of notoriety. The requirement that readers should recognize the cultural references as familiar to their own constituency has dictated the intralingual adaptation of the text, or what might be called a localization of the book for the US market. The cultural references, the prices, the place names have all been adapted to resonate with an American audience. Harford, who also writes a regular column in the *Financial Times*, explained: "Because I have lived in both the UK and US—and my newspaper column is

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French and Italian see Mary Wardle, "Same Difference? Translating 'Sensitive' Texts", *Vertimo Studijos*, 10 (January 2017), 120-34.
[22] Tim Harford, *The Undercover Economist* (London: Abacus, 2006), 6; Tim Harford, *The Undercover Economist* (New York: Random House, 2007), 3-4. The differences are highlighted in italics in the US version.

published in both countries—I try to bear both audiences in mind in my writing".[23] It is also worth noting that when two such different versions of the 'same' text co-exist, there can also be significant implications for any subsequent translations depending on which 'original' version is taken as the source text for the translator to work from? The French, German and Italian translations of Harford's book are all based on the US source text, while the Spanish translation has been carried out on the UK original. But more of interlingual translation shortly.

The marked cultural adaptation of Harford's book is, in many ways, reminiscent of certain audiovisual remakes, again usually of UK products remade for the US market. Concepts such as *cultural discount* – the reduction in value of a film or TV programme when it is being sold to an external market–or *cultural proximity*–the desire of audiences to see or hear media products from their own or similar cultures[24]–frequently used in communication studies, can help bring into focus the parallel with the cooperation/territoriality and the domestication/foreignization debates addressed earlier. While Acland identifies a "loss of cultural specificity" as one of the side-effects of the global "geographic mobility of cultural commodities",[25] the pressures of cultural proximity have occasioned culturally-specific adaptations of a number of TV programmes, for example, which Translation Studies would identify as being heavily domesticating: alongside reality TV and game shows, where different countries produce local versions based on one original format (e.g. *Big Brother*, *Who Wants to be a Millionaire?*, *MasterChef*, etc.), there is an increasingly long list of original UK TV series that are remade for US audiences (*The Office*, *Broadchurch*, *Shameless*, *Skins*, etc.). As with the literary examples, there are many fewer cases of transfers in the opposite direction, with British audiences far more tolerant of American products–the phenomenon, originating in the commercial imbalance between the two territories, with America producing on a much larger scale, both books and audiovisual products, becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy: the more the UK audience is exposed to US material, the more familiar they become with American vernacular and cultural references and, therefore, accepting of the influx.

If we now turn our attention to interlingual translation, we can again observe an array of different strategies adopted by Anglophone imprints producing translations 'into English'. The extremely successful *Neapolitan Novels* by Italian author Elena Ferrante, for example, are translated into English by Ann Goldstein for the New York company, Europa Editions, who, according to their website, aim "to bring fresh international voices to the American and British markets". The publishers, therefore, deliberately mention both audiences, presumably to broaden their appeal as much as possible, and yet only produce one single edition.[26] On the first page of the first novel, *My Brilliant Friend*, the phrase *she's gotten worse* clearly puts an AmE stamp on the language, reinforced by a quick succession of *cell phone*, *closet* and *apartment* where a British reader would expect *mobile (phone)*, *wardrobe* and *flat*; spelling is American (*odor*, *gray*, *neighborhood*); cultural references rely on knowledge of American society (*Lila appeared in my life in first grade*). The front cover of both editions carries an endorsement from *The New York Times Book Review*.

A different strategy is that used for the English translations of Haruki Murakami, many of which are carried out for Vintage by either Philip Gabriel or Jay Rubin, both American. The editions for the two territories have different artwork on the covers and the endorsements are from national press in each case. Despite it being the same publishing company and the same author, the strategies themselves are not homogenous. While Gabriel's translation of *What I Talk About When I talk About Running* is identical in the US and UK,[27] with standard AmE throughout, Rubin's translation of

[23] Personal communication.

[24] Joseph Straubhaar and Robert LaRose, *Media Now. Communications Media in the Information Age* (Belmont: Wadsworth, 2000), 488.

[25] Charles Acland, *Screen Traffic. Movies, Multiplexes, and Global Culture* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 33.

[26] Elena Ferrante, *My Brilliant Friend* [2011], trans. by Ann Goldstein (New York: Europa Books, 2012.

[27] Haruki Murakami, *What I Talk About When I Talk About Running* [2007], trans. by Philip Gabriel (London: Vintage, 2009);

Norwegian Wood, on the other hand, has been edited for the British readership: "People began unlatching their seatbelts and pulling baggage from the storage bins ..." becomes "People began unfastening their seatbelts and pulling luggage from the overhead lockers ...".[28]

Another translation that appears unaltered in both Anglophone editions is William Weaver's version of Carlo Emilio Gadda's *That Awful Mess on the Via Merulana*. In the Foreword to his translation in the 1965 edition, Weaver points out how the novel is "a teeming canvas of Roman life, many of whose characters speak the city's expressive, but not always elegant dialect" and explains that this could not be rendered in translation, "[s]o the English-speaking reader is therefore asked to imagine the speech of Gadda's characters, translated here into *straightforward spoken English*, as taking place in dialect, or in a mixture of dialects".[29] The book itself, including the dialogue, is written however in straightforward American English (*the homicide squad*, *braids*, *traveled*, *center*, *flavor*, etc.), although admittedly not heavily marked. But this is the point: when writing in English, the translator is obliged to use either one nationlect or the other. There is no such thing as a neutral form of English. One of Weaver's many other prestigious translations from Italian provides an example of yet another strategy: he translated Italo Calvino's collection of short stories, *Cosmicomiche*, for publication in New York and this same translation, with AmE spelling and lexis, continued to be published on both sides of the Atlantic for over forty years, until 2010, when Penguin in London produced a new edition of *The Complete Cosmicomics*, containing a one-page 'Note on the Translations', stating somewhat enigmatically, "The two volumes translated by William Weaver were originally published in America; for this edition, minor changes have been made to anglicize the text and standardize presentation, together with minor emendations to a sentence in certain stories to reflect the original Italian".[30] On closer inspection, it transpires that 'anglicize', here, means 'to adjust spelling and lexis for British readers': from present research, this is one of the few examples of AmE being adapted to BrE.

If we then look at a further classic Calvino text, the plot thickens even more with seemingly hybrid editorial behaviours. *Palomar* was translated, again by Weaver, into AmE as *Mr. Palomar* and also appears in the UK in a BrE edition (*Mr Palomar*, without the punctuation mark): on close inspection, the situation soon reveals itself as more complex, with what appears to be idiosyncratic editing of basic nationlect features (*color*, *meter* and *gray* all remain as they are, while *toward* does gain a final *s* in the BrE edition and Palomar's honorific is adapted throughout as in the title) and evidence of changes that go beyond these features, as illustrated by the following paragraph (again changes are highlighted in the BrE version with italics):

> But isolating one wave is not easy, separating it from the wave immediately following, which seems to push it and at times overtakes it and sweeps it away; and it is no easier to separate that one wave from the preceding wave, which seems to drag it toward the shore, unless it turns against the following wave, as if to arrest it.

> *But it is very difficult to isolate one wave*, separating it from the wave immediately following *it*, which seems to push it and at times overtakes it and sweeps it away*; just as it is difficult* to

Haruki Murakami, *What I Talk About When I Talk About Running* [2007], trans. by Philip Gabriel (New York: Vintage, 2009).
[28] Haruki Murakami, *Norwegian Wood* [1987] trans. by Jay Rubin (New York: Vintage, 2000), 1; Haruki Murakami, *Norwegian Wood* [1987], trans. by Jay Rubin (London: Vintage, 2001), 1-2.
[29] Carlo Emilio Gadda, *That Awful Mess on the Via Merulana* [1957] trans. by William Weaver (New York: George Braziller, 1965), xv. Emphasis added.
[30] Italo Calvino, *The Complete Cosmicomics* [1965], trans. by William Weaver, Martin McLaughlin and Tim Parks (London: Penguin Books, 2010), xxv. For further discussion of this example, see Mary Wardle, "One Size Fits All? Varieties of English and ELF in Translation", in Michal Organ, ed., *Translation Today. National Identity in Focus* (Berlin: Peter Lang, 2020), 79-89.

separate that one wave from the *wave that precedes it and seems* to drag it *towards* the shore, unless it turns against *its follower* as if to arrest it.[31]

As in many other similar circumstances, the paratextual elements shed no light on how these incongruities appear in what is to all intents and purposes, at least as far as the reader is concerned, 'the same translation'. Depending on the size of the publishing company responsible for the translation, the number of steps that lead to the actual publication can vary enormously. In a large company, a typical procedure, once the final draft of the translation has been submitted by the translator, might include the intervention of a production editor, responsible for scheduling and managing the production process in its entirety, from preparing the manuscript for typesetting through to finding a printer and a copy editor. The latter would then work on the manuscript, at a micro level, checking the details of spelling, punctuation and grammar, vouching for the accuracy of references and quotations as well as ensuring that any house-style is followed. The text would then move on to a line editor who reads the manuscript, concentrating more on the overall style, adjusting any odd or awkward phrases and generally addressing the readability of the text. Once all these phases have been completed, the text can be sent to a proof-reader and then on to a typesetter. In smaller publishing companies, a number of these tasks might be carried out by the same person and sometimes, especially proofreading, by the author/translator themselves. No matter how these steps are distributed, however, it is still a complex procedure during which, for a whole variety of reasons, adjustments are constantly being made to the initial manuscript.[32] With no indication given in the book itself, therefore, it is impossible to know with any degree of certainty who is responsible for deciding to edit the translation and who, subsequently, carries out the task. Anecdotal evidence suggests that a number of different figures can be involved but, most frequently, the changes are ascribable to editorial roles rather than translators themselves.

The following example is similar to that of Weaver's translation of *Palomar*, but even more startling, and concerns the English translation of Michel Houellebecq's *Les Particules élémentaires*, carried out by the Irish translator Frank Wynne. It appeared first in the UK as *Atomised* and later the same year in the US as *The Elementary Particles*. At the time of its publication in the UK, the novel was yet to attain its near cult status among a certain sector of the French (and subsequently, international) reading public but was very well received despite–or perhaps because of–its controversial themes. In view of this increasing success, as Vintage were about to publish the BrE translation in the US, they opted to edit the text further, resulting in a version that, in some parts, reads very differently from the translation published in London. The following excerpt is taken from the opening chapter:

French source text	British target text	American target text (p. 17)
Il avait travaillé dans un environnement privilégié, songea-t-il en démarrant à son tour.	He felt privileged to have worked here, he thought as he pulled out into the street.	He felt privileged to have worked here, he thought as he pulled out into the street.
À la question: « Estimez-vous, vivant à Palaiseau, bénéficier d'un environnement privilégié? », 63% des	When asked 'Do you feel privileged to live in an area like Palaiseau?', 63 per cent of respondents answered 'Yes'.	When asked "Do you feel privileged to live in an area like Palaiseau*?"* *sixty-three percent* of respondents answered "Yes."

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[31] Italo Calvino, *Mr. Palomar* [1983], trans. by William Weaver (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1985), 3; Italo Calvino, *Mr Palomar* [1983], trans. by William Weaver (London: Martin Secker and Warburg, 1985), 3.

[32] Linda Pillière, "Re-Working Translations for the American Reader or the Domestication of British English Translations", *Palimpsestes*, 26 (October 2013), 46.

habitants répondaient: « Oui. »		
Cela pouvait se comprendre; les bâtiments étaient bas, entrecoupés de pelouses.	It was hardly surprising: the buildings were on a human scale, surrounded by lush green lawns.	*This* was hardly surprising: the buildings *were low, interspersed with lawns.*
Plusieurs hypermarchés permettaient un approvisionnement facile;	There were several supermarkets conveniently nearby <u>for shopping</u>.	Several supermarkets *were* conveniently nearby.
la notion de qualité de vie semblait à peine excessive, concernant Palaiseau.	The phrase 'quality of life' seemed to have been coined for such a place.	The phrase "quality of life" *hardly seemed excessive* for such a place.
En direction de Paris, l'autoroute du Sud était déserte. Il avait l'impression d'être dans un film de science-fiction néo-zélandais, vu pendant ses année d'étudiant :	The motorway back into Paris was deserted and Djerzinski felt like a character in a science-fiction film he had seen at university:	The *expressway* back into Paris was deserted, and Djerzinski felt like a character in a science fiction film *he'd* seen *at the* university:
le dernier homme sur Terre, après la disparition de toute vie.	the last man on earth after every other living thing had been wiped out.	the last man on earth after every other living thing had been wiped out.
Quelque chose dans l'atmosphère évoquait une apocalypse sèche.	A post-apocalyptic wasteland.	*Something in the air evoked a dry apocalypse.*

Table 2: Excerpt from *Atomised*/*The Elementary Particles* (2000), Michel Houellebecq, trans. by Frank Wynne. [33]

While some of these changes derive from relatively straightforward editorial choices (writing numbers out in letters, substituting *motorway* with *expressway*), it is a more complex task to hypothesize what has motivated the other choices. It is clear that the 'new' US version is closer to a source-oriented translation of the French, but it is not clear why this was judged to be a more suitable choice for the US market in particular, especially in light of the favourable reception of Wynne's translation in the UK press.[34] Adding to the confusion surrounding the status of these translations, the title page of the US edition clearly credits Frank Wynne as the translator and the copyright page reads "This translation was first published in the United Kingdom under the title *Atomised*". A little further down on the same page, however, we learn: "[t]he publisher wishes to thank Asya Muchnick for her comprehensive assistance in translating and editing this text." No further explanation is provided, and I have found no discussion of these 'incongruities' in the press or in academic papers.

The question of what passes as 'the English translation' is indeed a murky one: publishing companies appear to conspire to fudge the edges over these, at times, invasive editing practices. There are occasional examples of translators discussing their adaptations of BrE translations for the US

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[33] Michel Houellebecq, *Atomised* [1999] trans. by Frank Wynne (London: Vintage, 2000), 12; Michel Houellebecq, *The Elementary Particles* [1999] trans. by Frank Wynne (New York: Alfred A Knopf, 2000), 17.
[34] I am grateful to Frank Wynne for taking the time to go through the events surrounding publication with me. There had been one negative assessment of the translation in a letter published in the *Times Literary Supplement* but this does not seem to justify such drastic modification to a translation that had otherwise been much praised.

market,[35] but, on the whole, the changes appear to be the work of editors and the publishing companies do very little to draw attention to such practices. As mentioned at the beginning of this article, these different versions for the US and UK markets can be seen as a form of intralingual translation but there is also a case for stating that, in their hybridity, they display some of the features of retranslations. The fact that more than one translation exists for the same source text is, of course, not surprising in itself, with retranslation now the focal point of much research within the field of translation studies. As a text gains literary recognition, and as long as there are no copyright issues, it is not uncommon to find that the number of translations increases, with publishing companies keen to include the title in their respective catalogues. There is indeed a reciprocal process whereby, on the one hand, a text entering the literary canon will produce retranslations and, on the other, the production of retranslations will confirm the text's canonical status. While it is beyond the scope of this paper to provide a detailed analysis of the many reasons occasioning retranslations, one specific point would appear particularly pertinent in the present context, as far as AmE and BrE editions of the same translation are concerned and this is Koskinen and Paloposki's concept of supplementarity,[36] whereby each retranslation attempts to carve out its own individual niche within the market, appealing to different constituencies (general readership, scholarly press, young adult market, low cost publication, etc.).

Although Venuti's concept of invisibility is something that has now been internalized by the translation studies community, in the case of retranslations we find perhaps one of the rare occasions where attention is drawn to the fact that the text as it is being presented was not in fact written in this language. Publishing companies are surprisingly eager to point out that these are new translations, where new implies better. Paratextual elements draw comparisons to earlier versions, captions are added to book covers, as are prefaces and notes within the epitext, often written by the translator themselves; there are comments in publicity materials and remarks in reviews. When we move to translations newly-edited for the diverse nationlects of English, however, this no longer seems to be the case. The shroud of invisibility is once again thrown over the translation process and the manipulation that the text has undergone. In the cases discussed here, as we have seen, the divergence between the versions is very rarely brought to the attention of the readership but is presumably carried out following guidelines that adhere to some of the same criteria that determine the supplementarity paradigm in retranslation, attempting to fit the text somehow to its target audience.

Returning to Murphy's concept of novelty bias, it is clear that, as readers, we are more inclined to notice those features that do not belong to our own linguistic variety. It is that which is 'different' that stands out to us. In the note to her English retranslation of Louis Guilloux's 1935 novel *Le Sang noir*, the American translator and poet Laura Marris comments: "the language of the translation can't lose too much of its sense of place by sounding like it belongs in any particular English-speaking culture", pointing out that the earlier translation by Samuel Putnam, published back in 1936, "uses quite a few British English expressions–"old boy" and "old chap" or "By Jove!"–that now seem odd in a French setting".[37] It is worth noting that perhaps the 'oddness' of these three examples, for anyone, is attributable to their being dated and old-fashioned just as much as to their sounding too British to an American ear. Marris, therefore, advocates a more neutral, unmarked form of English. It might come as a surprise, therefore–certainly to a British reader–to find the following in the first two pages of her retranslation: 'what did she come in here for?' (*what had she come in here for?*), 'a pile of grading' (*a pile of marking*), 'it had only made them snicker' (*snigger*), 'she'd gotten married' (*she'd got*

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[35] For example, Richard Dixon, "Playing on Words. Challenges in Translating Umberto Eco's *Numero zero*" *Signata*, 7 (2016), 377-390.

[36] Kaisa Koskinen and Outi Paloposki, "Retranslations in the Age of Digital Reproduction", *Cadernos de Tradução*, 11.1 (2003),19-38.

[37] Laura Marris, "A Note on the Translation", in Louis Guilloux *Blood Dark* (New York: New York Review of Books, 2017), xiii–xiv.

married), 'he finally quieted' (*he finally went quiet*), 'the neighborhood' (*the neighbourhood*).[38] Alice Kaplan is perhaps closer to the mark, in her introduction to Marris' translation, when she observes how "she has brought *Blood Dark* to life for the American reader" while dismissing Putman's first translation as being written in "the 'mid-Atlantic style' then in vogue, neither American nor English, supposedly pleasing to readers in both countries but actually quite lost at sea".[39]

For the point here is that, in the context of a French novel, set in France, a British reader will be more or less inclined to accept foreignizing elements deriving from the French original, whereas the elements of AmE become confusing and jarring. This example from Guilloux, while based on two separate translations, is however symptomatic of the practice described throughout this article. For a British reader of the Ferrante novels, there is an unintentional sense of dislocation that is added to the text: the first distance is created by the Italian setting–presumably expected by the reader and even part of the pleasure of reading a work originating in a different culture–but the second sense of distance is represented by the language itself, that constantly creates episodes of interference for non-American readers of English. The changes to the texts–in the case of intralingual shifts – and to the translations – for the interlingual versions–are presumably carried out to remove the interference, to allow the language to be as neutral as possible to the reader of each particular nationlect and allow any foreignizing strategies specific to the source text and its translation to come to the surface. This desire to create a 'fluent' reading experience can also be observed, typically, in the production of edited works of one single author that have, however, been translated by multiple translators, both British and American. As discussed in Wardle,[40] *The Complete Works of Primo Levi*, edited by Ann Goldstein (2015) adapts BrE translations to AmE norms, to 'homogenize' the collection. Another similar example is that of the English-language translation of Giacomo Leopardi's *Zibaldone* (2013) that consists of over 2,500 pages, translated by a team of seven translators, both British and American. As all the translators were working on one single work, linguistic uniformity was of paramount concern and, accordingly, the editors issued the translators with a set of guidelines regarding lessical choices but also the indication that American English should be adopted throughout.[41]

From the evidence examined so far, it emerges that publishing companies adopt a range of strategies when it comes to making a choice between the two main varieties of English. There is little systematic academic analysis of the phenomenon and the few comments to be found, mostly in paratexts, can appear somewhat haphazard and even at odds with the texts they refer to: those who claim to be using 'standard English' or 'neutral language' appear insensitive to linguistic features external to their own nationlect and, at times, betray a non-awareness of the impact that the 'wrong' variety of English can have. Given the emotive nature of the question—if we believe that our (national) identity is, at least in part, reflected in our (regional) voice— and in the absence of a truly 'international' form of English, the choice of nationlect in English writing and in English-language translations in particular, can produce an effect whereby a native speaker ends up as an 'outsider' to their own language. Depending on the reader, therefore, the same translation can be at once transparent and domesticating on the one hand and draw attention to itself and the translation process in general on the other. As this initial survey illustrates, there is no standardized behaviour, with a variety of factors no doubt influencing the strategy of the publishing companies, almost case by case. Among the variables encountered are the text type, the likelihood of the text being a commercial success, which variety of English the ST is translated into initially. As the next stage of this project, it would be useful to compile a database to record these strategies, to bestow some statistical significance on the findings. It would also be interesting to investigate, for example, the impact of the era of the translations, the source language, the fame or otherwise of the authors and translators

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[38] In brackets, a BrE equivalent that a British reader might expect.
[39] Alice Kaplan, "Introduction", in Louis Guilloux *Blood Dark* (New York: New York Review of Books, 2017), x.
[40] Wardle, *One Size*.
[41] I am grateful to Franco D'Intino – editor of the English translation, together with Michael Caesar – for this information.

involved, the commercial and/or critical success of the books in question. It is certainly time to bring the question out of the shadows.

François Maniez

Use of English loanwords containing V-ING type forms in French and Italian

Abstract: Words starting with a verb root and ending with the *-ing* morpheme feature prominently among words borrowed from English in many Indo-European languages. Using the multilingual alignments of the Europarl corpus[1], we studied the use of terms and expressions containing a word beginning with a verb base and ending with the *-ing* morpheme (e.g. *benchmarking*, *gender mainstreaming*) in French and Italian, which seemed to exhibit a lesser degree of resistance than French for many such forms (*roaming*, *doping*, *overbooking*, *trading*), while others are used as translation equivalents for other English words (e.g. *mobbing* for *harassment*).We also compared usage with that observed in the Leipzig Web corpora, which confirmed a higher frequency of use for some *-ing* loanwords in Italian than in French, while no such difference was observed for other *-ing* nouns that are widely used in both languages (*marketing*, *dumping*, *e-learning*).

Keywords: *borrowing*; *corpus*; *Europarl*; *-ING morpheme*; *neology*; *Romance languages*

1. Introduction

Many new terms created by borrowing English words in Romance languages contain a word beginning with a verb base and ending with the *-ing* morpheme. Even though very few research articles have so far focused exclusively on *-ing* loanwords, the morpheme is always listed among the most productive sources of borrowing from English in French and Italian. In their recent report on the *Néoveille* project, Cartier et al.[2] identified 22,475 new word forms (types) in a 92-million-word corpus of contemporary journalistic French (2015-2017). Among borrowings (which represented 18,19% of all tokens) there were no fewer than 303 lexical items ending in *-ing*, accounting for 21,3% of all borrowings in the corpus. The authors note that the *-ing* morpheme has gradually made its way into the French language for over a century, originally through metonymic transformations in which places (parking, camping, dancing) were named after an English word referring to a process. They also remark that the competing suffix *-age* confines use of the *-ing* morpheme to specific sports (*running, beatboxing, snorkeling, cardiotraining*), trade-related vocabulary (*networking, packaging, branding, fact-checking, coworking, crowdfunding*) or 'socio-cultural' activities (*bashing, ghosting, pet-sitting*) which have no synthetic equivalents in French. Sports and Women's magazines are the two domains in which the authors record the highest number of new lexical items, a fact which is reflected by two examples mentioned in Gazzardi and Vásquez'[3] their taxonomic approach to the use of English in the Italian media, *linea per il grooming* ('grooming line') and *running* (in the question *Fai running?* used in the headline of an article describing trendy sports gear).

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[1] Jörg Tiedemann, "News from OPUS – A collection of multilingual parallel corpora with tools and interfaces", in Nicolas Nicolov et al., eds., *Recent Advances in Natural Language Processing V. Selected Papers from RANLP 2007* (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2009), 237-248.

[2] Emmanuel Cartier, et al. "Détection automatique, description linguistique et suivi des néologismes en Corpus. Point d'étape sur les tendances du Français contemporain, *SHS Web of Conferences*, 46 (2018). EDP Sciences.

[3] Antonella Gazzardi and Camilla Vasquez, "A Taxonomic Approach to the Use of English in the Italian Media", *World Englishes*, 2020.

In her study on the influence of English on Italian in the field of economics, Musacchio[4] notes that use of such hybrid compounds as *agenzie di rating*, *società di outsourcing* or *trading di derivati* shows that in spite of the incorporation of such *-ing* borrowings into Italian, word formation mechanisms that are typical of Romance languages (such as use of a prepositional phrase) still prevail over the English head modification model based on word juxtaposition. Renner and Fernández-Domínguez[5] focus on false anglicisms in French, Spanish and Italian and record a high number of *-ing* word forms (*dribbling*, *footing*, *forcing*, *franchising*, *outing*), noting that they might alternately be classified as instances of affixation or direct borrowings of English forms which have acquired a new meaning in the receiving language.

Such loanwords very often stimulate the neological process, as new words using the lexical stock of the receiving language are coined. However, national institutions in countries such as France have tried to stem the tide of such borrowings by suggesting alternative words through commissions whose work is funded by the French Ministry of Culture (*Commission Générale de Terminologie et de Néologie,* henceforth CGTN). Widespread use of the coinages that result from the commissions' work may follow, in which case dictionaries will eventually reflect their adoption by the general public sometime after their implantation has started. For instance, Humbley[6] reports that only *brainstorming* was included in the 1986 version of the *Petit Robert* dictionary, while both *brainstorming* and *remue-méninges* (the term recommended by the CGTN) were included in the 2007 version of the same dictionary with cross-references to each other. Entries for the new words coined by the commission typically provide a definition as well as the foreign word they are supposed to replace. Here is the entry for the word *remue-méninges* taken from the *Vocabulaire de l'économie et des finances*[7] that was published in 2006 by the CGTN:[8]

> **remue-méninges,** n.m.
> ♦ *Définition :* Technique de groupe destinée à stimuler l'imagination des participants en vue de leur faire produire le maximum d'idées dans le minimum de temps. ♦ *Équivalent étranger:* brainstorming. Source: *Journal officiel* du 22 septembre 2000.

Many real (*listing*, *shopping*) and spurious English borrowings (*footing, surbooking*) coexist with the officially recommended terms, whose implantation has met with varying degrees of success. For instance, the French equivalents suggested for *opinion shopping* (chalandage de firmes d'audit) and *treaty shopping* (chalandage fiscal) in the Journal Officiel of 22/09/2000 respectively returned a little over 100 and 3,000 hits when queried on the Google search engine almost twenty years after they were first suggested by the CGTN.

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[4] Maria Teresa Musacchio, "The Influence of English on Italian. The Case of Translations of Economics Articles", *In and Out of English. For Better, for Worse* (2005), 71-96.

[5] Vincent Renner and Jesus Fernandez-Dominguez, "False Anglicization in the Romance Languages. A Contrastive Analysis of French, Spanish and Italian", in Cristiano Furiassi and Henrik Gottlieb, eds., *Pseudo-English : Studies on False Anglicisms in Europe* (Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 2015), 147.

[6] John Humbley, "Emprunts, vrais et faux, dans le *Petit Robert 2007*", In J. Pruvost, ed., *Les Journées des dictionnaires de Cergy : Dictionnaires et mots voyageurs. Les 40 ans du Petit Robert, de Paul Robert à Alain Rey*, (Herblay: Éditions des Silves), 221-238.

[7] *Vocabulaire de l'économie et des finances* (2006), http://fr.scribd.com/doc/120507304/Vocabulaire-de-l%E2%80%99economie-et-des-finances.

[8] *Cent termes français du vocabulaire technique recommandés par la CGTN* (2004, MCC, DGLFLF), www.dglflf.culture.gouv.fr/publications/vocabulaires/100termes.pdf.

The frequent use of the *-ing* morpheme in Romance language neology has been attributed to its nominalizing function[9]. It should however be noted that many uses of such borrowings in French are singular or truncated forms that are not considered as acceptable in standard English (*un jogging* for *a jogging suit*, *un parking* for *a parking lot, un passing* for *a passing shot*). Some English words have also taken on new meanings in French (dated Fr. *footing* for *jogging*), while some French words use verb bases that exist in English, as is the case for *forcing* and *pressing*, two terms from the field of sport which have now passed into general language and are very often used in conjunction with the verb *faire* (*faire le forcing/pressing*). Here is the etymology and history section devoted to the word *forcing* in the online edition of the *Trésor de la Langue Française*[10] (henceforth TLF):

> **forcing:** [**Étymol. et Hist.** 1916 boxe; 1953 au fig. « effort intensif ». Empr. à l'angl. *forcing,* subst. verbal du verbe *to force* se rattachant, par l'a. fr., au fr. *forcer**, employé dans le domaine des [sports] pour désigner une attitude d'attaque intensive.

The use of **forcing** in that sense does not exist in English, and the expressions *exert pressure* or *put pressure on* may be used to convey the same meaning, as in the following excerpts from the Europarl corpus (the corpus is available on the OPUS web site[11] and its makeup is described by Tiedemann).[12]

Must we constantly be forced to **exert such pressure** to guarantee the entry into force of a treaty and its institutional reforms?		Sommes-nous condamnés à constamment devoir **faire le forcing** pour garantir la mise en œuvre d'un traité et de ses réformes institutionnelles ?
Liability must include GMOs, particularly at a time when the United States is **putting pressure on** to try to get the moratorium on imports lifted in the context of the WTO negotiations.		La responsabilité doit inclure les OGM surtout au moment où les États-Unis **font le forcing** pour lever le moratoire sur les importations dans le cadre des négociations de l'OMC.

Table 1: Two examples of English translations for 'faire le forcing' in the Europarl corpus

The case of *pressing* is a bit different, since the word is used with a meaning that is somehow related to French usage in the English basketball term *full court pressing defense*, a defensive strategy in which one player harasses the ball handler in the backcourt while the rest of the team maintains a zone defense. The expression *pressing defense* can be traced back to the 1940s on the Google Books search engine, and was soon abbreviated to *full court press*, which can be traced back to the 1950s. The following excerpt from the TLF definition of *pressing* mentions two possible origins for the word, which could have been formed from the verb *press* or directly borrowed from English.

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[9] Michael D. Picone, *Anglicisms, Neologisms and Dynamic French* (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1996).

[10] *Trésor de la langue française,* online edition, http://atilf.atilf.fr/

[11] *OPUS, the Open Parallel Corpus*, http://opus.lingfil.uu.se/

[12] Jörg Tiedemann, "News from OPUS – A Collection of Multilingual Parallel Corpora with Tools and Interfaces", In Nicolas Nicolov *et al.*, eds., *Recent Advances in Natural Language Processing V. Selected Papers from RANLP 2007* (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2009), 237-248.

pressing: B. *Fam., SPORTS.* Pression persistante exercée par l'adversaire. […] *faire attaquer le porteur du ballon et* [...] *utiliser le « pressing » et l'agressivité au service de cette récupération du ballon* (J. MERCIER, *Footb.*, 1966, p.64). [...] 2 prob. formé sur l'angl. *to press* « exercer une pression sur, appuyer sur, presser » d'où « attaquer, assaillir, ne pas laisser de répit à » ou directement emp. à *pressing* dont l'empl. dans le domaine du sport n'est cependant att. qu'en 1976.

What the TLF editors mean here is that the English word *pressing* was not used as a noun (as it is in French) until 1976, since its use as an adjective in the expression *pressing defense* predates its use as a noun by about thirty years, so that the use of the noun *pressing* in French might be the result of a simple truncation of the type mentioned earlier for such words as *jogging*, *parking* or *passing*.

2. Objectives and Method

We tried to determine to what extent simultaneous interpreters in such institutions as the European Parliament contribute to the implantation of English *V-ing* terms or expressions in target languages through their literal or near-literal translation in Romance languages. Our aim was also to ascertain whether some Romance languages show a higher degree of resistance to the borrowing of English *V-ing* terms or expressions and to what extent the length of the expression has an impact on the degree of implantation. For that purpose, we used alignments available in the multilingual corpus Europarl (Tiedemann[13]), which includes all the reports of the debates of the European Parliament between 1996 and 2003 in 11 European languages. We queried the corpus for French and Italian words and phrases containing a word beginning with a verb/noun base and ending with the *-ing* morpheme (e.g. *benchmarking*, *gender mainstreaming*). We found that in both languages there is a tendency to borrow single word units (*benchmarking*), although implantation of such borrowings may not last more than a few years.

3. Study of a Few -ING Borrowings in French and Italian

3.1 *Benchmarking*

Since the borrowing *benchmarking* was one of the most frequently used in all three Romance languages under study, we analyzed its use over three parliamentary terms (1999-2004, 2004-2009 and 2009-2014) in the French and Italian versions of the minutes of the debates of the European parliament. The second column of Table 2 gives the actual number of tokens of the word as recorded in the Europarl corpus, which covers another period (1996-2003) that overlaps with the fist parliamentary term we studied. The exact size of each individual corpus is provided on the OPUS platform (66.8 million tokens for English, 66.3 million tokens for French and 59.2 million tokens for Italian) and the tables below consequently provide the number of results in the Europarl corpus (absolute frequency) followed by the per-million-word ratio (normalized frequency) between parentheses.

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[13] Ibid.

Language	1996-2003 (nb of hits)	1999-2004 (nb of debates)	2004-2009 (nb of debates)	2009-2014 (nb of debates)
English	279 (4,18)	92	63	23
French	170 (2,56)	48	11	2
Italian	228 (3,85)	82	18	1

Table 2: Compared use of benchmarking over three parliamentary terms in English, French and Italian

Benchmarking happens to be the foreign equivalent for a recommended French term (*référenciation*) that was included in a list of 100 terms published by the CGTN in 2004 (*Cent termes français du vocabulaire technique recommandés par la CGTN*); two other synonyms were also provided for that term (*étalonnage* and *parangonnage*). Table 3 shows frequencies for the use of *benchmarking* and its recommended French translation equivalents in the last two terms. The results for the parliamentary term that started in 2009 cannot be deemed statistically significant, but those that were obtained for the 2004-2009 period clearly show that one of the suggested synonyms (*étalonnage*) was widely used after the publication of the CGTN's list, while the term which heads the entry (*référenciation*) was used only once. As for the word *parangonnage*, its implantation was perhaps doomed from the start, since it is formed after a word which is itself quite rare, the French noun *parangon*, which migrated into English circa 1548 as *paragon*. A query for *parangonnage* on the Google search engine gave just over 16,000 hits in March 2020, and most of its occurrences seemed to be instances of use in its original sense in the field of printing.

	benchmarking (EN)	référenciation	étalonnage	parangonnage
2004-2009	63	1	22	0
2009-2014	23	0	2	0

Table 3: Compared use of benchmarking and its recommended French translation equivalents in the Debates of the European Parliament between 2004 and 2014

The following excerpts from the Europarl corpus show that Italian occasionally uses a one-word translation equivalent which is a cognate of the English word *parameters*:
- Perhaps that is what this was actually all about, hence the rejection of the **benchmarking** method.
- Peut-être que tel était le but réel, d'où le rejet de la méthode de **l'étalonnage**.
- Forse è proprio questo il punto, e si spiega così il rifiuto del metodo dei **parametri**.

Another excerpt from the same corpus shows use of a translation equivalent which is longer than the source language term, a phenomenon that is frequently observed when the base of the *-ing* form is a compound:
- The problem can be partially solved by **benchmarking**.
- Le problème peut être résolu en partie grâce à **l'étalonnage**.
- Il problema può essere parzialmente risolto adottando **parametri di riferimento**.

In many cases, the translation equivalents used for *benchmarking* in Italian (*parametri comparativi, metodi comparativi, parametri di riferimento, applicazione di parametri, definizione di criteri*) come in the form of a complex noun phrase in which one or more prepositional phrases are embedded.

3.2. *Gender Mainstreaming and Gender Budgeting*

The case of the expression *gender mainstreaming* is slightly different from that of *benchmarking* since the official recommendation for its French equivalent (*paritarisme*) was made public after most of the debates of our corpus had taken place, as part of the *Vocabulaire des sciences humaines* that was published in the *Journal officiel* of March 4, 2006:

> **paritarisme,** n.m.
> *Domaine:* Sciences humaines/Sciences sociales.
> *Définition :* Action en faveur de l'égalité entre les femmes et les hommes.
> *Équivalent étranger:* gender mainstreaming.

Evidence from more recent parliamentary debates shows that the term *paritarisme* seems to have been adopted, and the fall in the number of occurrences of *gender mainstreaming* in the French version of the debates (Table 4) might be correlated with the increase in the use of the recommended French equivalent.

Language	1996-2003 (nb of hits)	1999-2004 (nb of debates)	2004-2009 (nb of debates)	2009-2014 (nb of debates)
English	526 (7,87)	68	66	27
French	52 (0,78)	28	15	2
Italian	69 (1,17)	36	23	4

Table 4: Compared use of gender mainstreaming over three parliamentary terms in English, French, and Italian

The drop in the number of uses of the English expression seems to have occurred a bit faster in French than in Italian, a fact which is consistent with the higher rate of borrowing from English that is usually witnessed in Italian. In the Europarl corpus, the translation equivalents chosen for *gender mainstreaming* are usually quite long, a fact that bears witness to the difficulty that was originally posed by the source language term:

- Yet, closer inspection reveals that the practical implementation of **gender mainstreaming** in the EU's external policies is still weak.
- En y regardant de plus près, on remarque toutefois que l'application concrète du **principe de prise en considération systématique des questions d'égalité entre hommes et femmes** dans les politiques externes de l'UE reste faible.
- Eppure un attento esame mostra che l'attuazione pratica dell'**integrazione della dimensione di genere** nelle politiche esterne dell'Unione è ancora scarsa.

Another expression using the word *gender* as a modifier has created difficulties for translators: the term *gender budgeting*.

Language	1996-2003 (nb of hits)	1999-2004 (nb of debates)	2004-2009 (nb of debates)	2009-2014 (nb of debates)
English	35 (0,52)	9	18	6

French	20 (0,30)	6	4	0
Italian	26 (0,44)	6	11	2

Table 5: Compared use of gender budgeting over three parliamentary terms in English, French and Italian

The official recommendation for a French translation equivalent was published in the *Journal officiel* of March 29, 2003 and suggested the use of *établissement des budgets publics selon la perspective de genre*. This particularly elaborate expression seems not to have stuck in usage, since there were fewer than 200 hits for the expression in a Google search conducted in March 2020. Table 5 shows differing trends for the 2004-2009 term, as the use of the English borrowing slightly decreased in French in spite of a higher figure for English and almost doubled in Italian, thus confirming the tendency of the latter language for such borrowings as shown in Table 4.

The following excerpts from the Europarl corpus show that French generally uses translation equivalents for *gender budgeting* that roughly translate as "integration of a gender perspective in budgeting", whereas Italian either uses the original English expression or a shorter translation equivalent*, bilancio di genere*:

- A useful way of doing this is through **gender budgeting** […]
- Il peut s'avérer utile de se mettre à l'œuvre via **l'intégration de la dimension du genre dans les budgets nationaux** […]
- Un'utile metodologia è quella del **gender budgeting** […]
- Austria, incidentally, leads the way in this and will have a law in place as from 2009 – **gender budgeting** – […]
- L'Autriche, soit dit en passant, ouvre la voie en la matière et disposera d'une loi dès 2009 sur **l'intégration de la dimension de genre dans le processus budgétaire**, […]
- L'Austria, a tale proposito, dà l'esempio in questo contesto e dal 2009 entrerà in vigore una legge, sul **bilancio di genere […]**

Even though the relatively low number of occurrences of *gender budgeting* in French in the latest parliamentary terms may be due to an effort to avoid borrowing the English term, web usage does seem to suggest that its use is indeed less widespread in French than in Italian (over 2,000 Google hits for "le gender budgeting" as opposed to twice as many hits for "il gender budgeting"). While such lengthy French translations as *intégration de la dimension de genre dans le processus budgétaire* predictably return very few results on Google (30), shorter equivalents fare much better and actually show some degree of implantation in academic texts *(*23,000 results for *budgétisation sensible au genre*), although the translation equivalent *budgétisation sexospécifique* does not seem to be much used outside of Canada. As for the expression *bilancio di genere*, it definitely seems to have worked its way into the Italian language with 1,840,000 results.

3.3. *Naming and Shaming*

Coordinated compounds are quite frequent in English, and many of them (*drink and drive*, *shake and bake*) involve some kind of alliteration (Renner 2006). The rate of borrowing for the most frequently used expression of that type that contains the *-ing* morpheme in the Europarl corpus is low, a fact which may be due to the presence of a non-lexical word in the expression, but also to the relatively rare use of *shame* as a verb and the consequent opacity of its meaning in the target languages involved. The expression was nonetheless considered to be used frequently enough in French to justify the

suggestion of a French equivalent by the CGTN, which was published in the *Journal officiel* of January 19, 2010:

> **mise au pilori**
> *Domaine:* Tous domaines.
> *Synonyme:* stigmatisation, n.f.
> *Définition:* Pratique consistant à publier le nom de personnes physiques ou morales impliquées dans des activités tenues pour répréhensibles.
> *Équivalent étranger:* gender mainstreaming.

The results in Table 6 show that in spite of a steady increase in use of the expression over the past 13 years in the English part of the corpus, the number of borrowings has remained quite low in all three Romance languages under study.

Language	1996-2003 (nb of hits)	1999-2004 (nb of debates)	2004-2009 (nb of debates)	2009-2014 (nb of debates)
English	26 (0,39)	11	27	18
French	2 (0,03)	2	1	1
Italian	1 (0,02)	2	1	0

Table 6: Compared use of naming and shaming over three parliamentary terms in French and Italian

In the absence of a clear translation equivalent (at least until 2010 in the case of French), such scarcity of borrowing gives rise to a high level of variation in both languages involved, as witnessed by the following excerpts from the Europarl corpus:

- If you the Court will not do your job of **naming and shaming**, then we will have to do it for you.
- Si vous, la Cour, **ne dévoilez pas ces noms et ne dressez pas une liste de "coupables"**, nous devrons alors le faire à votre place.
- Se la Corte non intende fare il proprio lavoro **nominando e svergognando i trasgressori**, allora dovremo occuparcene noi.
- There must be a system of **naming and shaming** for those businesses that are careless.
- Il faut mettre en place un système consistant à **désigner nommément et à stigmatiser** les entreprises indélicates.
- Occorre un sistema per **indicare e stigmatizzare** le imprese che danno prova di negligenza.
- What is important here is public health, rather than some kind of **naming and shaming**.
- Ce qui importe dans ce dossier c'est la santé publique et non de **jeter l'opprobre** d'une manière ou d'une autre.
- Ciò che è importante qui è la salute pubblica , non **mettersi a distribuire nomi e discredito**.
- Mr President, today I would like to start a process of **naming and shaming** those Member States that fail to implement European directives.
- Monsieur le Président, je souhaite commencer aujourd'hui par **citer, afin de leur faire honte**, les États membres qui ne transposent pas les directives européennes.

- Signor Presidente, mi sembra giunto il momento di **additare al pubblico biasimo** quegli Stati membri che trascurano di applicare le direttive europee.

3.4. *Level Playing Field*

Multi-word expressions that do not involve coordination seem to be borrowed more frequently than coordinated compounds. Such is the case of the expression *level playing field*, a sports metaphor which is very often used in politics. The fact that it may be most commonly associated with football might explain why the expression shows a relatively high frequency of use in the Italian part of the corpus since football is quite a popular sport in Italy (the expression is found 33 times in Italian and 16 times in French, for a total of 330 occurrences in the English part of the corpus). Whether the expression is borrowed literally in another language (as is the case in Italian in the example below) or translated by another expression (as is the case for French), it is often followed by a paraphrase:

- The purpose of the directive is supposed to be to create a **level playing field** in Europe.
- Le but de cette directive est de créer un **terrain d'égalité**, c'est-à-dire, une égalité des armes dans toute l'Europe.
- La direttiva dovrebbe mirare alla creazione di un **level playing field** in Europa, ossia garantire che le parti siano ad armi pari.

3.5. *Phasing Out*

The term *phasing out* is another term which is often borrowed by Romance languages in the Europarl corpus. The figures obtained (30 occurrences in French and 40 in Italian for a total of 513 in English) suggest that phrasal verbs might be more likely to be borrowed than other two-word expressions, a fact which remains to be confirmed through the study of more numerous examples:

- […] the possibility of **phasing out** the special conditions must also be discussed.
- […] il faut aussi parler de la période de **suppression progressive** des mesures spécifiques supplémentaires.
- […] bisogna prevedere un **phasing out** delle condizioni speciali.

As suggested by the previous example, the expression tends to be borrowed more often in Italian than in French, and it is more likely to be borrowed when it is used in the *-ing* form (208 occurrences out of 513) in English, even though use in the passive voice in English may also trigger such borrowings:

- Either they are priority hazardous substances and must be phased out or they are not.
- Soit il s'agit de substances dangereuses prioritaires et elles doivent faire l'objet d'un **phasing out**, soit elles ne le sont pas.
- si tratta di sostanze pericolose prioritarie e, in quanto tali, sono destinate al **phasing out**, oppure non lo sono.

3.6. *Remailing*

Use of the word *remailing* is worth mentioning for several reasons. It is actually the only *-ing* form that we could find in the corpus that is actually used as frequently in some of the Romance languages under

study as it is in English (7 occurrences in both languages), as the borrowing is sometimes used in Italian or French to translate other English words such as *redirection* and *reposting*:

- A reserved sector, a universal service obligation, which is attacked, even undermined, by unauthorised **redirection** can never meet with our approval.
- Un domaine réservé, une obligation de service universel contrecarrée voire minée par un **repostage** illicite ne peut recevoir notre adhésion.
- Un'area riservata e un obbligo al servizio universale indeboliti, anzi minati da un inammissibile **remailing** non possono incontrare la nostra approvazione.
- Mr President, Mr Commissioner, ladies and gentlemen, **reposting** is surely an aspect of the practice of dumping.
- Monsieur le Président, Monsieur le Commissaire, chers collègues, le **repostage** constitue certainement une pratique de dumping.
- Signor Presidente, signor Commissario, onorevoli colleghi, la **reimpostazione** è certamente una forma di concorrenza attraverso il dumping.

Even though users of the word *remailing* in French were never "named and shamed" by the French Academy or the CGTN, the word is not to be found in the French section of the Europarl corpus, where the equivalents *repostage* and *réexpédition* are used. The high rate of borrowing observed in Italian in this case might be due to the fact that the term is easily understandable because of the previous borrowing of *email*, although that argument would hold true for French as well.

4. Quantitative Results

Besides using the corpus by producing parallel extractions, we also created three monolingual corpora by extracting all the sentences containing words ending in *-ing* in all three languages involved, which made it possible to take all forms into account, including those that were used in French (e.g. *timing* for the English *timetable*) and Italian (e.g. *mobbing* for the English *harrassment*) when the English sentence did not contain the corresponding *–ing* form. Using the counts for all the words that consisted of a verb infinitive followed by the *–ing* morpheme, we then compared frequency of use of those forms in French and Italian, first focusing on the forms that were used at least ten times in either corpus, and in a second stage on all the forms that occurred at least twice. Table 7 shows the most frequently used forms in both languages. While most words can be found in both columns, some are specific to one language (*doping* or *overbooking* in Italian, *planning* and *timing* in French), and some other words (in bold characters) are much more frequently used in one language.

	Italian			French	
A.F.	R.F.	Word	A.F.	R.F.	Word
1505	25,4	rating	1495	22,5	dumping
1074	18,1	dumping	320	4,8	**lobbying**
383	6,5	mainstreaming	303	4,6	marketing
361	6,1	**screening**	291	4,4	mainstreaming

305	5,2	roaming	290	4,4	antidumping
267	4,5	doping	182	2,7	benchmarking
262	4,4	marketing	105	1,6	planning
247	4,2	benchmarking	87	1,3	screening
219	3,7	antidumping	85	1,3	e-learning
91	1,5	e-learning	77	1,2	timing
81	1,4	antidoping	72	1,1	shopping
71	1,2	**budgeting**	68	1,0	anti-dumping
65	1,1	shopping	66	1,0	monitoring
62	1,0	phasing	45	0,7	holding
60	1,0	overbooking	41	0,6	budgeting
60	1,0	lobbying	41	0,6	parking

Table 7: Most frequently used –ing forms in French and Italian in the Europarl corpus
 (A.F. = Absolute Frequency, R.F. = Relative Frequency)

Close examination of all the forms used ten times or more showed that many of them were actually part of longer expressions such as those mentioned above (e.g. *paying but not playing*, *no trade without tracking*), which were almost systematically translated literally (Humbley (2010) actually considers that use of such forms as *naming and shaming* constitutes an intermediate category between borrowing and code switching).

4.1. *Most Frequently Used -Ing Forms in Italian*

Among the forms that were used almost exclusively in Italian and hardly ever (if at all) in French, we find the nouns *rating*, *doping* and *roaming*. As is the case in the example below, *rating* is mostly used in the terms *credit rating* and *credit rating agency*. In French, these are consistently translated by (*agence de) notation de crédit* or its shortened version (*agence de) notation*.

- a reasonable conclusion to the regulation of **credit rating agencies**
- una conclusione ragionevole sulla regolamentazione delle **agenzie di rating**.
- une conclusion raisonnable concernant le règlement sur les **agences de notation de crédit**.

The case of the word *doping* is slightly different in that the word used in French (*dopage*) is a kind of indirect borrowing, since the verb *doper* was borrowed from English and the suffix *–age* was subsequently added to form the deverbal noun. The compound *anti-doping* used in the example below is also a form that is often literally translated in Italian, both in its hyphenated and unhyphenated versions:

- The credibility of the anti-**doping** effort depends on it.
- Ne va della credibilità della lotta contro il **doping**.

- Il y va de la crédibilité de la lutte contre le **dopage**.

In contrast, use of both *dopage* and *doping* in French developed in the 1960s, but *dopage* quickly became the most prevalent form, as shown in Figure 1:
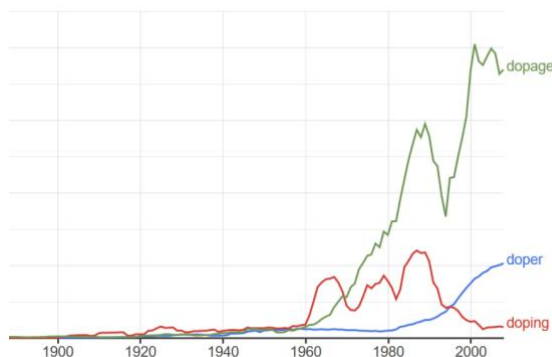
Fig. 1: Use of doper, dopage and doping in the French part of the Google Books Corpus

As for the word *roaming*, its prevalence in the corpus is both due to the high permeability of Italian to borrowings in the technical sphere, and to the fact that the subject of roaming fees was a frequently discussed issue in the European Parliament at the turn of the century. Most probably, the term will gradually disappear from use since roaming fees are no longer charged within the European Union.

- There is a risk of **roaming** for third generation mobile telephony being put in jeopardy.
- Può esservi il rischio di mettere a repentaglio il **roaming** per i telefoni della terza generazione.
- Le mode d'utilisation dit en **itinérance** des téléphones mobiles de troisième génération pourrait se trouver compromis.

Language planning measures such as those enacted by the French ministry of culture may of course have played a role in the fact that *roaming* was not used as systematically in French from the 1970s onwards as it was in Italian, as shown in Figure 2:

Fig. 2: Use of itinérance in French and of roaming in Italian and French in the Google Books Corpus

Even though the word *itinérance* did not feature in two of the most frequently used dictionaries until the present century (Petit Larousse added it to its nomenclature in 2005 and Petit Robert only in 2014), it gained currency much earlier on, probably thanks to the publication of the term *abonné itinérant* in the Journal Officiel in 2000 as a correct translation equivalent for the English *roaming subscriber*. The fact that the adjective *itinérant* was already well-implanted in French (it appeared in the late 19th century) probably helped, and although the *Trésor de la langue française*, whose nomenclature is based on the Frantext Corpus, only gives an example of use of the noun which goes back to 1966, the Google Books Corpus features several occurrences of the word that go back to the 19th century.

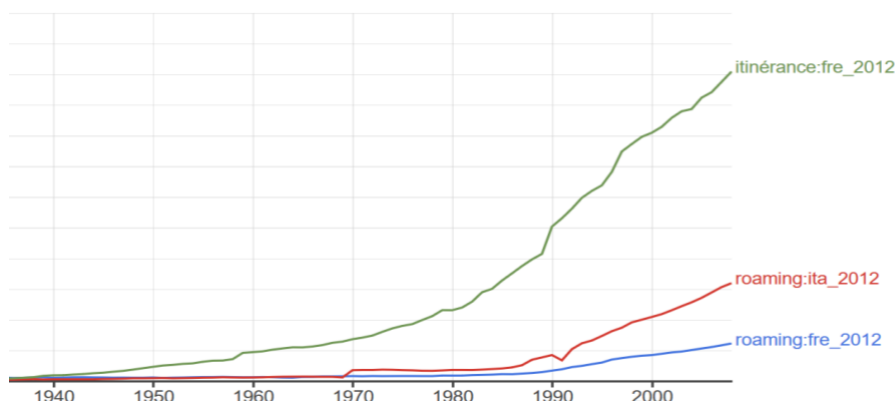### 4.2. *Most Frequently Used -Ing Forms in French*

Among the forms that are used almost exclusively in French and much less frequently in Italian, the nouns *timing* and *planning* feature prominently. The noun *timing* has 77 occurrences in the French part of the Europarl corpus, as opposed to 17 in Italian. Most of the time, the loanword is used in French when it is also present in English, as in the example below:

- But I have come to the conclusion that it was in fact quite clever **timing**.
- Sono tuttavia giunta alla conclusione che, in realtà, vi è stato un ottimo **tempismo**.
- Mais je suis arrivée à la conclusion que c'était en fait un **timing** très approprié.

Timing is also used several times in contexts where the English equivalent is another compound containing the noun *time*, such as *timetable* or *time frame*. Besides *tempismo*, Italian equivalents such as *scelta di tempo*, *calendario*, *tempistica*, *fattore tempo* or *tempestività* are also present in the corpus. The noun *planning* has 105 occurrences in the French part of the Europarl corpus, as opposed to 17 in Italian. Since the English word describes an activity, unlike the French loanword, the latter is mostly used in contexts where another word is used in English, as in the example below:

- The Fifteen defined the parameters and the **timeframe** for the convention.
- I Quindici hanno confermato le linee guida e il **calendario** previsti per la Convenzione.

- Les Quinze ont entériné les lignes de force et le **planning** de la convention.

Besides the alternative spelling *time frame*, other English words that are used as translation equivalents for the French *planning* are *schedule* and *timetable*. The most frequently used Italian translation equivalents in contexts where *planning* is used in French are *programmazione*, *pianificazione*, *calendario* and the loanword *planning* as well. In their translation equivalents for the term *family planning*, both Romance languages use relational adjectives (*familiare* and *familial*) to translate the modifying noun, but only French retains the loanword *planning*:

- It is morally unacceptable to make our aid conditional upon their having to adopt our conception of **family planning**.
- È moralmente inaccettabile subordinare i nostri aiuti all'adozione coatta della nostra nozione di **pianificazione familiare**.
- Il est moralement inacceptable de conditionner notre aide à l'adoption obligatoire de notre conception du **planning familial**.

In the case of longer noun phrases in which *planning* is a coordinated modifier, as in the example below, the whole expression may be borrowed both in Italian and French:

- the European Union will use the **planning and review process** for countries which are not members of NATO.
- l'Unione farà uso del **planning and review process** per i paesi che non sono membri dell'Alleanza.
- l'Union européenne se servira du **planning and review process** pour les pays qui ne font pas partie de l'alliance.

When such complex noun phrases occur in a source language other than English (Portuguese in the example below), translators in the other Romance languages usually follow suit in using the original English expression:

- We are going to spend 18 months discussing the '**least cost planning**' for new nuclear power-stations.
- Passeremo un anno e mezzo a discutere il **least cost planning** delle nuove centrali nucleari.
- Nous allons consacrer une année et demie au débat du **least cost planning** des nouvelles centrales nucléaires.

4.3. *Prevalence of -Ing Forms in Italian and French*

After manual elimination of all words that were not of the V+ing type, we calculated the total number of types and tokens for words with 10 occurrences or more and for words whose frequency ranged from 2 to 9. The results are listed in Table 8.

Frequency>=10	Types	Type Ratio	Tokens	Token Ratio
French	55 (0,83)		4479 (67,56)	
Italian	55 (0,93)	1,12	6380 (107,77)	1,6
1<Frequency<10				
French	202 (3,05)		516 (7,78)	

Italian	235 (3,97)	1,3	680 (11,49)	1,48

Table 8: Type and token frequencies in French and Italian in the Europarl corpus for -ing forms used at least 10 times and for -ing forms whose frequency ranges between 2 and 9

The rationale for distinguishing the two categories was avoiding the bias created by the presence of a few high frequency items (such as *rating* in Italian, which accounts for almost a quarter of all occurrences of the larger set), which might have skewed the data of the larger set. Thus, the smaller set, with both a higher number of types and small number of tokens, is more likely to be representative of a general trend. In that smaller set, Italian has 16% more types (distinct words) than French and 32% more tokens (total number of occurrences of those types). For lack of time, the hapax legomena (forms with only one occurrence in the corpus) could not be analyzed manually in order to detect forms other than those that were queried for. In that category, Italian also has a frequency which is 21% higher than in French.

5. Conclusion

Based on our quantitative comparison between French and Italian, the latter seems to exhibit a lesser degree of resistance to borrowing of *-ing* forms than French (as shown by the frequent use of such loanwords as *roaming*, *doping*, *overbooking*, *trading*). Furthermore, these forms are occasionally used as translation equivalents for English words which do not include the *–ing* morpheme (e.g. *mobbing* for *harassment*).

However, some limitations of our study should be pointed out as they may have generated various biases. First of all, our results might be partially skewed by the very high values recorded for the most commonly found forms (e.g. the 1505 occurrences for *rating* in Italian, as opposed to 7 in French). Another fact which deserves consideration is that the Europarl corpus is two decades old, and consequently does not accurately reflect current language use: thus, some *–ing* forms which are widely used today in various European Romance languages (*streaming*, *bashing*, etc.) are very rare in the corpus. Also, insofar as the Europarl corpus may be considered as semi-specialized in content, borrowing seems domain-dependent as many loanwords relate to the fields of economy and finance (*rating, dumping, trading, holding, frontloading, pricing*) and technology and communications (*caching, roaming, remailing, spamming, unbundling*). Actually, many uses of loanwords that include the *-ing* morpheme refer to technical terms which are defined by the speaker when they are first mentioned, which probably plays a role in the frequency of literal use of the English word in translation, as shown in the following example:

- EN: […] particularly with regard to the article on copying for technical purposes, or **caching**, […]
- FR: […] en particulier en ce qui concerne l'article relatif à la copie technique, que l'on appelle également **caching**, […]
- IT: […] che riguardano innanzitutto l'articolo relativo alla copia tecnica, ovvero il cosiddetto **caching**, […]

Finally, another issue that needs to be investigated is the influence of the language of the original utterance on the form used in the target language. When the source language is not English (as in the example above), there is a higher probability that the *–ing* word will be translated literally, possibly because it has already been identified as a loanword by translators. Studying the influence of that

particular factor will require further examination of the Europarl corpus to find out how other European languages behave in that regard.

Giuliana Regnoli

Social Network Integration, Norm Enforcement and Accent Perceptions in Indian Transient Student Communities

Abstract: The present paper aims to shed new light on the closely related concepts of social network and community of practice by taking into account a transient community of Indian university students located in Heidelberg, Germany. By drawing on qualitative and quantitative data collected through sociolinguistic interviews and questionnaires, the paper will analyse the locally contracted ties that the community members construct in their everyday lives in relation to their linguistic practices within and outside their student community. The results show that the transient aspect of the community is a valuable sociolinguistic factor in the fostering of in-group affiliations. The relatively short-lived context at issue promotes language maintenance practices which, in turn, structure internal network subgroups based on ethnicity. Here, the density and the multiplexity of the network support the speakers' first languages resisting institutional pressures to language shift.

Keywords: *accent variation*, *Indian Englishes*, *language maintenance*, *network structure*, *transient multilingual speech communities*

1. Introduction

The effects of interpersonal relationships on language variation and change have long been investigated in sociolinguistics.[1] Sometimes, they have more impact on the language choices of the speakers than most categorical extralinguistic variables. Although consistent, in fact, categories such as 'gender' and 'ethnicity' "may relate indirectly to the procedures of participants in constructing and categorizing social worlds that reflect their analysis of locally meaningful social groupings".[2] These micro-level social clusters may help "explain individual behaviour of various kinds which cannot be accounted for in terms of corporate group membership", that is, in terms of class structure.[3]

The social function of network has been defined as a 'norm enforcement mechanism'[4] in which the loyalty of community members to their social network is directly related to their conformity to its collective values. In other words, conformity to linguistic norms is the sociolinguistic correlate of network membership. As Milroy puts it, "the closer an individual's network ties are with his local community, the closer his language approximates to localized vernacular forms".[5] Likewise, there is a gradation of conformity in terms of norms and values which goes hand in hand with the individual's integration into the network.

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[1] See Rosetta Lippi-Green, "Social Network Integration and Language Change in Progress in a Rural Alpine Village", *Language in Society*, 18 (1989), 213-234; Lesley Milroy, *Observing and Analysing Natural Language* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1987); Jenny Cheshire, "Linguistic Variation and Social Function", in Suzanne Romaine, ed., *Sociolinguistic Variation in Speech Communities* (London: Edward Arnold, 1982), 153-66; John J. Gumperz, "Social Network and Language Shift", in John Gumperz, ed., *Discourse Strategies* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1971), 38-58.

[2] Lesley Milroy and Mattiew Gordon, *Sociolinguistics: Method and Interpretation* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003), 116.

[3] Lesley Milroy, *Language and Social Networks* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1980), 135.

[4] Elizabeth Bott, *Family and Social Network. Roles, Norms and External Relationships in Ordinary Urban Families* (London: Tavistock, 1957).

[5] Milroy, *Language and Social Networks*, 175.

Homogeneity of norms and network density are even more significant in multilingual communities. In such contexts, norm-supporting and norm-constructing network practices may account either for the phenomenon of language maintenance or the social trajectory of language shift.[6] Moreover, distinctive ethnic communities involving strong personal ties tend to gravitate to form bonds with other networks which have similar linguacultural norms.[7]

The present paper endeavours to provide insight into social network structure and language use in a small transient community of Indian university students located in Heidelberg, Germany. Although very little attention has been given to the Indian diaspora in EFL countries, i.e., countries where English is spoken as a foreign language and, most importantly, to Indian speech communities in Germany, Indian migration to Germany is momentous. In a country where people know neither West Bengal nor Bengalis, but would recognise all Indian ethnic identities as one, being and acting as a Bengali is only possible *within* the Indian community in question. It is only here, in fact, that the kaleidoscope of ethnic identities acquires social significance.[8] This calls into question what Jayaram describes as the renegotiation of the 'problem of ethnicity', i.e., the willingness of diasporic subjects to shed their regional, linguistic and/or ethnic identities depending on the contingent circumstances.[9] Ethnicity conceptualisations have been equally observed in relation to a commonly held folk belief in the community according to which Southern Indians have a distinctive accent when speaking English. Their English is often said to be 'funny' and 'highly influenced by their L1s' in contrast to the English of Northern Indians, which is usually described as 'smoother' and 'thick'.[10]

In order to postulate whether network integration plays a role in ethnicity renegotiation in transient multilingual communities, the paper will investigate norm conformity and inclusivity by answering the question whether in-group affiliations are valuable extralinguistic factors in accent discrimination. After a brief sketch of previous related research in ethnicity renegotiation in primary diaspora situations and transient multilingual communities (section 2), an outline of the Heidelberg Indian student community will be provided in section 3. Section 4 will describe how the data were gathered and analysed and section 5 will shed light on network bonds and network integration in the community at issue. Conclusions will be provided in section 6.

2. Ethnicity in the Indian Diaspora and Transient Multilingual Speech Communities

The Indian diaspora today constitutes a major force in world culture. According to India's Ministry of External Affairs, more than 20 million Indians live outside the subcontinent, either as people of Indian origin, i.e., people who have acquired the citizenship of the host country (PIOs) or as non-resident Indians, i.e., people living abroad on a temporary resident permit (NRIs).[11] However, this is a narrow estimate based on the definition of the Indian diaspora as being constituted only by people who migrated from the Republic of India. In this respect, Skutsch uses a broader definition so as to include

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[6] Sarah J. Shin, "Paibu Dollar Please! Bilingual Korean American Children in New York City", *Bilingualism. Language and Cognition*, 2 (1988), 147-167; Li Wei, "Variations in Patterns of Language Choice and Codeswitching by Three Groups of Chinese/English Speakers in Newcastle upon Tyne", *Multilingua*, 14 (1995), 297-323.
[7] Anthony Giddens, *Sociology* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2006).
[8] Giuliana Regnoli, "Translanguaging as an Expression of Transnational Identity. Ethnicity Renegotiation in the Indian Diaspora", *Translation and Translanguaging in Multilingual Contexts*, 5 (2019a), 165-184.
[9] Narayana Jayaram, *The Indian Diaspora. Dynamics of Migration* (New Delhi: Sage, 2004).
[10] Giuliana Regnoli, "Language Attitudes, Ethnic Identities and Meta-Linguistic Awareness. An Accent-based Study of the Indian Transient Student Community of Heidelberg", Ph.D. dissertation (University of Naples "L'Orientale" and University of Heidelberg, 2019); Giuliana Regnoli, "Indexicality and Contextualisation. Linguistic, Cultural and Social Stances of Indian English speakers in Heidelberg", M.A. thesis (University of Naples "L'Orientale", 2016).
[11] Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, http://mea.gov.in, accessed 2 November 2020.

people who migrated from the whole of the Indian subcontinent, i.e., Bangladesh, Bhutan, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka.[12]

It is not until very recently that linguistic studies of Indian primary and secondary diaspora situations have been given much attention. Earlier research on language in the Indian diaspora has focused on the status and maintenance of Indian native languages.[13] A great exception has been Mesthrie's work on the Indian diaspora in South Africa which principally examined Bhojpuri Hindi,[14] sociolinguistic aspects of language contact and localised varieties of Indian English (hereafter, IndE) in contact situations.[15] With the exception of South African IndE, Indian varieties of English are a fairly recent area of study since research has often been restricted to individual case studies rather than to comparisons of language contact across different diasporic settings.[16]

Recent work on the linguistics of the Indian diaspora tends to provide a more comparative perspective on the topic aiming to deepen the theoretical framework of studies of language change and language contact, such as the degree of universality in the process of focusing on migration situations,[17] selections of traits from contact feature pools[18] and interplays between identity, social access and language change.[19] Specifically, they address theoretical and methodological questions concerning issues of endonormativity, transnationalism, and community structure, attitudinal orientation and identity development. While the regional spread covered by Indian diasporic studies ranges from the US via Africa and the UK to Singapore, the Caribbean and the South Pacific, non-anglophone contexts are still underresearched (see section 3).

Alam and Stuart-Smith's work in a Glaswegian Pakistani community of practice, for example, explores the emergence of a local ethnic accent with subtle adaptation of heritage features reflecting newly emerging identities.[20] Their detailed spectral moment analysis of syllable-initial /t/ shows a significant correlation between fine phonetic variation and ethnicity for three measures (mean, skew, kurtosis), thus revealing a clear patterning correlated to the social practices and gradience of the participants. The realisation of retroflex stops for the voiceless and voiced coronal plosives /t/ and /d/ is, in fact, a stereotypical feature of IndE accents, and is also investigated in many first-generation British-Asian speakers.[21] Similarly, Leung and Deuber's case study of fundamental frequency (F0) in Indo-Trinidadian speech proves to be significant as a marker of Indian ethnicity.[22] Despite the commonly held stereotype according to which Indo-Trinidadians have a distinctive speech pattern,

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[12] Carl Skutsch, *Encyclopedia of the World's Minorities* (London: Routledge, 2005).

[13] Rekha Sharma and E. Annamalai, eds, *Indian Diaspora. In Search of Identity* (Mysore: Central Institute of Indian Languages, 2003); Richard K. Barz and Jeff Siegel, *Language Transplanted. The Development of Overseas Hindi* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1988).

[14] Rajend Mesthrie, *Language in Indenture. A Sociolinguistic History of Bhojpuri-Hindi in South Africa* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand U.P., 1991).

[15] Rajend Mesthre, *English in Language Shift. The History, Structure, and Sociolinguistics of South African Indian English* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1992)

[16] Marianne Hundt and Devyani Sharma, eds., *English in the Indian Diaspora* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2014).

[17] Paul Kerswill and Peter Trudgill, "The Birth of New Dialects", in Peter Auer, Frans Hinskens and Paul Kerswill, eds., *Dialect Change: Convergence and Divergence in European Languages* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 2005), 196-220.

[18] Salikoko Mufwene, *The Ecology of Language Evolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 2001).

[19] R.B. Le Page and Andrée Tabouret-Keller, *Acts of Identity. Creole-based Approaches to Language and Ethnicity* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1985).

[20] Farhana Alam and Jane Stuart-Smith, "Identity, Ethnicity and Fine Phonetic Detail. An Acoustic Phonetic Analysis of Syllable-initial /t/ in Glaswegian Girls of Pakistani Heritage", in Hundt and Sharma, eds., *English in the Indian Diaspora*, 29-53.

[21] See Devyani Sharma and and Lavanya Sankaran, "Cognitive and Social Forces in Dialect Shift. Gradual Change in London Asian Speech", *Language Variation and Change*, 23 (2011), 399-428; Mangarat Rai Bhardwaj, *Colloquial Panjabi* (London: Routledge, 1995).

[22] Glenda A. Leung and Dagmar Deuber, "Indo-Trinidadian Speech. An Investigation into a Popular Stereotype Surrounding Pitch", in Hundt and Sharma, eds., *English in the Indian Diaspora*, 9-27.

very few studies have focused on ethnolects in Trinidad from a phonological perspective.[23] In this light, Leung and Deuber collected data in a survey format among Indo- and Afro- Trinidadians in order to investigate the above-mentioned belief. Recurring to perceptual cues of laypeople who described Indo-Trinidadian speech as "light, soft, fine, and high in pitch"[24] their findings reveal that F0 is indeed one of the salient cues which Trinidadians rely on to distinguish ethnicity since a high-pitched voice tends to be associated with Indo-Trinidadians.

Thus, recent debates about the Indian diaspora have started to address questions of what internally heterogeneous diasporic speech communities look like and how community boundaries and emerging identities affect attitudes.[25] The role of identity is always crucial to language change. Schneider, for instance, argues that major events may drive change in World Englishes (hereafter, WEs) due to the shift to endonormative orientation based on new identities[26], while Schreirer uses the framework of WEs to refine the understanding of different social roles in koineisation and new-dialect formation.[27] In such contexts, speakers' constant need of renegotiating the 'problem of ethnicity'[28] is resolved in their willingness to shed their regional, linguistic and ethnic identities, sometimes in deference to their more general pan-Indian one. In this sense, "a person may be Bengali [or] Indian"[29] depending on specific sociocultural and linguistic circumstances. Hence, specifics of bilingual identities may affect language variation.[30]

Some communities exist in relation to specific social practices, activities, and relationships.[31] Because of this, members are typically aware of their role and relationship to other communities as part of normal functioning. However, as Morgan points out: "[e]ven when members are aware of the values, attitudes, and norms ... of a speech community, their positive standing is not always guaranteed, especially when regular travel and transmigration are the norm".[32] Although work on Indian diasporic stable communities has received wide recognition, only a limited number of studies have examined the peculiar configuration of transient multilingual speech communities. Transient communities represent dynamic language scenarios in which people from diverse sociocultural and linguistic backgrounds come together for a limited period of time around specific shared activities. In such relatively short-lived contexts, norms and attitudes tend to be less stable and more negotiable than in other settings. This fluidity in terms of linguistic norms and attitudes entails a constant renegotiation with respect to language choice and the social meaning which is associated with different ways of speaking.[33] While stable communities are generally characterised by similar standard language ideologies, such shared

[23] Glenda A. Leung, "A Synchronic Sociophonetic Study of Monophthongs in Trinidadian English", Ph.D. dissertation (University of Freiburg, 2013); Shelome Gooden, Kathy-Ann Drayton and Mary Beckham, "Tone Inventories and Tune-text Alignments. Prosodic Variation in 'Hybrid' Technique Prosodic Systems", *Studies in Language*, 33 (2009), 396-436.

[24] Leung and Deuber, "Indo-Trininadian Speech", 13.

[25] Hundt and Sharma, eds., *English in the Indian Diaspora*.

[26] Edgar Schneider, *Postcolonial English. Varieties around the World* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 2007).

[27] Daniel Schreirer, "On Cafeterias and New Dialects. The Role of Primary Transmitters". In Sarah Buschfeld, Thomas Hoffmann, Magnus Huber and Alexander Kautzsch, eds, *The Evolution of Englishes. The Dynamic Model and Beyond* (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2014), 231-48.

[28] Jayaram, *The Indian Diaspora.*

[29] Wardlow Friesen and Robin A. Kearns, "Indian Diaspora in New Zealand: History, Identity and Cultural Landscapes", in Parvati Raghuram, Ajaya K. Sahoo, Brij Maharaj and Dave Sangha, eds., *Tracing an Indian Diaspora. Contexts, Memories, Representations* (New Delhi: Sage, 2008), 210-236, 225.

[30] Devyani Sharma, "World Englishes and Sociolinguistic Theory", in Markku Filppula, Juhani Klemola and Devyani Sharma, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of World Englishes* (Oxford: Oxford U.P., 2017), 232-251.

[31] Jean Lave and Étienne Wenger, *Situated Learning. Legitimate Peripheral Participation* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1991).

[32] Marcyliena Morgan, "Speech Community", in Alessandro Duranti, ed., *A Companion to Linguistic Anthropology* (London: Blackwell, 2004), 3-22, 13.

[33] Janus Mortensen and Anne Fabricius, "Language Ideologies in Danish Higher Education. Exploring Student Perspectives", in Anna K. Hultgren, Frans Gregersen and Jacob Thøgersen, eds., *English in Nordic Universities. Ideologies and Practices* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2014), 193-223.

assumptions cannot be assumed *a priori* in transient multilingual ones since members may develop their own language ideological beliefs which act as interpretative resources toward different ways of speaking. In this sense, a transient community is similar to a community of practice, which is a different social construct from the traditional notion of speech community, primarily because it is "defined simultaneously by its membership and by the practice in which that membership engages".[34]

In the present work, the speech community/community of practice will not be defined beforehand but will rather result from the study. In the context of the Heidelberg Indian social group, factors such as the respondents' knowledge of accents and dialects and their network integration are fundamental concepts which will provide insight into the speakers' perceptions and structure of their community.

3. Research Area

The Indian diaspora in Germany is a fully established and highly influential ethnic group. In 2016, India represented the most important non-EU country of origin for high-skilled migrants and the second most significant sending country for international students.[35] Today, Germany represents the country in Europe with the largest number of Indian immigrants after the UK and Italy.[36] As a matter of fact, the Indian diaspora in Germany has become more and more visible through the founding of numerous associations and clubs and through its cultural commitment, political success and the establishment of prominent worship places such as Hindu temples and *gurdwaras*, i.e., places of assembly and worship for Sikhs.

Heidelberg is a university town situated in the Southwestern German federal state of Baden-Württemberg (hereafter, BW). The Indian population in Heidelberg has been growing steadily over the last fifteen years. According to the figures of the Heidelberg City Hall, there has been an increase in both NRIs and PIOs of a staggering 230.7% between 2003 and 2018, currently making it a combined strength of 1.055 individuals.[37] Though small, the Indian local community is quite active and mainly comprises IT professionals and university students. Heidelberg provides excellent education and research opportunities for students and scholars from all over the world and has been attracting undergraduates and graduates from India for years. Today, the Heidelberg Indian community mainly consists of upper middle-class students who came to Germany in order to further their education and improve their professional skills. Having generally had an English-medium education and having pursued a bachelor's degree in their mother country, these students are enrolled at different master's and Ph.D. courses covering Physics, International Business and Engineering, Medical Anthropology and Transcultural Studies.[38]

Heidelberg is home to one Indian association, i.e., the Heidelberg Indian students' association (hereafter, HISA), a non-profit organisation established in 2003 by a group of Indian students with the intent of bridging the gap between the Indian migrant community and the local one. The association

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[34] Penelope Eckert and Sally McConnel-Ginet, "Communities of Practice. Language, Gender, and Power All Live", in Kira Hall, Mary Bucholtz and Birch Moonwoman, eds., *Locating Power. Proceedings of the 1992 Berkeley Women and Language Conference* (Berkeley: Berkeley Women and Language Group, 1992), 89-99, 96.

[35] Simone Burkhart, Nabila Chehab-van den Assem, Karin Essig, Judith Grützmacher, Urlich Heublein, Lea Jechel, Susanne Kammüller and Jan Kercher, *Wissenschaft Weltoffen. Daten und Fakten zur Internationalität von Studium und Forschung in Deutchland* (Bielefeld: Wbv, 2017).

[36] Mustafa Aksakal, "International Migration and Place-based Inequalities. The Case of High-skilled Migration and Student Mobility to Eastern Germany", in S. Irudaya Rajan, ed., *India Migration Report 2019. Diaspora in Europe* (New Delhi: Routledge, 2019), 1-15.

[37] Heidelberg City Hall, https://www.heidelberg.de/hd,Lde/HD.html, accessed 28 October 2020.

[38] Many universities in Germany, Heidelberg included, offer international students the possibility to enrol at selected courses taught entirely in English. Thus, admission does not require any proof of skills in German. See Regnoli, *Indexicality and Contextualisation*.

has been officially recognised by the University of Heidelberg as an international student organisation and has been a life-partner of the 'Indian Students in Germany' project, working in collaboration with the Indian Embassy in Germany. The organisation "is dedicated towards the welfare of the Indian students and community in and around Heidelberg"[39] and has been proudly working in this direction from the last 17 years. HISA is constantly engaged in the organisation of cultural events (e.g., movie nights, flash mobs), festivals (e.g., Diwali, Holi, Navratri, Independence Day), Yoga days as well as Business Entrepreneurship and start-up competitions. At present, it has some 300 registered members (with a fairly equal number of men and women) coming from the University of Heidelberg, the European Molecular Biology laboratory (EMBL), the Max Planck Institutes (MPI) and the SRH Hochschule Heidelberg.[40]

The Heidelberg Indian student community holds an interesting folk belief that Southern Indians have a distinctive English accent. While Northerners are often described as speaking English in a 'smoother', 'neutral' or 'good' way, the English of Southern Indians is usually depicted as 'highly influenced by their L1s', 'rough' and 'stereotypical'.[41] These descriptors account for the social stereotypes and overt attitudes of the community members towards IndE accent variation. Furthermore, different accents seem to index locally situated ethnic identities within the community.

In light of these considerations, the present paper endeavours to shed new light on the role that the community members' inclusivity plays in perceived accent variation.

4. Data and Methodology

The wider study from which these results are drawn is based on the triangulation of the sociolinguistic network framework and the ethnographic framework.[42] Such approaches use longitudinal ethnographic studies to access members of communities and to observe their shared developing sociolinguistic practices. Moreover, they offer excellent ways of investigating the kind of subtle social differentiation that needs to be identified if the development of speaker awareness is to be considered in conjunction with emergent local ethnic identities. Specifically, the study adopts an experimental design combining both quantitative and qualitative methods in what is generally referred to as a 'convergent parallel design' where quantitative and qualitative data are collected independently and concurrently.[43] The combination of methodologies has been deemed important since the field in question has not been explored in the past.

The paper presents data gathered from sixty speakers (39 master's students and 21 Ph.D. ones) aged 21-30, coming from sixteen Indian states, speaking fourteen different languages as L1 (one Germanic language (English), 9 Indo-Aryan ones, 4 Dravidian ones) and the same number of IndE regional dialects. The size of the sample is justified by the relatively 'smallness' of the speech community and proved to be sufficient to allow for generalisations about the entire Indian student population of Heidelberg. The data were collected between February and early October 2018. Participants were approached through friend-to-friend recommendations, usually in local establishments such as university libraries, but also privately, in their households.

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[39] HISA (Heidelberg Indian Students' Association), http://hisaheidelberg.com, accessed 8 July 2019.
[40] Although the majority of the community consist of students, it is important to mention that HISA includes members from the PIO and NRI local communities as well.
[41] See Regnoli, *Language Attitudes, Ethnic Identities and Meta-Linguistic Awareness*.
[42] See Gumperz, "Social Network and Language Shift"; Milroy and Gordon, *Sociolinguistics. Method and Interpretation*; Dell Hymes, *Foundations in Sociolinguistics. An Ethnographic Approach* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1974); Lesley Milroy and James Milroy, "Social Networks and Social Class. Toward an Integrated Sociolinguistic Model", *Language in Society*, 21 (1992), 1-26.
[43] John W. Creswell and Vicky L. Plano Clark, *Designing and Conducting Mixed Methods Research* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2011).

The present study will focus on the results from the (i) network analysis as well as the (ii) correlation analysis. With respect to (i), two calculations have been computed: the Guttman Coefficient of Reproducibility and the Rasch Scalability Coefficient. The coefficient of reproducibility measures the predictability of responses according to their position within a said table, while the scalability coefficient measures the observed numbers of errors according to the Guttman scale model over the sum of the expected numbers of errors.[44] (ii) Spearman-Rho rank and Pearson's product-moment correlation coefficient have been performed on each of the main extralinguistic variables, i.e., gender, ethnicity and time spent in Heidelberg, on the dependent variable, i.e., network integration, and on the results of one of the tasks of the survey, i.e., the accent identification task.[45] Pearson's r is a statistic used when a correlation is linear. It is defined as "the *covariance* of the two variables divided by the product of their standard deviations".[46] Speakman's rho is a non-parametric measure of correlation calculated using the same methods as the Pearson correlation, but the data are transformed into ranks first. In this way, continuous data are converted to an ordinal scale. In other words, while Pearson's r quantifies the linearity of a relationship, Spearman's rho assesses its monotonicity.[47]

5. Results

Social class has always been the main social variable to be investigated in traditional sociolinguistic studies. However, there are some social groups which are not class-differentiated and that nevertheless show linguistic differentiation. In such micro-level social clusters, individuals may further demarcate themselves by patterns of (perceived) linguistic variation and their network allegiances may be invoked "to explain individual behaviour of various kinds which cannot be accounted for in terms of corporate group membership".[48] The Heidelberg Indian student community is no exception. At the time of the fieldwork, a network approach was considered suitable since it provided a set of procedures which enabled a study of a small community where speakers could not be discriminated in terms of any kind of social class index.[49] Moreover, a network analysis offered the possibility to deal with variation between individual speakers rather than between groups, which was ideal for the ethnographic perspective of the study (see section 4).

A network-strength scale has been devised according to four criteria which assessed the participants' network characteristics with reference to those different relationships within their community of practice that have emerged during the fieldwork as significant to the members. Informants scored one point for each of the following conditions they satisfied: (i) same faculty of at least two more Indian students; (ii) proximity to more than five Indian students; (iii) free time spent with other Indian students; (iv) regular participation in Indian associations in Germany, particularly in HISA. Network density has been measured on a five-point Likert scale ranging from (0) highly

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[44] Jobling and Snell, "The Use of the Coefficient of Reproducibility in Attitude Scaling", *The Incorporated Statistician*, 11 (1961), 110-118.

[45] The accent identification task aimed to elicit the speakers' language attitudes towards IndE accent variation indirectly. In doing so, the study used the 'verbal-guise' technique (Campbell-Kibler, 2010), which uses more than only one or two speakers compared to the most widely used method of the 'matched-guise' technique (Lambert *et al.*, 1960). The participants had to listen to eight different guises reading the same passage and, after each stimulus, were asked to rate the speakers on various measures along 12 semantic differential five-point Likert scales. The eight speakers selected for the guise, i.e., four female ones and four male ones were all highly educated (enrolled in either master's or Ph.D. courses), came from different Indian states (i.e., four Northern ones and four Southern ones) and had different L1s as to cover ideally the state language/ethnic ratio of the entire subcontinent.

[46] Daniel E. Johnson, "Descriptive Statistics", in Robert J. Podesva and Devyani Sharma, eds., *Research Methods in Linguistics* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 2013), 288-315, 305. Emphasis in the original.

[47] Ibid.

[48] Milroy, *Language and Social Networks*, 135.

[49] Regnoli, *Language Attitudes, Ethnic Identities and Meta-Linguistic Awareness*.

unintegrated to (4) highly integrated. Network integration indices have then been compared with their rankings in a sociometric diagram.

participant	i	ii	iii	iv	tot	status
SDfKa	+	+	+	+	4	highly integrated
JGMfKe	+	+	+	+	4	highly integrated
MMfKa	+	+	+	+	4	highly integrated
AHfKa	+	+	+	+	4	highly integrated
MGofUt	+	+	+	+	4	highly integrated
STfBi	+	+	+	+	4	highly integrated
DSfWB	+	+	+	+	4	highly integrated
SMfMa	+	+	+	+	4	highly integrated
AVmDe	+	+	+	+	4	highly integrated
SVmKa	+	+	+	+	4	highly integrated
VSmTN	+	+	+	+	4	highly integrated
MNmKa	+	+	+	+	4	highly integrated
PPmKa	+	+	+	+	4	highly integrated
ARmKe	+	+	+	+	4	highly integrated
SSmKe	+	+	+	+	4	highly integrated
BJmGu	+	+	+	+	4	highly integrated
ABmDe	+	+	+	+	4	highly integrated
ASmMP	+	+	+	+	4	highly integrated
BSmGu	+	+	+	+	4	highly integrated
URmRa	+	+	+	+	4	highly integrated
DTfUt	+	+	+	+	4	highly integrated
TKfMa	+	+	+	+	4	highly integrated
JGfMa	+	+	+	+	4	highly integrated
VJRfKa	(-)	+	+	+	3	integrated
PGfMa	+	(-)	+	+	3	integrated
APmTN	(-)	(-)	+	+	2	somewhat integrated
DLfMan	(-)	+	(-)	+	2	somewhat integrated
RFmMa	+	+	+	-	3	integrated
ATmDe	+	+	+	-	3	integrated
SSmUt	+	+	+	-	3	integrated
KDmWB	+	+	+	-	3	integrated
OFmTN	+	+	+	-	3	integrated
SPmKa	+	+	+	-	3	integrated
SSmKa	+	+	+	-	3	integrated
PNmKe	+	+	+	-	3	integrated
SAmKa	+	+	+	-	3	integrated
PVfKa	+	+	+	-	3	integrated
DVfAP	+	+	+	-	3	integrated
JDfMa	+	+	+	-	3	integrated
SPfBi	+	+	+	-	3	integrated
NKSfTN	+	+	+	-	3	integrated
ASfKe	+	+	+	-	3	integrated
VRmTN	+	+	+	-	3	integrated
SSmHa	+	+	+	-	3	integrated
SSmMa	+	+	-	-	2	somewhat integrated
MGfUt	+	+	-	-	2	somewhat integrated
TDfMa	+	+	-	-	2	somewhat integrated
RMfMa	+	+	-	-	2	somewhat integrated
NPfMP	+	+	-	-	2	somewhat integrated
RDfKa	+	+	-	-	2	somewhat integrated
GSmDe	+	+	-	-	2	somewhat integrated
HTmUP	+	+	-	-	2	somewhat integrated
RNmKa	+	+	-	-	2	somewhat integrated
SLmKa	+	+	-	-	2	somewhat integrated
SHfUP	+	-	-	-	1	unintegrated
SLfUP	+	-	-	-	1	unintegrated
SDfMP	+	-	-	-	1	unintegrated
KGfPu	+	-	(+)	-	2	somewhat integrated
SSfWB	-	-	-	-	0	highly unintegrated
KMmKe	-	-	-	-	0	highly unintegrated

Table 1: Network Strength Scale (n = 60) Guttman Reproducibility Coefficient = 0.97*; Rasch Scalability Coefficient = 0.75* (adapted from Regnoli, 2019b: 133)

To assess the development of the set of data in question and to test the fit of the implicational scale, two calculations have been computed: the Guttman Coefficient of Reproducibility and the Rasch Scalability Coefficient. Data from both calculations result statistically significant, i.e., they show less

than 10% error cells (Guttman Reproducibility Coefficient = 0.97*; Rasch Scalability Coefficient = 0.75*).

As can be seen, network allegiances in the community are relatively dense and multiplex. In other words, the community is highly inclusive despite the common folk belief that Southern Indians have a 'rough' and 'stereotypical' English compared to the 'smoother' and 'neutral' one of the Northerners. Following the principle of 'anchorage', which entails considering the network from the point of view of the individuals, it is possible to uncover the informal relationships the community members are embedded in.[50] Each person, in fact, may be viewed as a focus from which lines radiate to points, which correspond to the other people they are in contact with, in forming the so-called 'first-order network zone'. Indeed, the more distantly connected people form a second, a third- or a fourth-order zone. According to Boissevain, the first two order zones appear to be crucial since individuals generally use second-order contacts to attain different goals.[51] Usually, it is the 'friend of a friend' who helps attain such goals.

The high density of the network may be considered to "function effectively as [a] norm-enforcement mechanism"[52] since its interactional characteristics exert influence on behaviour. In order to avoid the inadequacy of specifying a link without considering its content, the sociometric status of the participants was compared to their integration indices which, in turn, aligned with the network multiplexity. The sociometric status shows an interesting correspondence for the highly integrated members since they top the scale for integration just as they do for status. Table 1 reveals that the volume of exchanges and, therefore, of shared knowledge within the network is significant. Highly integrated speakers (n = 23) constitute the so-called "ego"[53] or core of the first-order network zone, and integrated ones (n = 19) form the ego's second-order zone. Well-integrated participants are socially positioned to access multiple sub-communities of practice such as HISA or other Indian communities in Germany. Moreover, the content of the links between the ego and the mediating first-order contact is very definite. Highly integrated members and integrated ones usually constitute the linguistically influential peer groups of the community. On the contrary, somewhat integrated (n = 13), unintegrated (n = 3) and highly unintegrated (n = 2) members occupy the more peripheral zones of the network. As described in other network studies, peripheral members and, particularly, those unintegrated and highly unintegrated are not generally known by the core members, but only by integrated or secondary ones.[54]

In order to establish whether there were some meaningful connections between network density and perceived accent variation within the student community, correlation analyses were performed. For this purpose, Spearman-Rho rank and Pearson's product-moment coefficient's correlation were performed on the dependent variable of *network* and on the results from the Accent Identification Task. More specifically, the sum total of the guises from the accent identification task recognised by each participant and the network-integration indices analysed above were tested for correlations between them.

Figure 1 suggests a significant weak positive correlation between accent recognition and the sociometric status of the community members ($r = 0.35$; $r_s = 0.35$; $r^2 = 0.09$; $p = 0.017*$). The density plot shows that at point (5,4) the shades are darker, i.e., the density of the values is higher. The majority of the informants who identified five guises correctly ($x = 5$) are highly integrated members ($y = 4$). On a similar note, the peak of the histogram is at $x = 5$, which means that highest accent recognition among all the samples is at $x = 5$. Likewise, the histogram to the right shows that the same

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[50] Milroy, *Language and Social Networks*.
[51] Jeremy Boissevain, *Friends of Friends. Networks, Manipulators and Coalitions* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1974).
[52] Milroy, *Language and Social Networks*, 52.
[53] Ibid., 46.
[54] Cheshire, "Linguistic Variation and Social Function".

applies to the values on the y axis and, as expected, the peak is at y = 4. Since the plot is more spread on the south-west of the figure, there is a linear correlation of variables on both axes, which is corroborated by the positive r and r_s values. Both variables move in the same direction. This result sheds light on the importance of network ties, accent perception and language variation within the Indian student community at issue since it shows that the more integrated the participants, the better at recognising different IndE accents.
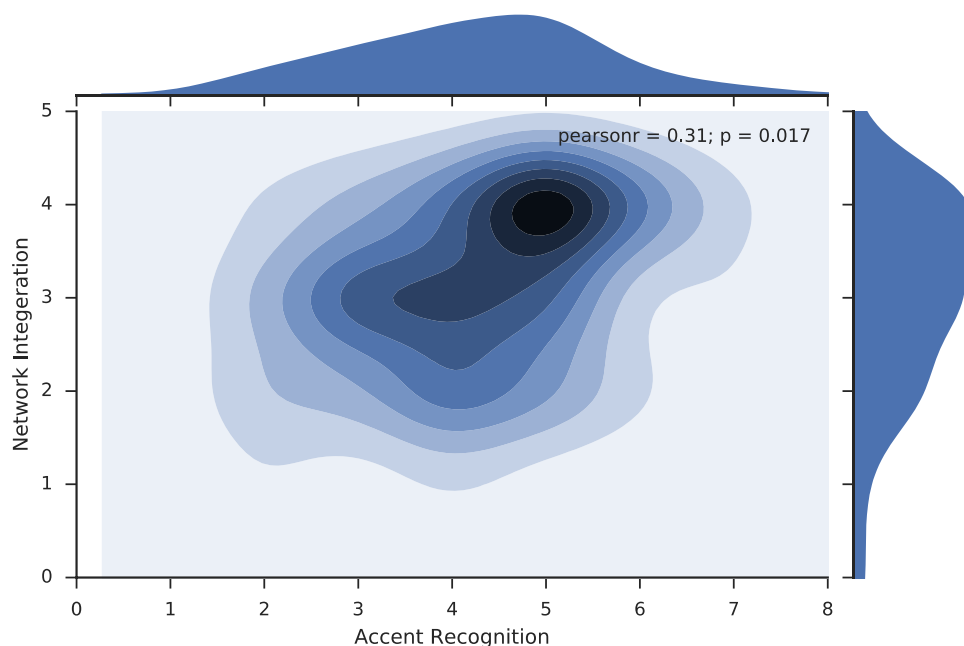

Fig 1: Correlation between network and accent identification (r = 0.31; r_s = 0.35; r^2 = 0.09; p = 0.017*; from Regnoli, 2019b: 179)

Extreme density generally produces homogeneity of norms and values. According to Milroy:

> [s]ince this homogeneity of norms might be expected to extend to interactional and specifically linguistic norms, the density of these networks may partly account for the great consistency with which speakers characteristically show loyalty to vernacular speech norms, despite the social stigma attached to it.[55]

This seems to justify the norm-supporting and norm-constructing network ties as well as the homogeneity of norms and values that guide the participants' language use within the community. As a matter of fact, while the results from the accent identification task described above indicated fine-grained differences in the ratings of Northern and Southern IndE accents in a wide range of status and solidarity traits - with Northern IndE guises having better ratings than the Southern ones - the lack of significance in the reactions towards the attitude traits characterising the Northern and the Southern IndE stimuli indexes homogeneity of norms and values with respect to perceived accent variation. In other words, this result shows the linguistic power of the majority - embodied by the Northern Indian subcommunity, whose views have gradually been accepted and copied by the minorities, i.e., the

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[55] Milroy, *Language and Social Networks*, 61.

Southerners. As expected from the folk belief expressed in section 3, while the Northern Indian participants seemingly have stereotypical views about themselves and the South, students coming from the South have by and large taken over the stereotypes of the Northerners about themselves.

Homogeneity of norms is expressed in the community's linguistic practices as well. While English is the language the community members use most frequently both within and outside their community of practice in different domains, strong L1 language maintenance practices are equally observed. The density and the multiplexity of the network support the speakers' first languages resisting institutional pressures to language shift. The close-knit affiliations of the community, in fact, go hand in hand with network structures as identified in other multilingual communities since, as Giddens points out, distinctive ethnic communities involving strong personal ties tend to gravitate to form bonds with other networks which have similar linguacultural norms.[56] The local Malayali community of Heidelberg constitutes one such example. Religious communities appear to be important focal points for many migrant communities since their networks may account either for the phenomenon of language maintenance or the social trajectory of language shift.[57] In the community in question, similar triggers have been identified. As a result, it comes as no surprise that 60% of the Catholic sample have multiplex networks with members of the Malayali Catholic community. Their monthly gatherings not only help foster inter-network allegiances but also shed new light on the sociometric rankings of the social network structure since 40% of them are highly integrated (see Table 1).

This last example shows that, unlike in stable communities, network ties very seldom weaken in transient multilingual ones for the importance that community members give to inclusivity. In these contexts, minority languages usually resist institutional pressures to language shift because the close-knit, dense and multiplex affiliations of the community are supported by its transiency. Thus, these short-lived contexts promote language maintenance practices - manifest in the stable and continuous use of the speakers' L1s – which, in turn, tend to structure internal network subgroups based on ethnicity.

6. Conclusion

The present study on network integration in a transient community of Indian university students located in Heidelberg suggests that community is highly inclusive despite the common folk belief that Southern Indians have a 'rough' and 'stereotypical' English compared to the 'smoother' and 'neutral' one of the Northerners. Crucially, the data emphasised that the community's ties are dense and multiplex, and the content of its links is firm. The correlation analysis of network integration and perceived accent variation shed light on a positive relation indicating that the more integrated participants are better at recognising different IndE accents. Overall, the results are consistent with the idea that the speakers' constant need of renegotiating the 'problem of ethnicity' (Jayaram 2004) is resolved in their willingness to shed their regional, linguistic and ethnic identities depending on specific sociocultural and linguistic circumstances. However, the adoption of their ethnic identities within their network does not weaken their allegiances and results in norm conformity and inclusivity, which tend to be common features in transient multilingual communities.

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[56] Giddens, *Sociology*.
[57] Shin, "Paibu Dollar Please!"; Li Wei, "Variations in Patterns of Language Choice and Codeswitching".

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Jacqueline Aiello

Voicing Connection to English.
Language Ownership, Legitimization, and Stancetaking

Abstract: The present study explores the nature of the connections that advanced English language users enrolled in a graduate editing seminar had with English and how they articulated these connections. In particular, it aims to unveil the multifaceted nature of language ownership, the resources participants occasion to explicate their language ownership and, more generally, their relationships to English. It also seeks to unearth the resources they draw on to legitimate their connections to English and how they achieve this legitimation linguistically. To explore these dimensions in a more elaborated fashion, the study combines both quantitative analysis and qualitative approaches, for which an overarching poststructuralist lens to discourse analysis was employed, applied to different data sources. Findings disclose the ways in which agency and adherence to norms impact ownership, how users position themselves with respect to and in terms of their target language, and how they voice their connections (or lack thereof) to English.

Keywords: *language ownership*, *editing and revision training*, *language and identity*, *legitimization*, *stance*

1. Introduction

The status of English as a lingua franca brings to the fore tensions between language accuracy and precision on the one hand and language variability and flexibility on the other, especially in university-level contexts within language-driven fields in which English is studied by advanced language users. This paper investigates one context that accentuated these tensions: an English editing and revision training seminar held in 2019 within the graduate Specialized Translation course at the University of Naples "L'Orientale". The seminar wished to reconcile – or at least lay bare – the paradoxical relationship among the instruction of editing (which generally favors standard English exonormative models) and the international nature of English (which rejects norm dependence), and it aimed to have graduate students of a language-focused degree stake a claim for the ownership of English. To achieve this aim, students were offered spaces to reflect on and voice their relationships with English, a language that they had been studying for more than half of their lives, via questionnaires and narratives constructed by means of linguistic autobiographies.

This study takes advantage of the reflective opportunities granted by the seminar and investigates the connections to English of language users whose graduate-level instruction positions them as language specialists. It draws on existing models recently conceptualized to explain language ownership and explores how these individuals' relationships to English are mediated by factors such as the role of English as a lingua franca, its instruction in traditional educational settings, and the authority bestowed upon native speakers. It applies different approaches to the analysis of questionnaires and linguistic autobiographies to investigate the factors determining and impinging upon connections to English and how these connections are articulated linguistically. In so doing, it hopes to contribute to the literature by speaking to the ongoing debate on language ownership and by delving deep into and shedding additional light onto this critical construct.

2. Conceptualizing and Debating English Language Ownership

Over half a century ago, Halliday, McIntosh and Strevens challenged the view that people from Anglophone countries own English on the grounds that "English is no longer the possession of the British, or even of the British and the Americans, but an international language which increasingly large numbers of people adopt for at least some of their purposes".[1] Widdowson built on this argument to assert: "you are proficient in a language to the extent that you possess it, make it your own, bend it to your will, assert yourself through it rather than simply submit to the dictates of its forms".[2] Much of the discourse that has ensued surrounding English ownership has lent itself to the critique of the native speaker (NS) and non-native speaker (NNS) dichotomy. Ben Rampton notably identified a set of assumptions that being a NS of a language tends to imply, which are grounded in a monolingual bias and reflective of an oversimplified view of language users, including: languages are inherited; if you inherit a language, you speak it well; people are either NSs or they are not; NSs have a "comprehensive grasp" of a language; and people are NS of a single mother tongue.[3] In a recent Applied Linguistics Forum piece that demonstrated the ongoing and arguably unresolved nature of this debate, Dewaele maintained that the term NNS reveals "a strong monolingual bias" and, on the heels of the increasing use of the term L2 user over NNS, suggested a move from NS/NNS to L1/LX user, where LX signifies any language learned after the age at which the first language(s) was acquired.[4]

Building on Dewaele's contribution, Thomas and Osment present a three-part hierarchical model to further challenge the NS/NNS dichotomy.[5] Borrowing heavily on the three-dimensional conceptualization of ownership as legitimate knowledge, prevalent use, and affective belonging developed by Park and elaborated by Seilhamer,[6] Thomas and Osment devise the Language-Usage-Identity State Model. At its base, instead of legitimate knowledge (which, according to Seilhamer, adds an emphasis on legitimacy to Rampton's notion of language expertise[7]), the authors opt to include language to represent "even basic working knowledge of a language" as an LX in the model. The second level, usage, is closely related to prevalent usage, or the "degree to which a language is used routinely in one's daily life"[8] but Thomas and Osment add the following qualifiers: primary, additional, and peripheral. While primary users utilize the language daily or almost daily across domains, additional users make use of the language variously but not as a main language, and peripheral users utilize the language only for specific, restricted purposes. The third and highest level of Thomas and Osment's model, identity state, closely linked to affective belonging and based on Tajfel and Turner's Social Identity Theory,[9] describes a person's identification with a language and is again divided into three states: manifest, introjected, and neutral. At the top, the manifest state identity unfolds when a language is a strong part of a user's broader identity and of the way the person thinks, feels, and acts. The introjected state identity is assumed when a user feels that the language is part of her broader identity but it has not been fully internalized. Lastly, the neutral state identity describes

[1] M.A.K. Halliday et al., eds., *The Linguistic Sciences and Language Teaching* (London: Longman, 1964), 293.
[2] Henry Widdowson, "The Ownership of English", *TESOL Quarterly*, 28.2 (1994), 384.
[3] Ben Rampton, "Displacing the Native Speaker: Expertise, Mediation and Inheritance", *ELT Journal* 44.2 (1990), 97.
[4] Jean-Marc Dewaele, "Why the Dichotomy 'L1 Versus LX User' is Better than 'Native Versus Non-native Speaker'", *Applied Linguistics*, 39.2 (2018), 236.
[5] Nathan Thomas and Christopher Osment, "Building on Dewaele's (2018) L1 versus LX Dichotomy: The Language-Usage-Identity State Model", *Applied Linguistics*, 40.3 (2019), 1-7.
[6] Joseph Sung-Yul Park, "Ownership of English: Implications for Heritage, Identity, and Our Future", Talk presented March 31 (2011) at Singapore National Library. Mark F. Seilhamer, "The Ownership of English in Taiwan", *World Englishes*, 34.3 (2015), 370-388.
[7] Seilhamer, "The Ownership of English in Taiwan"; Rampton, "Displacing the Native Speaker".
[8] Seilhamer, "The Ownership of English in Taiwan", 372.
[9] Henri Tajfel and John Charles Turner, "An Integrative Theory of Intergroup Conflict", in William G. Austin and Stephen Worchel, eds., *The Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations* (Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole, 1979), 33-47.

feeling that the language is merely a tool that satisfies transactions but personal associations with the language are lacking.

While this model improves on the language ownership model described in Seilhamer by qualifying both usage and identity state with subcomponents on which researchers can draw in interpretative frameworks, Thomas and Osment's model has several shortcomings.[10] First, this model neglects to consider the albeit regrettable relevance that inheritance, or whether a speaker is born into the group traditionally associated with a language,[11] continues to hold in users' identifications with the language. While inheritance may be embedded within the neutral state identity, it certainly is a specific manifestation of said state that warrants explicit mention. Second, the model omits legitimate knowledge. Thomas and Osment validly hold that "users' language knowledge need not show signs of 'expertise' to be considered legitimate ... nor do users need to project themselves as having 'authority over the language'" and add: "proficiency varies from context to context and is socially defined".[12] Further supporting their stance, they maintain that: "Language knowledge in our model is not subjected to an outsider's scrutiny".[13] While these affirmations are both honorable and valid, even if it is problematic and can be fleeting, being sanctioned as a legitimate speaker of a language has a strong valence on how speakers make meaning of their relationship with a language in certain settings. The experience many language users have had with their LX is tied to traditional educational settings, so, by default, many speakers seek the say of outsiders to confirm their perceptions about their language abilities. More poignantly, Seilhamer aptly notes: "Even if one's English, by any criteria, is nothing short of exquisite, this exquisite usage may not be regarded as legitimate by the speaker or those co-inhabiting the speaker's context, based purely on the speaker's ethnicity or origins".[14] The exclusion of the legitimate knowledge dimension constitutes an oversight seeing that it overlooks the critical role of power and legitimization in language use. Many studies in recent decades have indeed attested the value of examining how speakers define and construct their proficiency in a language (and lack thereof) and the extent to which users feel that they have authority over the language,[15] preferring, for instance, their own intuition over reference to prescriptive rules to make acceptability judgements on language (as discussed in Bokhorst-Heng et al. and Rubdy et al.[16]).

Thomas and Osment's omission of legitimate knowledge can be viewed as tied to their arguments that "there is no ownership", that ownership is "antiquated" and that "any claim of language ownership is irrelevant in this day and age".[17] The authors argue that language should not be seen as a commodity: no one owns any language, and everyone is a user of language. There is validity in the claim that speaking of language learners as deficient and in need of acquiring full ownership (as mastery) of the language is an obsolete and even detrimental point of view. The notion that we are in a post-ownership world was already authenticated by linguists who convincingly argued decades ago that language is not a possession and everyone can claim ownership. However, language users continue to perceive different degrees of language ownership (across languages, contexts, skills, media) and, more importantly, the analysis of how ownership is constructed can provide enlightening insights into the processes that determine users' relationships to the language and how they identify

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[10] Seilhamer, "The Ownership of English in Taiwan"; Thomas and Osment, "The Language-Usage-Identity State Model".

[11] Rampton, "Displacing the Native Speaker"; Seilhamer, "The Ownership of English in Taiwan".

[12] Thomas and Osment, "The Language-Usage-Identity State Model", 2.

[13] Thomas and Osment, "The Language-Usage-Identity State Model", 4.

[14] Seilhamer, "The Ownership of English in Taiwan", 374.

[15] Christina Higgins, "'Ownership' of English in the Outer Circle. An Alternative to the NS/NSS Dichotomy", *TESOL Quarterly*, 37.4 (2003), 615-44. Widdowson, "The Ownership of English".

[16] Wendy D. Bokhorst-Heng, et al., "English Language Ownership among Singaporean Malays. Going beyond the NS/NNS Dichotomy", *World Englishes*, 26.4 (2007), 424-445; Rani Rubdy et al., "Enacting English Language Ownership in the Outer Circle. A Study of Singaporean Indians' Orientations to English Norms", *World Englishes*, 27.1 (2008), 40-67.

[17] Thomas and Osment, "The Language-Usage-Identity State Model", 4-5.

with the language. Furthermore, it can help us to recognize (and then dismantle) obstacles that users perceive. In this light, one of the aims of this study is to apply the three-dimensional conceptualization of ownership as legitimate knowledge, prevalent use, and affective belonging with the qualifications to the latter two dimensions designated in the Language-Usage-Identity State Model to investigate the language ownership of aspiring editors.

3. Narratives, Identities, and Voice

In addition to language ownership, one of the central facets of this study is how experiences with and connections to English are constructed and expressed via narratives, specifically linguistic autobiographies. Bernstein maintained that "one of the ways human beings assess and interpret the events of their life is through the construction of plausible narratives".[18] In line with Ushchyna[19] and other recent research, the present paper is grounded in the premise that narratives serve as interactive, discursive vehicles of stancetaking and identity construction. Accordingly, a review of conceptualizations of stance and identity, grounded in poststructuralism, follows.

Du Bois affirms that "one of the most important things we do with words is take a stance"[20] and defines the construct as follows: "Stance is a public act by a social actor, achieved dialogically through overt communicative means, of simultaneously evaluating objects, positioning subjects (self and others), and aligning with other subjects, with respect to any salient dimension of the sociocultural field".[21] Stances, which rely on the context of the utterance[22], encode speakers' attitudes towards the stance object, their moods, evaluations, points of view, and opinions at different levels of language including lexis, grammar, style, and pragmatics.[23] In her seminal piece "Constructing Social Identity: A Language Socialization Perspective", Elinor Ochs theorizes the relation between language and social identity and argues that speakers position themselves and others by discursively performing social acts and displaying stances.[24] Thus, stancetaking and the recognition of intended stances are critical for identity construction.

Investigations into style have unearthed the relationship between identity and stance. Recently, style has been retheorized "as a multimodal and multidimensional cluster of linguistic and other semiotic practices for the display of identities in interaction".[25] A burgeoning strand of research has applied indexicality to the exploration of stylistic practice to unearth the ideologically-bound and fleeting interactional moves through which social actors take stances, create (dis)alignments, and construct personas.[26] Indexical processes may construct identity within interaction directly, where linguistic forms index interactional – i.e., affective, evaluative, and epistemic – stances, or indirectly, where ideological associations emerge between these linguistic forms and social types (for instance,

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[18] J.M. Bernstein, "Self-knowledge as Praxis. Narrative and Narration in Psychoanalysis", in Christopher Nash, ed., *Narrative in Culture* (London: Routledge, 1990), 57.

[19] Valentyna Ushchyna, "Stancetaking in the Discourse on Risk Identities Construed", in Dylan Glynn and Mette Sjölin, eds., *Subjectivity and Epistemicity Corpus, Discourse, and Literary Approaches to Stance* (Lund: Lund U.P., 2014)

[20] John W. Du Bois, "The Stance Triangle", in Robert Englebretson, ed., *Stancetaking in Discourse. Subjectivity, Evaluation, Interaction* (Amsterdam/Philadelpia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2007), 139.

[21] Du Bois, "The Stance Triangle", 163.

[22] Scott F. Kiesling et al., "Interactional Stancetaking in Online Forums", *Computational Linguistics*, 44.4 (2018), 683-718. (Kiesling et al. 2018)

[23] Ushchyna, "Stancetaking in the Discourse on Risk Identities Construed".

[24] Ochs, Elinor (1993). "Constructing Social Identity. A Language Socialization Perspective", *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 26(3), 287-306.

[25] Mary Bucholtz, "From Stance to Style: Gender, Interaction, and Indexicality in Mexican Immigrant Youth Slang", in Alexandra Jaffe, ed., *Stance: Sociolinguistic Perspectives* (Oxford: Oxford U.P., 2009), 146.

[26] Mary Bucholtz, "From Stance to Style". See also, for instance, Scott F. Kiesling. "Variation, Stance and Style. Word-final -er, High Rising Tone, and Ethnicity in Australian English", *English World-Wide*, 26.1 (2005), 1-42.

some forms come to be seen as inherently feminine or masculine). The present study takes heed of stance markers in the analysis of how language users orient themselves with respect to English.

In addition, in the analysis of identity construction in discourse, this study draws on the tactics of intersubjectivity, which assume that identity is an outcome of the social semiotics of indexicality, ideology, and performance. The framework, developed by Bucholtz and Hall to describe the social relations established through semiotic processes,[27] marries de Certeau's notion of tactics – or the "ingenious ways in which the weak make use of the strong" to transform the dominant cultural economy and "adapt it to their own interests and their own rules" [28] – to intersubjectivity, which is included to accentuate the role of agency and interactional negotiation in the construction of identity. It views identity as accomplished via "the production of contextually relevant socio-political relations of similarity and difference, authenticity and inauthenticity, and legitimacy and illegitimacy",[29] and therefore involves the following sets of tactics: adequation and distinction, which capture processes related to the erasure of discordant elements or the accentuation of discrepancies; authentication and denaturalization, which concern processes related to claims for 'real' identities or the signaling of imposture; and authorization and illegitimation, which involve the processes by which particular social identities and the power structures that sanction identities are legitimated, while others are suppressed and become non-choices.[30]

4. Methods and Approaches

Coffey and Atkinson made the following recommendation at the start of their seminal work *Making sense of qualitative data:*

> There is much to be gained from trying out different analytic angles on one's data. New insights can be generated, and one can sometimes escape from analytic perspectives that have become stereotyped and stale […] to reveal different facets of the data.[31]

In line with this suggestion, the present study aims to explore the nature of the connections with English of a group of forty-four university-level language users enrolled in a language-focused seminar and how these users articulated such connections by relying on different data sources – questionnaires and linguistic autobiographies – and by applying different analytical lenses to these data.

4.1 *Research Setting and Participants*

This research is situated within an English editing and revision training seminar focused on language awareness developed and taught by the author in the 2019/2020 academic year for the graduate-level Specialized Translation course at the University of Naples "L'Orientale". Language awareness was selected as a focus of the seminar because this multifaceted construct taps into a series of factors deemed critical for the success of students interested in the field of editing and revision. First, it is not possible to correct an error unless said error is noticed, so fostering language awareness – in terms of training seminar participants in the recognition of language problems in texts to accomplish editing

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[27] Mary Bucholtz and Kira Hall, "Language and Identity", in Alessandro Duranti, ed., *A Companion to Linguistic Anthropology* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004), 369-394. See also Mary Bucholtz and Kira Hall, "Identity and Interaction. A Sociocultural Linguistic Approach", *Discourse Studies*, 7.4-5 (2005), 585-614.

[28] Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), xvii, xiv.

[29] Bucholtz and Hall, "Language and Identity", 382.

[30] Ibid.

[31] Amanda Coffey and Paul Atkinson, *Making Sense of Qualitative Data. Complementary Research Strategies* (Thousand Oaks CA: Sage, 1996), 13, 15.

and revising – was a main objective of the course. In addition to helping students become more skilled at noticing errors, a second aim of the seminar was to instill awareness of the skills that trainees interested in pursuing careers as editors and revisers needed to succeed in this line of work. Third, the seminar aimed to foster a higher degree of awareness of the skills that they brought to the table to help them identify both their strengths and their lacunae. The most critical aspect in this vein was their self-perceived English knowledge. A high level of English proficiency could situate these learners very favorably as editors or revisors of English texts written by Italian authors. In fact, while Mossop posited that editors of texts written by non-native English speakers should ideally be native English speakers educated in English, he also acknowledged that very proficient 'near-natives' in English – like the language specialists enrolled in graduate-level study – who know the native language of a text's author bring added value since they can more easily reconstruct what the non-native English-speaking author had in mind in ambiguous passages.[32] Lastly, and most relevant for this paper, the seminar wished to reconcile the paradoxical relationship among instructing editing (which generally favors standard English exonormative models) and the international nature of English (which rejects norm dependence) to ultimately have participants stake a claim of English.

Language	Count	Percentage
Arabic	8	18.2%
English	42	95.5%
French	5	11.4%
German	15	34.1%
Spanish	9	20.5%
Russian	9	20.5%

Table 1

The graduate students who opted to participate in the course were enrolled in the second year of a Specialized Translation program. As participants in the seminar, they practiced self-revision, other-revision and editing, and honed their ability to identify and verify the linguistic correctness of texts along with the suitability of a text's style to its future readers. They were additionally offered spaces to reflect on and voice their relationships with English.

Forty-four students completed the seminar and consented to participate in this study. Only six were male, which is largely consistent with enrollment in the graduate course of studies here examined. Table 1 reports the languages they chose to study as part of their two-language requirement of their graduate program. Two students enrolled in the English editing and revision course did not select English as one of their languages of study. The average numbers of years that participants reported studying English across the full sample was roughly 16.

4.2 *Data Collection*

The language ownership questionnaire was administered online on the first day of the seminar, which was held in a computer lab. The decision to administer the questionnaire at the start of the course was to collect data about the participants' level of language ownership that was untainted by the aims and activities of the seminar. In addition to eliciting the descriptive information reported above, it included closed- and open-ended items that prompted participants to indicate the extent of their ownership of English and their identification with the language, the importance they assigned to speaking English

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[32] Brian Mossop, *Revising and Editing for Translators,* Third Edition (London-New York: Routledge, 2014).

accurately and like a NS, the length of time in and frequency with which they used English, their self-perceived competence levels, details about their future, and their decision to enroll in the seminar. This paper focuses on the closed-ended questions that relate directly to the ownership dimensions articulated in Seilhamer and Thomas and Osment[33], whereas a single open-ended response was selected for analysis. This item, which prompted participants to explain their answer to the closed-ended item "To what extent do you feel that you have ownership of English?", was selected because, although the questionnaire did not limit the length of responses, the nature of the question and the questionnaire format compelled participants to commit to a concise, targeted response and thereby, arguably, to home in on the dimension(s) most salient for them. The questionnaire items on which this paper focuses are included in Appendix A.

The other data source was linguistic autobiographies, or narratives that centrally feature language. In addition to serving as a writing and later as a self-revision task and as a means to foster awareness in students, the linguistic autobiographies were meant to grant a deeper understanding of learners' ownership of and relationships with English. To develop their linguistic autobiographies, students were instructed to write a narrative about languages – particularly English – in their lives. They were told to reflect on their language learning paths beginning at their first experiences with English, the language attitudes and ideologies that drove and/or impacted their language use choices, and the current role of language(s) in their lives. A link to William Labov's narrative *How I got into linguistics, and what I got out of it* was provided concomitant with the directions.[34] Seminar participants had two weeks to author the texts and submit them as assignments online. Together, the linguistic autobiographies constituted a 43,153-token corpus.

4.3 *Data Analysis*

As suggested at the start of this section, this study comprised different levels of analysis and applied both quantitative and qualitative approaches to explore, in a multifaceted and in-depth manner, the connection that participants had with English. Closed-ended questionnaire data were analyzed via descriptive statistics (response means, standard deviations (SD), and frequencies), and bivariate correlations were performed using SPSS version 23. The latter were investigated using a Spearman's rank-order correlation coefficient (rho). This coefficient, used with non-parametric tests, is recommended for use with questionnaire items in which the responses are ordinal-level, as was the case in the present study (See Table 2).

Responses from the selected open-ended questionnaire item were first analyzed via qualitative content analysis using Seilhamer's legitimate knowledge, prevalent use, and affective belonging framework[35] to investigate the most salient language ownership dimensions. In a second level of qualitative analysis, the excerpts were examined discursively to identify stance markers and tactics of intersubjectivity[36] with the aim of unveiling the resources participants occasioned to explicate their language ownership and, more generally, their relationships to English, and of unearthing the resources they drew on to legitimate their connections to English and how they achieved this legitimation linguistically.

Comparative keyword analysis was conducted using Sketch Engine, an online text analysis tool, on the linguistic autobiography corpus against the reference corpus English Web Corpus (enTenTen) 2020 constituted by roughly 44 billion tokens from texts collected from the Internet between 2019 and 2021. This analysis, which makes quantitative comparisons of the relative frequency of words between

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[33] Seilhamer, "The Ownership of English in Taiwan". Thomas and Osment, "The Language-Usage-Identity State Model".

[34] William Labov, "How I Got into Linguistics, and What I Got out of it", https://www.ling.upenn.edu/~wlabov/HowIgot.html.

[35] Seilhamer, "The Ownership of English in Taiwan".

[36] Bucholtz and Hall, "Language and Identity".

two corpora, highlights the keywords, or the words that appear more frequently in one body of text than in another. The comparative keyword analysis generated a list of keywords, and collocation analysis of these keywords followed. The linguistic autobiography corpus was then analyzed using a frequency-driven approach to multi-word units. To perform this, 3- and 4-grams were identified in Sketch Engine. Next, the functional classification of common lexical bundles delineated in Biber et al.[37] was applied to analyze the top twenty lexical bundles that emerged in the linguistic autobiographies. The linguistic autobiography corpus was then analyzed using Dedoose, a software designed for use with mixed methods data. Using this software, closed-ended questionnaire item responses were inserted as (quantitative) categories for each text and the texts themselves were coded following the framework described in Thomas and Osment[38] with the aim of discerning emergent patterns and of grouping autobiographies based on level of ownership across dimensions. Based on these criteria, three autobiographies were selected for discourse analysis and closer investigation of the strategies used by participants with different levels of ownership to express their connections to English. Concomitant with this analysis, legitimate knowledge was also coded using Dedoose following an inductive grounded theory approach to develop a potential set of qualifiers for that dimension.

5. Results

5.1 *Descriptive Statistics and Bivariate Correlations*

Table 2 illustrates the means and standard deviations of a series of closed-ended questionnaire responses. In summary, on average, participants felt ownership of English and that English was part of their identities to a moderate extent. They felt that speaking English like a NS was between moderately and very important; and speaking and/or writing English accurately was deemed even more important. While self-perceived English proficiency averaged at about 'good' across the four skills, the highest rated skill was reading and the lowest was speaking. Participants reported using English between sometimes and often.

Descriptive Statistics	Mean	SD
To what extent do you feel that you have ownership of English?*	3.05	0.861
To what extent is English part of your identity?*	3.18	0.582
How important do you think it is to speak English like a native speaker?**	3.53	0.550
How important do you think it is to speak/write English accurately?**	3.91	0.294
Rate your English ability in the following four skills:***		
Reading	3.27	0.449
Listening	3.00	0.440
Speaking	2.89	0.629
Writing	3.03	0.305
How often do you use English?****	3.53	0.667

* Scale: 1= Not at all; 2= A small extent; 3= A moderate extent; 4= A great extent
** Scale: 1= Not at all important; 2= Slightly important; 3= Moderately important; 4= Very important
*** Scale: 1= Very Poor; 2= Poor; 3= Good; 4= Excellent
**** Scale: 1= Never; 2= Rarely; 3= Sometimes; 4= Often

Table 2

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[37] Douglas Biber et al., "If you look at…: Lexical Bundles in University Teaching and Textbooks", *Applied Linguistics*, 25.3 (2004), 371-405.
[38] Thomas and Osment, "The Language-Usage-Identity State Model".

The relationships among the previously discussed items were investigated, using a Spearman's rank-order correlation coefficient, to explore the strength of the relationship between ownership of English and its constituent parts (Table 3).

	Ownership of English	Importance of NS English	Importance of accuracy	Frequency of English Use	Reading self-rating	Listening self-rating	Speaking self-rating	Writing self-rating	English as part of identity
Ownership of English	1.000								
Importance of NS English	0.086	1.000							
Importance of accuracy	–0.032	0.413**	1.000						
Frequency of English Use	0.548**	0.225	0.053	1.000					
Reading self-rating	0.335*	–0.083	-0.172	0.058	1.000				
Listening self-rating	0.407*	–0.294	-0.248	0.144	0.450*	1.000			
Speaking self-rating	0.523**	0.098	-0.045	0.566**	0.184	0.397	1.000		
Writing self-rating	0.127	0.287	0.033	0.326	0.159	0.241	0.298	1.000	
English as part of identity	0.556**	0.395**	0.091	0.396**	0.105	0.275	0.440*	0.443**	1.000

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)
* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

Table 3

As seen in the second column of Table 3, the strongest relationships significant at the .01 level emerged between language ownership and a) frequency of English use, b) self-perceived English-speaking ability, and the c) extent to which participants felt that English was part of their identities. Thirty percent of the variance in language ownership can be accounted for by frequency of English use, twenty-seven percent of the variance can be accounted for by self-perceived speaking proficiency, and thirty-one percent by the identification with English. The findings that transpire from this analysis suggest that those who use English more frequently (linked to prevalent use), have higher self-perceived speaking proficiency (linked to legitimate knowledge), and feel that English is part of their identity (linked to affective belonging) to a greater extent, tend to experience ownership to a greater extent. Although, as is the case with all correlation analyses, claims of causality cannot be made, these findings indicate that prevalent use, legitimate knowledge, and affective belonging are all related to the ownership construct, providing validating evidence for Seilhamer's framework.[39] In order to investigate this aspect further, the next section reports on the results of the analyses of open-ended responses.

5.2 Prevalent Use, Affective Belonging and Legitimate Knowledge

The closed-ended questionnaire item that prompted participants to indicate the extent to which they felt that they had ownership of English was followed by an open-ended question asking participants to explain their answer. Content analysis of these open-ended responses aimed at identifying on which of the three ownership dimensions – prevalent use, affective belonging and legitimate knowledge – participants relied to explain their ownership (or lack thereof) revealed that 19.5 percent drew on their prevalent usage; language ownership rested on affective belonging for 19.5 percent of participants; and 61.0 percent of participants referred to legitimate knowledge.

A random selection of open-ended responses of participants for whom language ownership rested on prevalent use follow:

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[39] Seilhamer, "The Ownership of English in Taiwan".

(1) *Thanks to university studies and my personal experience, I speak English every day and this makes me feel that I have ownership of English*

(2) *In everyday life I use english to send e-mails or speak to my friends who don't speak my mother tongue. I read books and watch movies in english. I often write or speak in english on social medias*

(3) *I don't talk in English very often*

(4) *i feel i have ownership of english thanks to years and years of studying but it is a moderate ownership because i need more practice.*

(5) *I think I don't have ownership because I have been only studying it and I haven't practised it yet at all. I believe that to have a ownership of a language it isn't only necessary to study it on the books.*

The participants who provided responses (1) and (2) draw on their academic choices and experiences linked to English to support and legitimize claims to English language ownership. However, as seen in sample responses (3), (4) and (5), participants who cited prevalent usage in their responses mainly did so in reference to their infrequent use of English and to justify their lagging (moderate or low) level of ownership. Indeed, these three responses cite a lack of current use of English (3), for which the participant may be collocated as a peripheral user following Thomas and Osment's designation,[40] and lack of practice (4, 5), thereby suggesting that they deemed their language use insubstantial in terms of quantity.[41]

As depicted in the histograms in Figures 1 and 2, while the responses to the prompt "For how many years have you studied English" are negatively skewed with a mean amounting to most of the participants' lives (i.e., 15.86 years), the responses to a question concerning English use in non-educational settings is positively skewed, with a mean of roughly five years and a mode of only one year. This suggests that, with the exception of a few outliers, despite longstanding access to and engagement with English, for most participants, English use is confined to educational/academic domains.
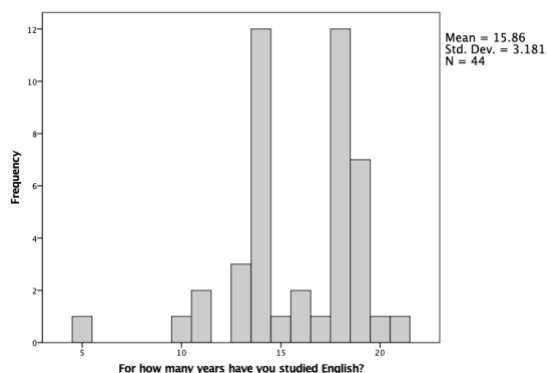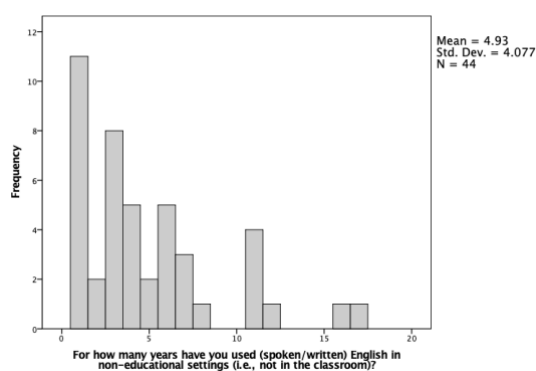

Fig. 1

Fig. 2

This finding is particularly compelling in light of the fact that the selected representative responses illustrate the acknowledgement that having studied the language does not imply practice in and use of English. Therefore, it adds another dimension to the prevalent usage construct: not only must language use be considered substantial in terms of quantity but also substantial in terms of quality. For these participants, English should be used both frequently and in non-educational domains for language ownership to feel legitimized and authenticated.

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[40] Thomas and Osment, "The Language-Usage-Identity State Model".
[41] Seilhamer, "The Ownership of English in Taiwan".

The duration of English instruction was referenced as a means by which an emotional attachment was forged with the language, as indicated in the open-ended responses of participants for whom language ownership rested on affective belonging:

(6) *Because I have been studying English for a long time and even if I have a low level of ownership, I have acquired some mental English structure*
(7) *Because I have studied the language for a very long time.*
(8) *English is something I live everyday, I happen to dream in English sometimes, it has become a massive part of my persona during these years.*
(9) *because I am not mothertongue and I do not practice English in my everyday life*
(10) *Because I'm not [a] native speaker*

Responses (6) and (7), in which authors reported feeling ownership to a small and great extent respectively, both enact inexact extent of time, realized by duration epithets such as "long" (6) and "very long" (7), and subjective experience of time – versus "the 'objective' reality of clock time"[42] – with the effect of accentuating the duration of English study and of linking this length to the characterizing nature of the study experience. Response (6) attributes to the duration of study the acquisition of English structures while response (7) is even more targeted, seeing as the length of study is sufficient to support the claim for the great extent of ownership. Then, response (8) is indicative of an internalization of English. With this response, the participant, who indicated owning English to a great extent, adheres to Thomas and Osment's description of the manifest state identity by which "the language is part of the way that person thinks, feels, and acts, most likely at the subconscious level".[43] However, participants also cited inheritance, or whether a speaker is born into the group traditionally associated with a language, to explain a lack of English ownership, as seen in responses (9) and (10). This is unsurprising since, as mentioned above, this cohort expressed that speaking English like a NS was important. In addition to the noteworthy allusion to prevalent usage in (9), which suggests a connection between inheritance and substantial language use, these responses imply that these participants' identities can be neither authenticated nor authorized as owners of English because of their NNS status.

A majority of participants grounded their understandings of ownership in legitimate knowledge, as illustrated in the following randomly selected excerpts within this category:

(11) *I received a C1 grade A+ certificate*
(12) *I can understand native English speakers and talk to them, I can read and write texts in English*
(13) *I think I can talk to english people about different topics and I can understand them as well as I can explain my ideas.*
(14) *I feel that I can read and understand a text in English, I can write a text and speak in English because I have learned grammar rules.*
(15) *I've made many experiences abroad, i've lived with locals and they taught me how to use english properly*

Participants drew on possession of language certifications (11), perceived abilities in various skills (12, 13, 14), knowledge of grammar rules (14), and experiences abroad (15) to support their assessments of ownership. By drawing on the procurement of a stated language level as ascertained in a language exam, the participant who provides the response noted in excerpt (11) relies on an authoritative source to explicate their ownership. In this brief response, citing the exam outcome – an external referent – is sufficient evidence to justify the great extent of ownership felt. The authors of excerpts (12) and (13),

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[42] Theo van Leeuwen, "Time in Discourse", *Linguistics and the Human Sciences*, 1.1 (2005), 137.
[43] Thomas and Osment, "The Language-Usage-Identity State Model", 2.

who selected feeling ownership to a great and moderate extent, respectively, cited the ability to speak with NS of English and to use, orally and textually, the language. The insertion of the mental state predicate "I think" in excerpt (13) serves as an epistemic stance marker that signals a subjective opinion (in contrast, for instance, with the stance expressed in excerpt 11). This marker highlights a further distinction between excerpts (12) and (13) in that the latter more explicitly references the participant's experiences in successfully interacting (with NS) in English and draws on them as evidentials to legitimize their knowledge of the language. A similar strategy is employed by the author of excerpt (14) who begins their response with the personalized marker "I feel", which refers to their subjective stance in constructing their perceived English abilities, but they then cite the external, exonormative referent "grammar rules". Although we may expect that responses collected within the context of a university seminar contain reference to institutional evaluations of language, reference to prescriptive rules[44] (over, for instance, one's own intuitions and experiences) suggests a reliance among these participants on external judgement and objectively authoritative means to determine their (self-perceived) language ability.

Next, as exemplified in excerpt (15), some students perceived ownership because they spent time and participated in English-speaking communities. In particular, in excerpt (15), the participant references the "locals" with whom they lived who taught them how to use English "properly". In so doing, they bestow on these "locals" expert authority and, by referring to these experts, epistemic status is reinforced. In addition to experiences abroad, this expert instruction both fortifies and legitimizes the connection between the participant and the language.

As displayed by the insights gleaned from these responses, it would be remiss to disregard the nuances inherent in the legitimate knowledge dimension of language ownership, and, like the other dimensions, it can also be qualified further. This issue will be expatiated on later in this paper, by drawing on the in-depth analyses of linguistic autobiographies.

5.3 *Keywords and Lexical Bundles in the Linguistic Autobiographies*

Table 4 displays the results of the comparative keyword analysis conducted on the linguistic autobiography corpus using Sketch Engine. The top 20 keywords are arranged by their 'keyness', a statistic determined by a Log-likelihood calculation performed by the software, and exclude the name ('Orientale') and city ('Naples') of the university in which participants were enrolled.

	Item	Frequency (focus)	Score		Item	Frequency (focus)	Score
1	English	934	158.3	11	classmate	18	65.4
2	linguistic	44	135.4	12	globalize	5	58.1
3	Germanic	15	126.8	13	vocabulary	26	57.6
4	franca	8	124.1	14	translator	22	57.4
5	lingua	8	120.6	15	grammatical	8	55.4
6	pronunciation	23	95.7	16	linguistics	11	50.2
7	fascinate	25	85.6	17	Italian	72	38.3
8	Arabic	44	82.1	18	interpreter	13	37.7
9	language	645	81.9	19	dialect	11	37.5
10	grammar	39	71.6	20	Spanish	73	37.1

Table 4

Given the prompt that elicited the narratives, it comes as no surprise that the top keyword is 'English', and that the top 20 keywords include the names of other languages, language-based terms ('linguistic',

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[44] Bokhorst-Heng, et al., "English Language Ownership"; Rubdy et al., "Enacting English Language Ownership".

'language', and 'linguistics'), and university- and degree-focused terms ('classmate', 'translator' and 'interpreter'). Concordance analysis revealed that participants' fascination with English undergirded their decision to pursue the study of the language. The presence of the word 'grammar' is in line with the findings discussed in the previous section. Although the presence of the terms 'lingua' and 'franca' suggests awareness of the role of English as global means of communication, the keyword 'pronunciation', which often occurred with 'improve', is prevalent. This suggests a continued focus on and interest in aspiring to acquire a native-like accent.

The next analysis focused on lexical bundles. Lexical bundles, according to Biber and Barbieri, "provide interpretive frames for the developing discourse", and can be situated within three primary discourse functions: stance expressions, discourse organizers, and referential expressions.[45] Because these sequences are "clearly useful devices for the comprehension and construction of discourse",[46] a frequency-driven approach was applied for the identification of lexical bundles in the corpus of linguistic autobiographies, displayed in Table 5.

Item	Freq	Item	Freq
I decided to	46	the fact that	24
I wanted to	42	of my life	24
a lot of	39	part of my	23
in my life	33	I would like	22
I had to	33	to study English	21
I have always	31	I was very	21
I think that	29	I used to	21
when I was	28	of the language	20
the English language	27	in order to	20
to improve my	24	I have been	20

Table 5

When this list was compared with the lexical bundles and discourse functions delineated in Biber et al. and Biber and Barberi[47], many commonalities emerged, which suggests that participants – albeit writing in their LX – have internalized word sequences inherent in university writing in English. Indeed, this list includes both personal ('I think that') and impersonal ('the fact that') epistemic lexical bundles, where the former usually express possibility but a lack of certainty (and may include referential identification) and the latter express degrees of certainty rather than uncertainty. Then, the second and fourteenth most frequent bundles, 'I wanted to' and 'I would like', fall under the category of desire bundles, which frame self-motivated wishes. Other lexical bundles are referential and fall under the specification of attributes including those that specified quantity ('a lot of', 'part of my') and provide intangible framing attributes ('in order to'), yet others refer to text-specific foci ('in my life', 'of my life', 'the English language', 'of the language', 'to study English').

Through a different lens, more insights can be generated. First, the verbal constructions of both 'I have always' and 'I have been' index a continuity in the story lines that participants created and therefore reinforce the plausibility and coherence of their narratives (and, by extension, their connections with English). Second, since choices made during their language-learning path constituted a pivotal notion for participants who authored linguistic autobiographies, it is unsurprising that 'I decided to' was the most frequent lexical bundle. However, considered alongside the second most frequent bundle 'I wanted to', which also includes the first-person singular pronoun, it can be viewed

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[45] Douglas Biber and Federica Barbieri, "Lexical Bundles in University Spoken and Written Registers", *English for Specific Purposes* 26 (2007), 270.
[46] Douglas Biber and Federica Barbieri, "Lexical Bundles", 284.
[47] Douglas Biber et al., "If you look at…"; Douglas Biber and Federica Barbieri, "Lexical Bundles".

as an agentic formula or, put differently, an expression of agency. Therefore, the study of English was not something that happened to participants but it was a decision that was made consciously by them. In contrast, the frequent use of 'I had to' suggests a lack of agency since requirement, the highest level of obligation modality,[48] indexes the perception of being unable to make a choice.

5.4 *Voicing Different Degrees of Ownership*

This section investigates the nature of participants' connections to English by zeroing in on excerpts of the language autobiographies of participants who declare ownership to different degrees. To begin, below is an excerpt from the linguistic autobiography of a participant who expressed having ownership of English to a great extent. In this excerpt, after having described the experiences with English in their life, the participant takes English on directly, artfully describing what the language means to them:

1 *In the light of what I have said, it is clear that the English language plays a key role in my life. In one way*
2 *or another, since I was a child, I have always been surrounded by foreign words that sounded like magic*
3 *spells. English – but actually every language – is not just a collection of words and grammatical structures.*
4 *It is rather a tool; it allows you to step into another world and to express yourself in a different way. Many,*
5 *too many Italians think sadly otherwise. It is mostly perceived as something unintelligible and "static",*
6 *whereas it is a proper living being: just like people, English grows and evolves all the time.*

The author legitimizes both the narrative that they have presented ("In light of what I have said", line 1) and the strong connection that they maintain with English with the formula "it is clear" (line 1), an impersonal predicate expressing normativity that displays confidence that the reader will accept the information they presented as valid.[49] Both by stating that it is "clear" and by reiterating their long-standing relationship with languages implied in the formulations "since I was a child" and "I have always been" (line 2), they position themselves as an expert of English. The participant's redefinitions and interpretations of the stance object (as "a tool" (line 4), "a proper living being" (line 6), etc.) create disalignment (linguistically marked by formulations including "not just", "rather", "otherwise", "whereas") with respect to the wider community ("Italians", line 5). Thus, the articulation of the view that English is a dynamic tool that can be used for self-expression and to access other worlds itself conveys the participant's strong sense of English ownership. Then, by referencing others who are unaware of the true nature of English, the participant is propelled to a special status in which they can more powerfully and convincingly stake a claim to English.

The next excerpt is from the linguistic autobiography of a participant who experienced English ownership to a moderate extent:

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[48] Mollee Shultz et al., "The Expression of Agency by Graduate Teaching Assistants and Professors in Relation to their Professional Obligations", *Linguistics and Education*, 52 (2019), 33-43.

[49] Juana I. Marín Arrese, "Effective vs. Epistemic stance and Subjectivity in Political Discourse. Legitimising Strategies and Mystification of Responsibility", in Christopher Hart, ed., *Critical Discourse Studies in Context and Cognition* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2011), 193-223.

1 Despite the years spent studying hard to improve my English skills, I know now that the path is still so long,
2 and I should do something more. I often wonder about my future and about the role of English in my life; the
3 answer is always the same: I'd like to become an English teacher at primary school to share my emotions and
4 my passion with other people. That's why I started my career at the University of Naples "L'Orientale" and
5 when I did the entrance test to attend the courses, I was very satisfied because I got a high score. I realized that
6 I had made the right choice and that all the efforts would have been rewarded. However, I have to admit that
7 now something has changed in me: sometimes I feel like I'm not very good at English as my peers, then I feel a
8 little discouraged [...]

The author also begins by acknowledging the length of their study – with an adverb of manner to qualify the nature of this effort – before using the epistemic verb "I know" (line 1), thereby expressing their certainty in regard to the duration of their learning trajectory – to which they add the intensifying adverb "so" – and to the need for action on their part. Although their verb choice conveys certitude, its in-context effect imparts both increased awareness and decreased confidence. The participant's choice to study English at university was grounded in an affective link to the language and was buttressed by the high score they received in an exam. This latter external validation is nonetheless insufficient to sustain high self-perceived English proficiency. The semi-modal of obligation "have to" (line 6) strips their agency and frames the affective stance act in which the participant acknowledges that they perceive a worsening in their English ability when juxtaposed with their peers.

In addition to illustrating the variable, fleeting and ultimately context-dependent nature of ownership, this excerpt also sheds light on the legitimate knowledge dimension in particular. Here, legitimate knowledge is defined first in terms of an exam outcome then in experiential terms, based on a comparison with the participant's peers at university. Indeed, the analysis of linguistic autobiographies supports the results of open-ended questionnaire responses: participants who most successfully hinge on this ownership dimension appeal to their experiences to legitimize their knowledge of English (or, as in the instance above, undermine perceptions of knowledge). In addition to building confidence, experiences in language use provided participants with the grounding on which to build language ownership and to internalize relationships with the language. Of note, however, as also discussed earlier, for many, English NSs remain the most prestigious apex of these experiences, as clearly evinced in the linguistic autobiography excerpts below:

(16) I still have some difficulties and insecurities in speaking, and I think I need to practice more in this respect, having more conversations with native speakers, and travelling (or maybe moving, who knows..) to an English-speaking country.

(17) It's also important have to deal with mother tongues native speakers and it is important live in the place for a little while.

(18) I wish I could improve my English with native speakers

The final excerpt comes from the linguistic autobiography of a participant who expressed having ownership of English to a small extent:

1 Despite all these things, my English is related to university environment. This means that I don't speak English
2 outside the English courses. This is for me very frustrating because I can't develop, in this way, the fluency in
3 speaking and acquire English mental structures. Speaking of this, I realised that for us Italian it is quite difficult
4 to think as English think because we use different patterns which influence our approach to English. So for
5 example we have difficulty in using the genitive or the perfect continuous.

The author explains that their use of English is limited to the university domain, which, as signaled by the anaphoric contrastive marker with which the excerpt begins, is in discordance with the narrative

they constructed of their past relationship with this language. Presently, the participant's development of English is limited by a lack of prevalent use, which again underscores the importance of quality – not just quantity – in this construct. The author attempts to reconcile the lack of coherence in their narrative and in their constructed relationship to English by positioning themselves among Italians for whom English is difficult, signaled by their use of first-person plural pronouns (lines 3-5).

6. Discussion and Conclusions

In line with the conceptualization of the language ownership construct as complex, multifaceted and multiply-dependent, this paper reported on a study that applied different lenses and approaches to the investigation of this construct. Bivariate correlations of questionnaire item responses revealed that frequency of English use, the extent to which participants felt that English was part of their identities, and self-perceived English-speaking ability were most strongly related to feelings of language ownership. These constructs map neatly onto prevalent use, affective belonging, and legitimate knowledge framework. When open-ended responses were analyzed in light of this framework, additional insights transpired: legitimate knowledge was frequently cited to justify ownership; prevalent use should be considered not only in terms of quantity but also quality (i.e., non-educational settings); and, though English is used as a lingua franca, NSs remain a critical reference point for language users. The latter point underpinned the legitimacy of English knowledge: participants felt legitimated by successful experiences with language use but they felt most legitimated by or felt that they could gain this legitimation with experiences with NSs.

These findings support the notion that the legitimate knowledge dimension is preferable to the one-dimensional language as an LX level proposed by Thomas and Osment.[50] Bucholtz and Hall aptly maintain that "when identities are forged in relation to language, they become bound up with language ideologies", and they argue: "a speaker's work in positioning herself as linguistically competent and another as a linguistic novice does not end at the interactional level; rather, it enters a chain of ideologization involving locally specific beliefs about who is and is not able to speak a language fluently".[51] Moreover, as gathered from the findings of this study, we can suggest a delineation of qualifiers to describe legitimate knowledge, based on the extent to which proficiency judgements are externalized. A guiding question may be: does the evidence language users draw on to legitimize their language knowledge relate to the say of external, authoritative evaluators or is it grounded in an internalized intuition or experience (e.g., successful language use)? While in the former scenario language users seek expertise in and assign authority to others (e.g., such as language examiners or NS experts), in the latter they turn inward and provide a personalized, context-dependent and socially-defined meaning of their English expertise that is "not subjected to an outsider's scrutiny".[52]

Then, the analysis of linguistic autobiographies revealed how participants narratively constructed their connections to English. In these narratives, participants underscored both the duration of their study of English to warrant the strength of this connection and their agency – at times impinged – in their English-related story lines. Another recurrent thread related to how participants positioned their ownership of English with respect to others: a participant with a high degree of ownership saw themselves as disaligned from their community based on their understandings of English as a dynamic tool; a participant with a moderate degree of ownership reevaluated their ownership based on the proficiency of their peers; and a participant with a low degree of ownership positioned themselves

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[50] Thomas and Osment, "The Language-Usage-Identity State Model".

[51] Mary Bucholtz and Kira Hall, "Finding identity. Theory and Data", *Multilingua*, 27 (2008), 154.

[52] Thomas and Osment, "The Language-Usage-Identity State Model", 4.

among Italians for whom English is difficult to acquire. These relations crucially display how ownership is socially- and contextually-bound.

This study has several limitations. Firstly, this study focused on a relatively small group of participants enrolled in a single seminar at a single university. Also, some of the findings might have been influenced by the context in which the data were collected, or a language-focused seminar taught in English by a NS. Future studies should study a larger pool of participants and collect data outside of traditional educational settings and without the presence of NSs to explore whether there are differences in findings.

Notwithstanding these limitations, the results that transpired from this study have implications for language learning and use. For one, there is a continuing need to deconstruct the notion that NSs are the authority on English and the recurrent preference for language exposure outside of educational settings gives us a lot to think about with respect to the settings that have been created for these learners. Lastly, linguistic autobiographies should be integrated within learning paths in order to both instill in learners awareness of their relationship with English and for instructors to gather valuable input that can inform instruction and curriculum planning.

Appendix A

(1) Languages studied in the MTS program: ○ Arabic ○ English ○ French ○ German ○ Spanish ○ Russian

(2) For how many years have you studied English? 0…30

(3) For how many years have you used (spoken/written) English in non-educational settings (i.e., not in
the classroom)? 0…30

(4) To what extent is English part of your identity? ○A great extent ○A moderate extent ○A small extent ○Not at all

(5a) To what extent do you feel that you have ownership of English? ○A great extent ○A moderate extent ○A small extent ○Not at all

(5b) Please explain your answer: _____

(6) How important do you think it is to speak English like a native speaker? ○Very important ○Moderately important ○Slightly important ○Not at all important

(7) How important do you think it is to speak/write English accurately? ○Very important ○Moderately important ○Slightly important ○Not at all important

(8) How often do you use English? ○ Often ○ Sometimes ○ Rarely ○ Never

(9) Rate your English ability in the following four skills:

	Very Poor	Poor	Average	Good	Excellent
Reading	○	○	○	○	○
Listening	○	○	○	○	○
Speaking	○	○	○	○	○
Writing	○	○	○	○	○

Margherita Zanoletti, eds., Noonuccal Oodgeroo. *My People/La mia gente.*
(Milano: Mimesis, 2021), 348 pp., ISBN: 978-88-57576-76-3

Reviewed by Arianna Autieri

The anthology *My People/La mia Gente* edited by Margherita Zanoletti (Mimesis 2021) fills a major gap in the postcolonial translated literature publishing scene in Italy, introducing in the country the most famous collection of poetry by the Australian Aboriginal writer Oodgeroo Noonuccal. With the remarkable contribution of Zanoletti's notes and introductory prefaces, and an introductory essay by Alexis Wright, *My People/La mia Gente* also fills a critical gap in studies on Aboriginal Australian literature: despite having been published in five editions and being highly successful among the public, in fact, as Zanoletti laments, no exhaustive study on *My People* had been published before (Margherita Zanoletti, "My People di Oodgeroo Noonuccal: una prospettiva traduttologica", in M. Zanoletti, ed., *My People/La mia Gente*, by Oodgeroo Noonuccal [Milano: Mimesis, 2021], 50).

My People, a "classic of postcolonial literature" (ibid.), gives voice to the tragic history of Aboriginal Australians – a history still "unknown to the majority of Italians" (31; my translation) – and thematises the vital interrelationship between nature and the indigenous populations of Australia – a theme particularly significant for a world facing an ecological crisis. It includes Oodgeroo Noonuccal's first collections of poems, *We Are Going* – already introduced to the Italian public by Zanoletti and Di Blasio in 2013 – and *The Dawn Is at Hand*, eight poems that were written between 1966 and 1970 (the year of the first publication of *My People*), and seven later pieces. It also contains a prose *Interlude* and a transcription of Oodgeroo's 1989 speech for the Griffith University, pronounced when she was awarded her honorary doctorate on April 22, 1989. *My People/La mia Gente* is a bilingual publication that presents the texts of *My People* alongside their Italian translations. As a translation of a postcolonial text, this edition stands out for its refined, theory-informed, and sensitive translation approach: Zanoletti shows an awareness of the "*ethical* aim of the translating act" and an intent to "receive the Foreign as Foreign" (Antoine Berman, "Translation and the Trials of the Foreign", trans. by Lawrence Venuti, in *The Translation Studies Reader*, 3rd ed., ed. by Lawrence Venuti [New York: Routledge, 2012], 241). Where translations are introduced by detailed introductory prefaces and accompanied by explicative notes and a glossary, another merit of this edition is that it re-establishes the fruitful link between translation and commentary, a link which was "broken" "when critical discourse established itself as an autonomous entity" (Antoine Berman, *The Age of Translation*, trans. by Chantal Wright [New York: Routledge, 2018], 27) but which appears particularly significant for a worthwhile exploration of literature.

Opening Zanoletti's edition is a text by Aboriginal writer and Boisbouvier Chair in Australian Literature at the University of Melbourne Alexis Wright. The text is a transcription of the speech given by Wright at the annual *Fryer Lecture in Australian Literature* (9 November 2020) – one hundred years after Oodgeroo's birth – translated for the first time into Italian by Zanoletti. The choice to include Wright's words at the beginning of the Italian edition of *My People* is a particularly effective means to signal to the Italian reader the historical and contemporary significance of Oodgeroo's

compositions. Wright sheds light on the role that Oodgeroo's literary and activist efforts had for Aboriginal Australian people, reminding her audience that Oodgeroo "spoke of decades of genocidal, oppressive laws depriving our relatives – our parents, grandparents and great-grandparents – of basic human dignity, robbing their spirit, and denying their legal rights" (Alexis Wright, "In times like these, what would Oodgeroo do?", in *Monthly* [December 2020-January 2021], www.themonthly.com.au.). Moreover, Wright considers how Oodgeroo's discussion of the intrinsic connection between nature, men and land in her writing is an inspiration in the era of the "Anthropocene" (ibid.). Where Wright wonders what Oodgeroo would say of the current climatic crisis, which is manifesting itself violently in Australia, following Wright's introduction the reader recognises in Oodgeroo's writing a possible inspiration for appreciating the earth "as the main character in stories extending the shadow of its long arc over generations to come" (ibid): in Oodgeroo's words "But time is running out/ And time is close at hand, / For the Dreamtime folk are massing / To defend their timeless land" (in Zanoletti, ed., *My People/La mia Gente*, 29). In this context, suggesting that "[t]here should be no more talking about Aboriginal literature as a small offshoot of Australian literature" (Wright, "In times like these, what would Oodgeroo do?"), Wright indicates Oodgeroo as a major representative of Aboriginal literature and argues that she would deserve the organisation in Australia of celebrations similar to Joyce's Bloomsday or Yeats' birthday in Ireland.

Following in the anthology is the aforementioned text by Zanoletti, "*My People* di Oodgeroo Noonuccal", which is a comprehensive and wide-ranging preface that gives details on the author's life, her work and its major themes, and offers a translation perspective on her poems. The preface aims to provide the Italian readers with "some essential reading tools to connect Oodgeroo's life and work, and highlight the originality and significance of her artistic and intellectual contribution" (Zanoletti, "My People di Oodgeroo Noonuccal", 33; my translation). It is divided into three sections.

The first section includes a detailed biography of Oodgeroo in the context of Australian history. In particular, this section points out how Oodgeroo's literary work, which brings Aboriginal history to the eyes of white Australia, parallels her role as an activist for Aboriginal rights; her activist and literary efforts are read by Zanoletti as significant for the success of the campaign that led to the "correction of section 51 and abolition of section 127 of the Australian constitution" – a historical triumph for the recognition of aboriginal people as "Australian citizens" (39; my translation).

The second section offers the reader of the anthology some key tools to address Oodgeroo's poems. Opening this section is a passage where Zanoletti explains how, as a half Indigenous and half European woman, Oodgeroo relies on English as a means to "colonise a wider public" (57; my translation), but appropriates it by using Aboriginal lexicon, phrases and indigenous cultural references. In this context, Oodegeroo's language appears both familiar and foreign to the typical English speaking white reader, a fact that made the presence of a "glossary" necessary since the first edition of *My People* (1970) – and that will be maintained in the Italian translation. Here Zanoletti signals that Oodgeroo's poems do not follow a chronological or thematic order, and that "this apparent disorder [...] is sometimes read as a subversion of imperialist canons, as an anti-linear narrative modality" (61; my translation). To help the reader address this "disorder", Zanoletti, therefore, classifies Oodgeroo's poems i) chronologically and ii) thematically. She introduces two thematic schemes: the first scheme classifies Oodgeroo's sociopolitical protest poetry and distinguishes: protest poems; ecological poems; poems of belonging and of hope; the second scheme classifies traditional

Aboriginal storytelling poems, and distinguishes: oral narration; women; the cycle of life; and narratives between past and present.

The last section of Zanoletti's preface offers the reader a translation perspective on Oodgeroo's work. Zanoletti highlights that *My People/La mia Gente* is a translation of poems by an author who is also a translator – an author who translates from orality to written language, from a variety of Aboriginal languages to the dominant language, spoken by white people, a translator who is also a "mediator" between Aboriginal Australia and white Australia. In this context, the Italian translators are also "mediator[s] of different signs and languages, sometimes from different hemispheres" (34; my translation). Where the linguistic challenges of Oodgeroo's work are considered – e.g. "pidgin" expressions, aboriginal terms, other hybrid linguistic forms, and oral narration – the translators' mediating role is manifested in what can be defined as an "ethical" translation aim (Berman, "Translation and the Trials of the Foreign", 241). Zanoletti affirms that translators should attempt not to "ridicule the source text by imitating the grammar distortions" (Zanoletti, "My People di Oodgeroo Noonuccal", 93; my translation) – echoing Berman's words "[a]n exoticization that turns the foreign from abroad into the foreign at home winds up merely ridiculing the original" (Berman, "Translation and the Trials of the Foreign", 250); in line with this aim, for instance, translators in this anthology have chosen to maintain aboriginal words and include a glossary at the end of the collection. The translators' approach is also made visible to the reader of this preface thanks to the inclusion of three examples of pre-translation analysis of three poems – "Cookalingee", "Biami", "Kiltara-Biljara (Eagle Hawk)" – an analysis which also aims to highlight the "hermeneutic value of the translation process" (Zanoletti, "My People di Oodgeroo Noonuccal"; my translation).

Where the translator's task is here effectively presented in its many facets, and the translators' aims and Zanoletti's role as an expert in the field are fruitfully made visible to the reader, the Italian translations in this anthology are also beautiful pieces of poetry. In this context, the writer of this review thinks that the inclusion of a short passage with a less "subjectless" (Berman, *The Age of Translation*, 40) description of the translators' creative efforts may have been a valuable addition to this anthology – especially because *My People/La mia Gente* includes target texts by two translators, Zanoletti's and Di Blasio's, and, necessarily, two different, albeit somehow similar, translating styles. Where traditionally the mark of the translators is "considered a flaw which has implications for the translation's fidelity and veracity" (Berman, *The Age of Translation*, 41) we believe that Zanoletti's detailed introductions and notes, her and Di Blasio's refined and ethical approach to translation – which allows the role of Oodgeroo as a mediator between two cultures to emerge in the Italian translations, despite the difficulties inherent in poetry translation – as well as their inventive translating choices make evident that the translators' agency and creativity can, in fact, be considered an added value to the source text itself.

Angela Tiziana Tarantini, *Theatre Translation: A Practice as Research Model* (Clayton: Palgrave Macmillan, 2021), 251 pp., ISBN: 978-3-030-70201-4

Reviewed by Carmela Esposito

> The two texts – written and performed – are coexistent and inseparable, and it is in this relationship that the paradox for the translator lies. The translator is effectively being asked to accomplish the impossible – to treat a written text that is part of a larger complex of sign systems, involving paralinguistic and kinesics features, as if it were a literary text, created solely for the page, to be read off that page.
> Susan Bassnett, *Ways Through the Labyrinth: Strategies and Methods for Translating Theatre Text*

Neapolitan dramatist Eduardo De Filippo allegedly once defined drama as "what happens when we actually live what people experience in real life without the hindrance of being bad actors". One can find truth in such words, metaphorically and linguistically: the verb itself, 'to act', bears several meanings. 'To act' is 'to take action', 'to behave', 'to operate', but it also means 'to perform', 'to play' and/or 'to pretend'. Drama embodies such inflections in their entirety, except for the latter. Although it is common knowledge that there will always be some degree of fiction to be found in drama, make-believe is certainly what drama is not: drama is life's own reflection, hence the urge of empirical research on the matter is highly welcome and unquestionably necessary. The statement "theatre is 'parasitic' on the cultural codes which operate in the real world" is by Elaine Aston and George Savona; quoted in Tarantini's book (189), it is rather compelling, as it not only proves De Filippo's fair point, but also, by employing a biology metaphor, it denotes the application of scientific attention and terminology to the practice of Theatre Translation. Tarantini's monograph contributes to do just that and more.

If Theatre is life's parasite, understood as "an organism that lives in or on an organism of another species, (its host), and benefits by deriving nutrients at the other's expense" (Oxford Dictionary), so is Translation, as translating is indeed a process "at the Other's expense". Assuming that the origin of the term ("from the Greek *parasitos* which is a compound word made up of *para-* 'alongside' and *-sitos* 'food'" [*ibid*]) contributes to describe Translation as "someone who is eating at another's table" granting it the power of an active cultural graft, its derogatory connotation of "someone who habitually exploits others and gives nothing in return" (*ibid*) is however faulty and doesn't fully comply. Contrarily, though Theatre and Translation can be in some ways considered to supplement themselves with the nectar of life, they surely do not negate an exchange, since they do give back to each other. This sort of synergy is lucidly confirmed and ascertained in *Theatre Translation: A Practice as Research Model.*

Angela Tiziana Tarantini is a Teaching Associate in Translation and Interpreting Studies at Monash University, Australia, where she carries out research in the area of Theatre Translation with focus on the interaction between the translation and performance interface. The book is sectioned in three parts, namely: Part I and Part II, which respectively encompass the theoretical exegesis and offer a practical component, and Part III consisting of the translation excerpts' appendix. Her main contention is to establish whether the translator can predict the gestures and physicality of stage

concretisation, and most importantly, whether "translation of a text meant for theatrical performance has an impact on the actual stage performance" (5). In her shrewd investigation, without failing to address controversial discussions such as the concept of 'gestic subtext', Tarantini adapts and applies Kershaw et al.'s Practice as Research (PaR) model, with the aim of analysing the effects of translation on theatrical performance. Drawing from up-to-date critical frameworks, Tarantini promptly highlights a gap in the scholarship and allows "for the development of a suitable methodology to address it" (7). Her findings offer acute reflections and qualify as the result of a workshop which "took place from the 16th to the 18th of February 2016 at the Performing Art Centre at Monash University" (88) and featured two different groups of actors: "Group A consists of professional Australian actors and drama students; Group B consists of second- and third-generation Italian-Australian migrants who speak fluent Italian and are professional actors" (89). Both casts, unaware of what was the nature of the translator's research, were required to perform selected scenes from two plays written by the Australian playwright David Mence: *The Gully* and *Convincing Ground*. "Both are set in Australia and boast Australian themes, landscapes, geographical sites, and characters" (13) and both plays deal with the topic of colonisation. *Convincing Ground*, translated by Tarantini as *Il Baleniere*, is inspired by the historical controversy of the 'Convincing Ground massacre' and tells the story of a whaler and his indigenous wife. Conversely, *The Gully*, translated as *La Gola*, is "a dystopian comedy in three acts set in 2109 in a post-apocalyptic Australia" (14). In choosing to work on these playtexts, Tarantini shows a sensibility towards culture-specific matters such as that of Aboriginal Australia and demonstrates to be conscious of the complexities of current "issues of representation and of speaking for the Other in a postcolonial society" (17). Thus, Tarantini's keen assertions clarify the matter of power dynamics and the topical themes of cultural appropriation, which are carefully addressed by admittedly adopting both a domesticating and foreignising attitude in her translations, "well aware that domestication and foreignisation are two extremes of a continuum rather than a dichotomised opposition" (62).

As Mence actively cooperated with the translation process, Tarantini's study overall epitomises the importance of collaborative effort between author and translator, which correspondingly revealed itself to be extremely beneficial to both translation and playtext: "the discussion sometimes resulted in the author going back to the source text in English and making some changes, claiming 'the Italian version works better'" (75). The outcome of the copious experiments on predicting Gesture, Tempo and Rhythm constitutes a solid proof of how much the performance itself could omit if the translator is left behind closed doors (which ends up to be usually the case nowadays). It follows that the translator could contribute to the shaping of the source text just as well as the author of the English text could turn into "the co-author of the Italian version" (77) and vice-versa. Recent studies have focused on the advantages of collaborative practice (for example, Margherita Laera, *Theatre and Translation*, 2019) and Tarantini brings forth rigorous and systematic evidence to such statements, while also providing illuminating and accessible multimedia support.

Fittingly, what really makes Tarantini's stance utterly deserving of critical favour, besides offering an instructive report based on structured empirical data, is arguably the eloquent intention of exploiting Translation not only as a tool to explore in depth linguistics and culture-related matters, but also as a means to research its own process – even as it is a performative act. Furthermore, Tarantini does not shy away from taking part in the so-called 'performative turn' debate and her scrupulous inspection is "the development of a replicable PaR model rather than its findings" (199). Her writing

style establishes itself as precise and educational, which dignifies the subject of Theatre Translation by successfully reassessing its undeniable scientific cognisance.

Even though somewhat of an itch of ambition is positively evident throughout the text, Tarantini is well aware that she is "not trying to reinvent the wheel" (199), yet her findings set aside a precious contribution to current discussions around "what the text 'does' in performance" (201). Moreover, credit is due for the emphasis placed on wanting to empower the 'doing' of the translator and the shift from the metaphor "TRANSLATION IS TRANSFER" to "TRANSLATION IS PERFORMANCE" metaphor. The methodological analysis displays high scholarly competence, ergo paving the way for further multi-disciplinary investigations, never without an attentive thirst for even more accurate estimations regarding the effects of 'staging translation'.

Given the above, Tarantini's *Theatre Translation: A Practice As Research Model*, whose translations "can be considered an instance of performative rewriting" (207), indeed represents a valuable step forward in contemporary debate concerning the fields of both Performance Studies and Translation Studies. The replicability and flexibility of the well-tried research model turns out to be one of the strongest accomplishments of the present study, being capable to – with an unprecedented sense of foresight – leave room for further attempts, while at the same time indicating a "feasible path for research in Theatre Translation within the performative paradigm" (208). If Drama deals with the hinterland of our conscience, making up for a mirror of humanity, then Translation is undoubtedly the mirror within the mirror, the magnifier in the magnifying glass, or simply the 'play within the play'. Therefore, it can be concluded that the perquisites of Theatre Translation go far beyond the mere circulation of foreign plays among different cultures, as it also allows the enrichment and exploration of one's own, serving as nothing but our inexorable "other-biography" (to borrow a definition by Enrico Terrinoni, in *Oltre Abita il Silenzio. Tradurre la Letteratura*, 2019), where the lines between Australianness/Otherness and Italianness/Identity are blurred among gesture, beats, emblems, impressions and movements on the stage.

Notes on Contributors

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