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Translation and Multicultural Discourse
in the Service of Human Understanding

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Translation and Multicultural Miscourse in the Service of Human Understanding. Perceptions within the Fields of Translation and Discourse Studies

Translation und multikultureller Diskurs im Dienst der Menschenverständigung. Translations- und diskurswissenschaftliche Wahrnehmungen

In modern research on translation studies, diverse aspects of text and utterance translation are scrutinised in many discourse modalities. The opening of the labour market, the intensification of international contacts, the indispensability of conflict-free communication in numerous areas of social and societal life and especially now, during the war in Ukraine have elevated the multilingualism and multiculturalism to values, that translation research has to deal with. In the centre of the academic interest are the human being and his/her features, values and achievements that are examined in a tangled network of various factors of interpersonal, intercultural communication. Aside from the communicative and linguistic competence, the inter- and transcultural sensitization as well as the development of tolerance and understanding prove to be especially important in this respect.

The volume is conceived as an attempt to discuss current issues in translation studies, translatorics along with the problems of the multicultural discourses. Therefore, aside from the matters of literary translation and interpreting, as well as the translation competence and didactics, the aspects of bilingual discourses, multiculturalism and multilingualism also should be addressed. The mentioned problem areas are predestined for gaining insightful findings for both translatorics

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and discourse linguistics. On the basis of the knowledge gathered as a result of analyses, theoretical theses and new conceptual proposals can be formulated.

The content of the volume covers the following subject areas:

- problems of translation,
- the translation of literary and non-literary texts,
- the literary text as an original text,
- multicultural discourses and international understanding,
- multilingualism and multiculturalism in the mediated inter- and transcultural communication,
- understanding the human being in and through translation as mediated communication,
- translation as cultural mediation,
- Community Interpreting, new sorts of interpreting and modern technologies in research, practice and teaching,
- foreignness vs. otherness in the translation and discourse studies,
- interpreting and translating in school and academic foreign language teaching as a means of linguistic and intercultural sensitization.

Topics on other problem areas regarding multilingualism and multiculturalism related to translation studies are also represented here.

The concept presented in this volume aligns with the view suggested by the title: that the need for understanding and being understood can serve as a new, interlingual conversational maxim, constituting an essential factor in considering texts as equivalent to one another. Texts originating from a source culture and subsequently reproduced, reconstructed, or rewritten in the target culture – depending on the chosen translational strategy and methodological approach – are always shaped by the perspective of the author and /or the translator (cf. Małgorzewicz, 2022, 2023). Thus, the phenomenon of perspective should be recognized as a central category in translation studies and contrastive discourse linguistics, particularly when examining text production and translation. This concept becomes more and more prominent in cognitive linguistics, especially in discourse analysis (cf. Tabakowska, 1995, p. 70; Bąk, 2020), as well as in metalinguistic reflection (cf. Bilut-Homplewicz, 2014, 2021; Małgorzewicz, 2023).

Perspective plays a crucial role in discussions of equivalence relations (cf. Bąk, 2018, 2024). It should not be viewed merely as a pragmatic point of view but rather as a modality, a means, and an object of experience that contributes to the advancement of knowledge. The linguistic and general (world) knowledge of authors of two linguistic versions of the same text (for example, in the German- and Polish-language wording) often leads to quantitative and qualitative asymmetries, both semantic and axiological. However, these asymmetries can be mitigated by consistently employing an interlingual-discursive or translation strategy that focuses on references or is oriented towards the addressee. This understanding

forms the basis for studying bilingual texts within communication discourses, especially in the press and other public-media contexts. Such texts serve various purposes and necessitate an awareness of the potential for divergent perspectives among recipients. The presence of differing viewpoints among language users can entail communicative consequences, including misunderstandings (cf. Bąk, 2024). The discursive component of texts should be incorporated into the methodological approaches of text and discourse linguistics, as well as in translatorics (cf. Małgorzewicz, 2023; Żmudzki, 2006, 2013).

These and other issues related to translation, as well as intercultural determined bi- and multilingualism, are also discussed in this volume, along with various other aspects of translation and the distinctive features of the translator's work.

The present volume comprises essays that not only address the issues related to the function of a text, its nature, and its status in the translation process, but also characterise its specificity in the specific communicative context of use in various literary and non-literary discourses. The fundamental assumption and, at the same time, the starting point for the academic reflection is the belief that in the context of any translation process, only language texts and nothing else are subjected to a cognitive and interlingual transfer, a recontextualisation and re-addressing, which can only be done most effectively by competent translators and interpreters. This process takes place in the cognitive space of every translator and it results in the production of a target text, operating as an equivalent and adequate communication tool.

In der modernen translationswissenschaftlichen Forschung werden diverse Aspekte der Translation von Texten und Äußerungen in vielerlei Modalitäten der Diskurse untersucht.

Die Öffnung der Arbeitsmärkte, die Intensivierung der internationalen Kontakte, die Unabdingbarkeit konfliktfreier Kommunikation in zahlreichen Bereichen des gesellschaftlichen und sozialen Lebens und besonders jetzt während des Krieges in der Ukraine haben die Mehrsprachigkeit und Multikulturalität zu Werten erhoben, mit denen sich die Translationsforschung auseinandersetzen muss. Im Zentrum des wissenschaftlichen Interesses stehen der Mensch und seine Eigenschaften, Werte und Leistungen, die im Geflecht von diversen Faktoren der zwischenmenschlichen, interkulturellen Kommunikation untersucht werden. Neben der kommunikativen und sprachlichen Kompetenz erweist sich in dieser Hinsicht auch die inter- und transkulturelle Sensibilisierung sowie die Entwicklung von Toleranz und Verständnis als besonders relevant.

Der Band versteht sich als ein Versuch, aktuelle Fragestellungen der Translationswissenschaft, der Translatorik sowie Probleme multikultureller

Diskurse zu diskutieren. Neben Problemen der literarischen Übersetzung und des Dolmetschens, der translatorischen Kompetenz und Didaktik werden also auch Aspekte der bilingualen Diskurse, Multikulturalität und der Mehrsprachigkeit angesprochen. Die genannten Problembereiche sind für Gewinnung von für die Translorik und Diskurslinguistik aufschlussreichen Erkenntnissen prädestiniert. Anhand der im Rahmen von Analysen gewonnenen Erkenntnisse können theoretische Thesen diskutiert und neue konzeptuelle Vorschläge formuliert werden.

Der Inhalt des Bandes beachtet u.a. folgende Themenbereiche:

- Probleme der Translation,
- Übersetzung literarischer und gemeinsprachlicher Texte,
- der literarische Text als Übersetzungsvorlage,
- multikulturelle Diskurse und internationale Verständigung,
- Mehrsprachigkeit und Multikulturalität in der gemittelten inter- und transkulturellen Kommunikation,
- Menschenverständnis in und durch die translatorisch vermittelte Kommunikation,
- Translationsleistung als Kulturvermittlung,
- *Community Interpreting*, neue Dolmetscharten und moderne Technologien in Forschung, Praxis und Lehre,
- Fremdheit vs. Andersartigkeit in der Translations- und Diskursforschung,
- Dolmetschen und Übersetzen im schulischen und akademischen Fremdsprachenunterricht als Mittel der sprachlichen und interkulturellen Sensibilisierung.

Vertreten sind hier auch Themen zu anderen Problembereichen der Mehrsprachigkeit, Multikulturalität in ihrer translatorischen Verknüpfung.

Das Konzept des Bandes entspricht der im Titel suggerierten Auffassung, dass die Forderung nach Verstehen und Verstanden werden eine Art interlinguale Konversationsmaxime darstellen und für die Betrachtung von Texten, in der Relation der Äquivalenz zueinander stehen, konstitutiv sein kann.

Die Texte, die einer Ausgangskultur entspringen und in der Zielkultur – der gewählten translatorischen Strategie und methodologischer Herangehensweise entsprechend – wiedergegeben, rekonstruiert bzw. neu verfasst werden, entstehen immer aus einer Perspektive des Autors und/oder des Übersetzers heraus (vgl. Małgorzewicz, 2022, 2023).

Das Phänomen der Perspektive sollte daher für die Betrachtung der Textproduktion und -übersetzung als zentrale, translatorische sowie kontrastiv-diskurslinguistische Kategorie angesehen werden. Sie ist in der kognitiv fundierten Linguistik und besonders in der Diskursanalyse (vgl. Tabakowska, 1995, S. 70; Bąk, 2020) sowie in der metalinguistischen Reflexion immer häufiger präsent (vgl. Bilut-Homplewicz, 2014, 2021; Małgorzewicz, 2023).

Die Perspektive spielt eine wesentliche Rolle bei der Erörterung von Äquivalenzbeziehungen (vgl. Bąk, 2018, 2024). Sie sollte nicht nur rein pragmatisch als Blickwinkel, sondern vielmehr als Modalität, Mittel sowie Gegenstand der Erfahrung angesehen werden und dabei als erkenntnisfördernd gelten.

Das sprachliche sowie allgemeine (Welt-)Wissen von Autoren zweier sprachlicher Fassungen ein und desselben Textes (im beispielsweise deutsch- und polnischsprachigen Wortlaut), kann oft quantitative sowie qualitative, semantische und axiologische Asymmetrien verursachen. Die Asymmetrien können allerdings im Rahmen einer konsequent verfolgten, interlingual-diskursiven bzw. translatorischen Hinwendungsstrategie bzw. Adressatenorientiertheit überwunden werden. Diese Erkenntnis liegt auch den Untersuchungen von bilingualen Texten der Verständigungsdiskurse (vor allem in Presse sowie anderer öffentlich-medialer Diskurse) zugrunde. Es handelt sich dabei um Texte, die diverse Zwecke verfolgen und eine Sensibilisierung für mögliche abweichende Perspektiven der jeweiligen Rezipienten erfordern sowie letztere fördern, denn die Präsenz anderer Blickwinkel der Sprachbenutzer kann bestimmte kommunikative Folgen, dabei auch Missverständnisse mit sich bringen (vgl. Bąk, 2024). Die diskursive Komponente von Texten sollte in der Methodologie der Text- und Diskurslinguistik, allerdings auch der Translatorik mit berücksichtigt werden (vgl. Małgorzewicz, 2023; Żmudzki, 2006, 2013).

Diese sowie andere Probleme der Translation und der interkulturell determinierten Zwei- und Mehrsprachigkeit kommen neben vielen anderen Aspekten der Translation und den Charakteristika der Translationsaufgabe auch im vorliegenden Band zum Ausdruck.

Der vorliegende Band umfasst Beiträge, die umfassend diverse Funktionen des Sprachtextes, seine Natur und seinen Status im Translationsprozess erörtern, seine Spezifika im kommunikativen Gebrauchskontext in verschiedenen, literarischen und nichtliterarischen Diskursen beleuchten. Als grundlegende Annahme und Ausgangspunkt für wissenschaftliche Überlegungen gilt hierbei die Überzeugung, dass in jedem Translationsprozess ausschließlich Sprachtexte einem kognitiven und interlingualen Transfer, einer Rekontextualisierung und einer Umadressierung unterzogen werden, was am effektivsten von Personen mit entsprechenden Übersetzungs- und Dolmetschkompetenzen durchgeführt werden kann. Dieser Prozess findet im kognitiven Bereich eines jeden Translators statt. Sein Ergebnis ist ein Zieltext, der zu einem äquivalenten und angemessenen Kommunikationsinstrument wird.

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Translation and the Community: Case Studies of Contextual Distortion

ABSTRACT

This article explores the process of involving cultural and linguistically diverse (CALD) communities in attempts to improve the quality and effectiveness of community translations, with special attention paid to feedback received from CALD lay-readers in attempts to ameliorate translations. Through corpus analysis of healthcare and legal aid documents translated from English to Mandarin, the authors in this study analyse the complexities of reaching pragmatic equivalence in translations based on a set of pre-established criteria. What is at stake in these examples is that they occasionally result in cases of pragmalinguistic failures that can be termed ‘contextual distortions’.

KEYWORDS

community translation; CALD communities; lay-reader feedback; contextual distortion

1. Introduction and Background

The New Zealand Code of Health and Disability Services Consumers’ Rights specifically indicates people’s *right to effective communication* (Right 5, Health & Disability Commissioner, 2023). *Right 5* unquestionably applies to all members of cultural and linguistically diverse (CALD) communities and can be fulfilled through Community Translation which facilitates language access to rights and services that benefit the health and social wellbeing of CALD individuals (Taibi, 2023; Taibi & Ozolins, 2016).

In the healthcare context, CALD members may encounter poor assessment, misdiagnosis and delayed treatment. They may not feel safe in their environment nor confident in the quality of care, which has an emotional impact on CALD patients (Chitty & Wang, 2023; de Moissac & Bowen, 2019; Karwacka, 2024; Khatri & Assefa, 2022). In a dire situation, such as the COVID pandemic, CALD members can be more vulnerable to disease and are associated with higher death rates when compared to members of the mainstream community (Khatri & Assefa, 2022).

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Serious concerns are also present in the legal context where CALD members may largely rely on information received via informal channels (e.g. family, friends in their community). Not having equal rights to language access in the justice system may make CALD members prone to risks of miscarriage of justice (Botero, 2014; Ministry for Ethnic Communities, 2023; Schetzer & Henderson, 2003).

Promotion of social inclusion of CALD members can be observed in the linguistically superdiverse communities of New Zealand where multilingual resources and services are provided in all public sectors (Ministry for Ethnic Communities, 2023; The Royal Society of New Zealand Te Apārangi, 2013). As of 2023, a cross-government collaboration has contributed to a guide for translation service providers based in New Zealand, *Unlocking Language Barriers* (Ministry for Ethnic Communities, 2023). The guide is a good source of practical information in support of communication between government agencies and CALD communities, including case studies, language use, and the dissemination of information such as knowing the target audience and the use of technology in the translation process. The guide also includes a step-by-step translation flowchart for translators or agencies to ensure good quality translation (Ministry for Ethnic Communities, 2023, pp. 18–19). Despite these good intentions, CALD communities have yet to be included in the translation process to ensure that multilingual materials are produced to meet what CALD members' perception of what 'good quality' might entail (Teng, 2023).

The involvement of CALD communities is essential to improving the quality of translations and the effectiveness of publicly disseminating information (AUSIT, 2022; Federici, 2022; Lai, 2023; Taibi, 2023; Taibi et al., 2019; Teng, 2023). While advocating for the necessity of including feedback from CALD members in the translation process, the current article discusses the complexities of including feedback from lay readers while evaluating the quality of community translation. Through linguistic analysis, our arguments are provided based on CALD members' assessment of a corpus of translated texts delivering information of healthcare and legal aids.

2. CALD communities in Community Translation

Community Translation has a mission to avoid marginalisation of CALD communities. However, if the translation quality is poor, CALD members may not have equal access to publicly available information and hence still be marginalised.

Scholars have repeatedly emphasised the consideration of sociocultural context in translation practice from an aspect that language use is contextually motivated (e.g. Angelone, 2016; Halliday, 1978; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004), meaning texts are “the instances of linguistic interaction in which people actually engage” (Halliday, 1978, p. 24), and texts are socially constructed (Risku, 2002; Snell-Hornby, 1988). In this view, a translation is a linguistic

interaction where the author, the translator and the target-text reader engage, and a translator must aim to have the translation come alive in the target sociocultural context. Community translation services in specific are provided in an intra-social context (Lai, 2023), where the source text and the translation need to come alive within one single sociocultural context; the translation needs to be produced with considerations of the sociocultural and linguistic backgrounds of mainstream and CALD communities (the main end-users of translation). In other words, a community translation is a socially-constructed product (Fraser, 2000; House, 2000).

Quality control in community translation services is similar to seeking feedback in the creation of a consumer product. We need to know how and why the consumer would (not) use the translation. This perspective is in line with studies which address the significant role of CALD readers, for instances García-Izquierdo & Montalt (2016), Burns & Kim (2011), Taibi et al. (2019), Teng (2020), Norma et al. (2023), and a number of chapters in Federici (2022), as we well as in Blumczynski & Wilson (2023). These studies concluded that feedback from CALD members can contribute to the improvement of translation quality in aspects such as readability, actionability and acceptability. In particular, Norma et al. (2023, p. 30) suggested that a translation should “adopt a tone that resonates with the audience” which we agree on the basis that translated healthcare texts should deliver information that are culturally and linguistically acceptable by people at the “grassroots level” (Krystallidou & Braun, 2022, p. 142). In this way, the text fulfils its “ethics of communication” (Chesterman, 2001, pp. 140–141) towards the targeted CALD communities.

3. Pragmatic equivalence in Community Translation

As the social and philosophical impetus behind community translation is to empower communities of minority language speakers (Taibi & Ozolins, 2016), approaches to community translation should be user-centred (AUSIT, 2022). This mindset is in line with Nida’s concept of dynamic equivalence (Nida, 1964) where the focus is on the target-text readers (Hatim & Munday, 2004, p. 258) and achieving a dynamic equivalence in community translation means to maximise CALD readers’ acceptance and reception of the translation (Blumczynski & Wilson, 2023; Federici, 2022). Inspired by dynamic equivalence, Teng (2019, 2023) and Teng et al. (2018) proposed in previous studies, that the four elements that constitute dynamic equivalence in translation can be seen as four criteria determining to what degree a translation can have achieved pragmatic equivalence, meaning to elicit a response from the target-text reader similar to the response elicited from the source-text reader.

Determining the response elicited by a translation on a target-text reader can be subjective as we may not be able to determine the discrepancies between the

source sociocultural context and the target sociocultural context (Dickins et al., 2016). It is also possible that readers of the same sociocultural background may respond differently to a single version of a translation (Dickins et al., 2016). However, community translation is intra-social (Lai, 2023), the source texts in general do not convey obscure meanings but clear pragmatic functions in terms of making the general public (including CALD members) feel well informed within a single sociocultural context (Fraser, 1993; Taibi, 2023). The concept of dynamic equivalence therefore fits the pragmatic aspect of community translation because both the source and target texts are produced with a single intention and such considerations can be informed by “the dynamic view of equivalence” (Hatim & Munday, 2004, p. 48) that has gone beyond the semantic level.

The concept of going beyond the semantic level is particularly important in terms of aligning translators with lay readers. Crezee and Burn’s observation (2019) indicated that translators tended to make comments based on comparisons between messages in the source and target text. Similarly, Teng’s recent study (2023) revealed that professional translators’ emphasis on semantic meaning seemed to make them overlook potential “contextual meanings” (systemic functional linguistics; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004)¹ delivered through a translation; lay readers, however, were quite sensitive to distorted contextual meanings in a translation due to “pragmalinguistic failures” (Hale, 2014, p. 323; Thomas, 1983) – i.e. failures of pragmatic equivalence caused by inappropriate linguistic features.

Ideational meaning represents both the experiential reality encountered by human beings (e.g. ‘the doctor has treated the patient’ versus ‘the doctor has dealt with the patient’) and the logical reality in the described experientiality (e.g. ‘John threw the ball and the ball hit Dave’).

Discrepancies between the translators’ and lay readers’ perspectives are presented in Figure 1.

4. Design of the study

The current study presents part of the findings from a 2021 Whitinga Fellowship Project (21-UOC-016), granted by the Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment, New Zealand. The study conducted a small scale investigation in 2022 and 2023 on whether feedback from lay-readers can contribute to the improvement of translation quality in the context of community communications. The study followed the steps outlined in Figure 2.

¹ For detailed discussion of the three contextual meanings, see Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) and Halliday (1978).

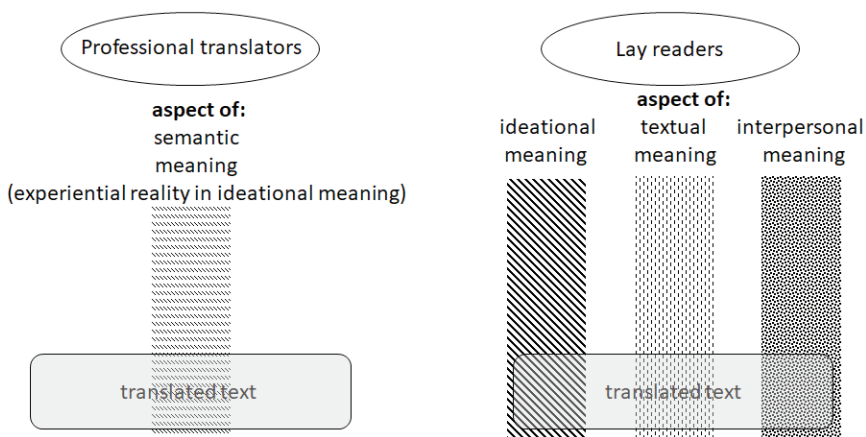


Figure 1: Discrepancies on three contextual meanings – translators vs lay readers (Teng, 2023, p. 91)

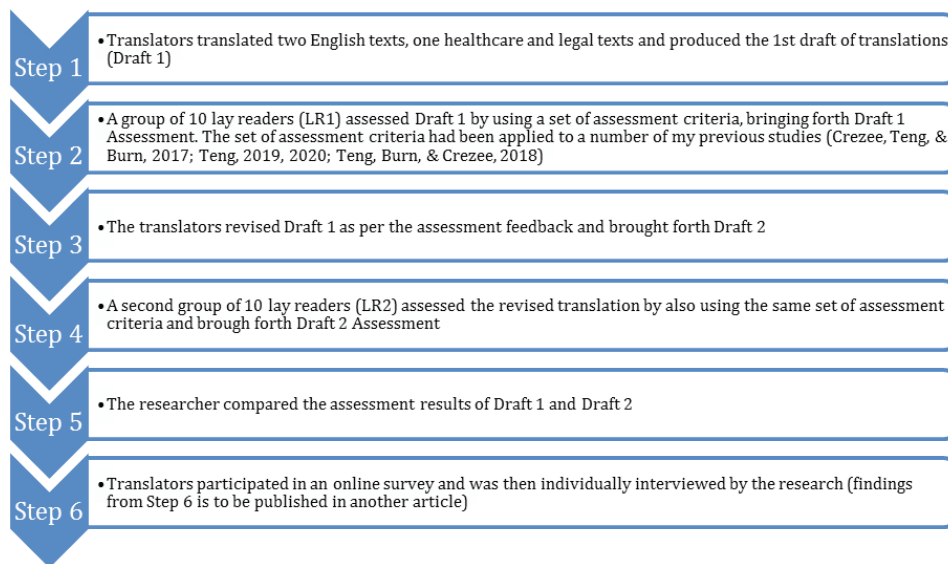


Figure 2: Research steps

4.1. The texts

This study included a total of 10 texts written in English, five delivering healthcare related information (e.g. managing diabetes) and five delivering information relevant to legal rights (e.g. tenants' rights). See Figure 3 for the selection criteria of texts to be translated.

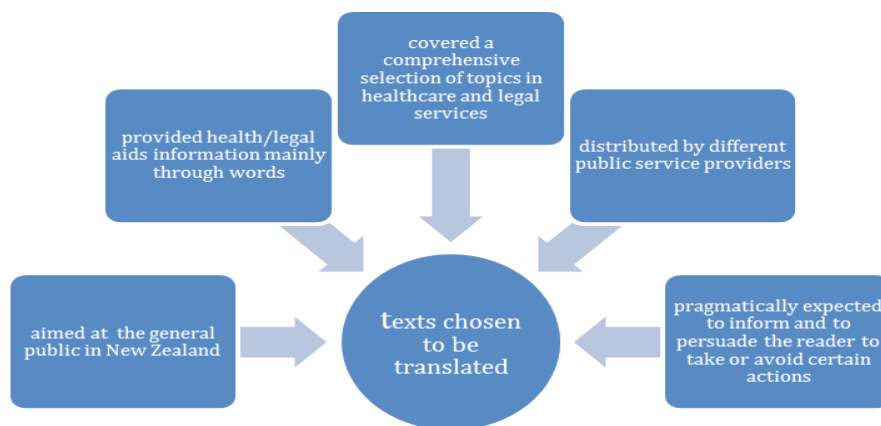


Figure 3: Texts chosen to be translated

Translated texts all followed the layout of the English original in terms of paragraph and sentence structure. For analytical purposes, either a paragraph or a sentence was referred to as a passage. The 10 English texts comprised a total of 155 passages, and some of them comprised more passages than others: the shortest one had eight passages while the longest had 24 passages. The translation quality of each passage was respectively evaluated by two groups of CALD members evaluators by using a set of assessment criteria developed with CALD members' perspectives in Teng's previous studies (2019, 2020, 2023).

4.2. The participants

Five professional translators (English-Mandarin) were recruited for translation purposes and four of them completed the participation in the current study. Before proceeding to the translation, the translators were reminded of the pragmatic functions of the source texts as to inform and persuade, and were instructed to bear in mind such pragmatic functions during the translation process. See Figure 4 for the selection criteria².

² Figure 5: Lay readers – CALD members

See <https://nzsti.org/Eligibility/10986/> for the eligibility for NZSTI membership.

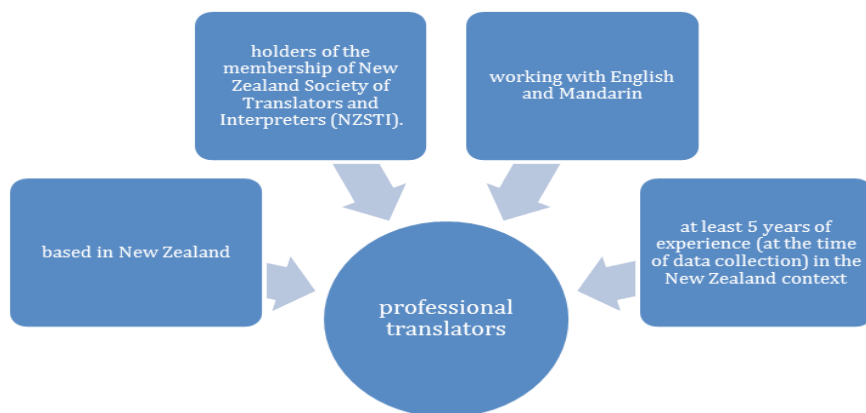


Figure 4: Professional translators

Twenty lay readers were recruited and assigned to two groups, LR1 and LR2, and 19 of them completed the participation in the current study. See Figure 5 for the selection criteria.

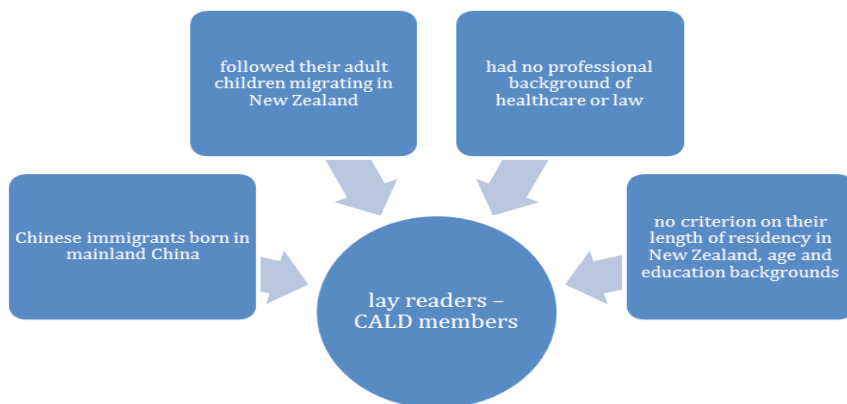


Figure 5: Lay readers – CALD members

Selection criteria in Figure 5 reflects the nature of the cohort of immigrants who may heavily rely on translation services in New Zealand and immigrants coming to New Zealand under the parent category (Immigration New Zealand, 2016) may heavily rely on the Chinese translation of texts delivering crucial information aimed at the general public (Tang, 2017).

Four participants in LR1 and 4 in LR2 had a tertiary degree obtained in China. Considering the age of participants, holding a tertiary degree would not contribute to their English proficiency because English language education was condemned as learning the enemies' language (e.g. the United States of America) in mainland China in the 1950s (Adamson, 2004, p. 28; Gil & Adamson, 2011, pp. 35–36).

Before proceeding to the translation assessment, lay readers were instructed to write down comments on each translated text and/or write down what they knew they should or should not do as per the translation. They were also encouraged to make assessments based on their opinions and bear no concerns of being a non-professional.

When assessing translated texts, lay readers had no access to the English source texts of the translations they were assigned, thereby reflecting the reality of the target CALD members who are often disadvantaged: not possessing the language ability and socio-cultural knowledge necessary to participate in mainstream society.

4.3. The Assessment Criteria

Inspired by Nida's concept of dynamic equivalence (Nida, 1964), Teng argued elsewhere that (2019, 2023; Teng et al., 2018): in the context of community translation, when a translation Sounds Natural, the translation can Make Sense to the target reader; when the translation Makes Sense, it is possible to maintain the Original Manner of the source text – e.g. maintain the original pragmatic function as to being informative and persuasive with a suggestive tone. When the translation maintains the Original Manner, with considerations of the socio-cultural context of the target text, the translation can then possibly elicit a Similar Response from the target reader. That means the translation is of good quality and has achieved pragmatic equivalence, as illustrated in Figure 6. See Teng (2019, 2023) for further detailed discussion.

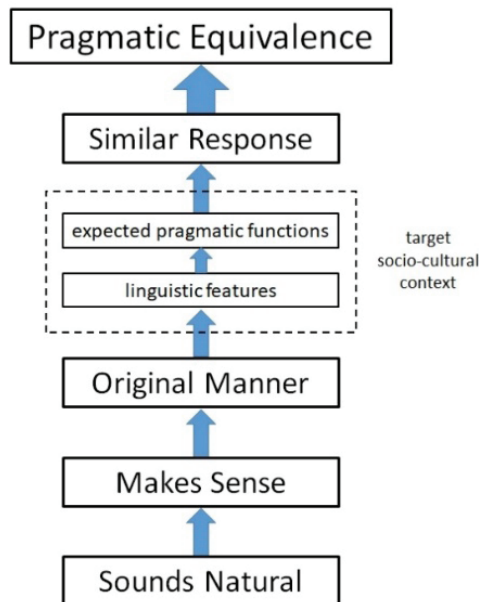


Figure 6: Factors in producing pragmatic equivalence translation (Teng, 2023, p. 73)

To cater to lay readers' level of metalinguistic knowledge, a set of criteria was provided with description in Chinese for each criterion to help them understand what aspect each criterion was aimed at, as shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Set of assessment criteria used by the lay readers

<p>翻译质量標準 – 您认为这个翻译达到了下列叙述的标准的话，請打勾 ✓</p> <p><i>Translation assessment criteria – please tick ✓, if you think the translation achieve the criterion</i></p>
<p>这句中文翻译读起来像普通话 ()</p> <p><i>The translation sounds natural in Mandarin – Sounds Natural (SN)</i></p>
<p>这句中文翻译能让您看得懂 ()</p> <p><i>The translation makes sense to you – Makes Sense (MS)</i></p>
<p>你感觉得到这句中文翻译想要告诉您一些信息或要您做一些事情 ()</p> <p><i>You feel that the translation wants to inform you with something or ask you to do something – Original Manner (OM)</i></p>
<p>因为这句中文翻译，您知道应该或是不应该做什么 ()</p> <p><i>Because of this translation, you know what you should or should not do – Similar Response (SR)</i></p>

Note: English translation in the italic is provided in this table for non-Chinese speaking readers of this article.

For instance, when a compliment in English such as *I like your hat!* is translated based on its semantic meaning into Chinese as 我喜歡你的帽子 / *I like your hat*, the Chinese translation may not make a native Chinese speaker feel complimented. Instead, they may feel put in an awkward situation, depending on the interpersonal relationship in a Chinese-speaking sociocultural context. If participants in this conversation are on a similar level in the social hierarchy system (e.g. workplace colleagues), the addressee may feel puzzled and wonder *so, you want my hat?*; if the addressee is at a higher status in social hierarchy than the addresser (e.g. a department director vs a department member), the addressee may feel offended, thinking *are you asking me to give you my hat or buy you one?* Regardless of the interpersonal relationship between the addresser and addressee, Chinese-speaking lay readers may tick the criteria Sounds Natural, Makes Sense and Original Manner, but leave Similar Response blank. This assessment outcome indicates

that the Chinese speaker feels the translation Sounds Natural and Makes Sense, but it is also asking them to do something (which is not the Original Manner of the English *I like your hat*); the translation, therefore, does not make them feel complimented, thus fails to elicit a Similar Response.

4.4. Summary of Assessment Results

The 10 texts selected to be translated contained a total of 155 passages. These were assessed by the first group of lay readers, LR1. Since one translator withdrew from participation before revising the first draft of translation, 1 healthcare and 1 legal text were withdrawn from the revision phase, leaving a total of 136 passages. These passages were revised and assessed by the second group of lay readers, LR2.

Both Draft 1 and Draft 2 of the translation could be considered as good quality because a majority of the passages in both drafts were assessed as achieving all four criteria (Table 1). Example 1 shows lay readers' comments on both drafts of Health Text 1, which was titled *IBUPROFEN PATIENT INFORMATION GUIDE* and distributed by Waitemata District Health Board (see Appendix A). Three evaluators in Example 1 all explicitly expressed that they understood what they were advised to do regarding the medicine, Ibuprofen. In other words, they were fully informed: both drafts achieved pragmatic equivalence.

Example 1: Lay readers' comments – Health Text 1

Draft 1 LR1-4	这是一份服用药物的信息指南：这是一种用于止痛和消炎的药物，服用这种药可能引起严重的副作用，所以对这种药不要私自给予任何人。针对老年人，切记不可过量服用，要严格遵照安全服用药物的方法。
Author's translation	<i>This is a guidance providing information of taking medication: this is a medication for pain relief and inflammation. Taking this medication could lead to serious side effect. Therefore, do not give this medication to other people. Particularly for older people, [we] must bear in mind that [we] cannot overdose and must closely follow the way of taking medication safely.</i>
Draft 2 LR2-11	上述翻译件完全能读懂并理解，我明白知道了应该做啥，或不应该做啥
Author's translation	<i>The aforementioned translation is completely readable and comprehensible. I've come to understand and know what [I] should do or should not do.</i>
Draft 2 LR2-14	我了解药物不能随意给他人。另外，如果使用布洛芬，必须注意事项
Author's translation	<i>I understand that medication should not randomly be given to other people. Besides, if taking IBUPROFEN, there are precautions [I] should be aware of.</i>

Table 2 presents a summary of assessment results of the two drafts and Figure 7 presents some highlights of assessment results of Draft 1 and Draft 2.

Table 2. Assessment results of Draft 1 and Draft 2

	LR1	LR2
Possible outcomes	Average percentage of assigned outcome	
<u>Pragmatic Equivalence</u> (achieved all four criteria)	76.78%	97.30%
<u>SR-F</u> (failed to achieve Similar Response)	0.40%	0.13%
<u>OM-F</u> (failed to achieve Original Manner)	0.08%	0.10%
<u>OM-SR-F</u> (failed to achieve Original Manner and Similar Response)	0.00%	0.10%
<u>SN-OM-SR-F</u> (failed to achieve Sound Natural, Original Manner and Similar Response)	4.29%	0.21%
<u>MS-OM-SR-F</u> (failed to achieve Make Sense, Original Manner and Similar Response)	4.11%	0.00%
<u>Totally Lost</u> (failed to achieve all four criteria)	0.79%	1.10%
<u>SN-SR-F</u> (failed to achieve Sound Natural and Similar Response)	0.25%	0.00%
<u>SN-F</u> (failed to achieve Sound Natural)	0.91%	0.72%
<u>MS-F</u> (failed to achieve Make Sense)	0.00%	0.11%
<u>SN-OM-F</u> (failed to achieve Sound Natural and Original Manner)	0.04%	0.00%
<u>SN-MS-F</u> (failed to achieve Sound Natural and Similar Response)	0.05%	0.15%
<u>MS-OM-F</u> (failed to achieve Make Sense and Original Manner)	0.09%	0.00%
<u>MS-SR-F</u> (failed to achieve Make Sense and Similar Response)	0.00%	0.00%
<u>SN-MS-SR-F</u> (failed to achieve Sound Natural, Make Sense and Similar Response)	9.35%	0.00%
<u>SN-MS-OM-F</u> (failed to achieve Sound Natural, Make Sense and Original Manner)	2.37%	0.07%

Note: Percentages shown in the table are the average percentage for each outcome in each translated text across the lay readers' assessment results respectively in LR1 and LR2.

Though Figure 7 shows that the average percentage of assigning Totally Lost (failing all four criteria) to translated passages shows an increase in Draft 2, we would consider it as nil as the difference is only 0.31%. We then looked attentively at the assessment outcomes indicating achievement of all four criteria – i.e. Pragmatic Equivalence – and outcomes indicating failing only Sounds Natural and/or Similar Response.

While the translation quality has improved by 20.25% in terms of achieving Pragmatic Equivalence (from 76.78% to 97.3%), a similar degree of improvement is

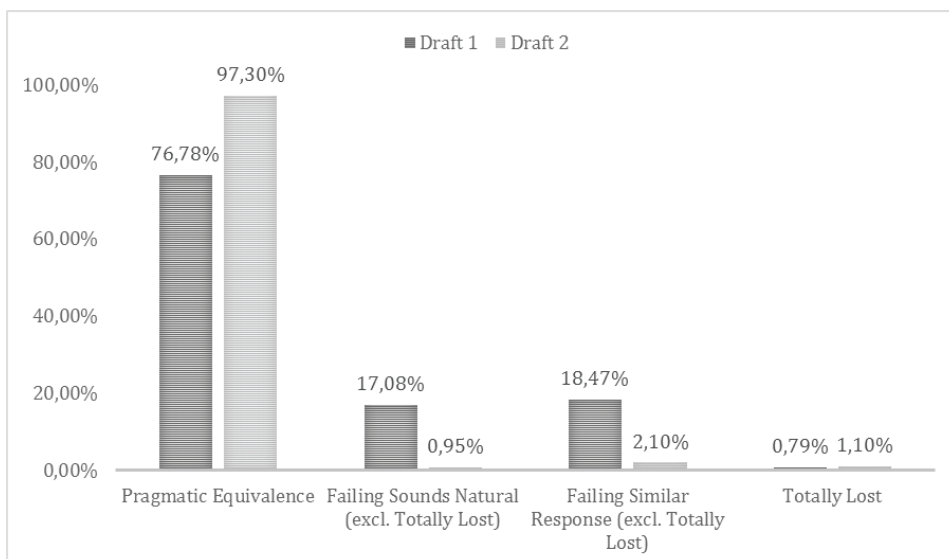


Figure 7: Highlights of improvement – Draft 1 vs Draft 2

also seen with a lower percentage of failing Sounds Natural and Similar Response, which respectively improved by 16.13% (from 17.08% to 0.95%) and 16.37% (from 18.47% to 2.10%). That means, in general, feedback from lay readers did have a positive impact on translation quality in the way that more translated passages had achieved all four criteria (Figure 6) and less had failed to either (both) Sound Natural and/or elicit a Similar Response. That is, participants in LR2 felt better informed and knew what they should (not) do as per the advised information in Draft 2.

Example 2 presents comments made by LR1 as opposed to LR2 on the drafts of Health Text 2, of which Draft 2 shows the greatest improvement of passages achieving Pragmatic Equivalence.

Example 2 shows that LR1-3's concerns with structural problems in three passages (P5, P6 and P7) had been amended in Draft 2.

While findings shown in Table 2 indicate that lay readers' feedback could lead to positive impact on translation quality, the current study aims to discuss potential risks that lay readers may misinterpret contextual meanings in the translation (see Figure 1) when they bridge "the contextual distortion" resulted from misunderstood and therefore distorted contextual meanings.

Discussion now turns to two instances where we saw experiential meanings of the source text being distorted in a translation – i.e. pragmalinguistic failures; yet, some lay readers still seemed well informed and knew what they were advised to do because they bridged the contextual distortion created by the pragmalinguistic failures.

Example 2: Lay readers' comments – Health Text 2

Health Text 2 – Lay readers' comments

Draft 1 此翻译开案明意，首先概括指出虽然糖尿病是一种无法治愈的病症…。另：本翻译 P5, P6, P7 结构上不太像普通话。
LR1-3

Author's translation *The translation clearly indicates what it means from the beginning. It starts with general information that even though diabetes is not a curable disease... P5, P6 and P7 in this translation does not [read] like Mandarin, in terms of their structures.*

Draft 2 翻译通俗易懂，在了解病史的情况下，知道自己该注意的问题。
LR2-12

Author's translation *The translation is easy to read and understand. Under the circumstance of knowing [my] medical history, [I] knows the problems/issues that I myself should be aware of.*

4.5. Correcting the distortion in experiential meaning

Experiential meaning is one aspect of ideational meaning, projecting the world that we have experienced, internally and externally – i.e. who did what, how, why, where and when (Burns & Kim, 2011; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). To be specific, the experiential reality (meaning) projected by a text is a result of interactions between the semantic meaning of lexico-grammatical components contained in that text (e.g. lexicons, syntax). How this reality is projected is shaped by the lexicogrammar of that language. In translation, when there is absence of consideration of what experiential reality could be projected by the lexicogrammar of the target language, the risk of projecting a distorted reality is present.

Example 3 presents a distortion of such and a lay reader's suggestion to amend the distortion.

Example 3: Passage 11 – Legal Text 1

Passage 11 – Legal Text 1

Source text	Give 28 days’ notice to end a periodic tenancy.
Draft 1	终止活期合约时需要给予 28 天的通知
Back translation	When terminating a periodic tenancy, a notice needs to be given for 28 days.
Draft 2	如果租赁任一方有意终止活期合约，需要给予对方 28 天的通知
Back translation	If either the tenant or the landlord intends to terminate a periodic tenancy, they should give the other party a notice for 28 days.
LR2-13’s comment to Draft 2	需要给予对方 28 天的通知，改：需要提前 28 天通知对方
Author’s translation	<i>should give the other party a notice for 28 days, amended as: need to notify the other party 28 days in advance</i>

Passage 11 in Legal Text 1 is a text offering twelve tips for tenants (see Appendix B). Though the translation of Passage 11 was assessed as Sounding Natural by all lay readers in LR1, the translator revised this passage by adding *tenant or landlord* to indicate the agent of the suggested action *to end*. Passage 11 in Draft 2 was well received as it was assessed as achieving Pragmatic Equivalence by all lay readers in LR2, except by LR2-13 who suggested that the translation should be amended as 需要提前28天通知对方/*need to notify the other party 28 days in advance* as seen in Example 3.

The Chinese translation of the phrase *28 days’ notice* as 28天的通知/*28 days’ notice* in both Draft 1 and 2 can be seen as a result of focusing on the semantic meaning of the source text. The English possessive apostrophe can be understood as the Chinese particle 的/*de* functioning as a suffix that transforms a noun to an adjective (Li & Thompson, 1981). However, when the particle 的/*de* is attached to a temporal noun (e.g. 天/day, 月/month, 小时/hour), the noun attaching to the de-structure noun is interpreted as an activity that continuously happens through the described timeframe; for instance, the phrase 两小时的会/*2 hours-de meeting* is understood as *a meeting that runs/ran for two hours*.

Therefore, the Chinese phrase 28天的通知/*28 days’ notice* can be understood by native Chinese speakers as *giving notice every day for 28 days*. That means, the translation projected an experiential reality that conflicts with what people would usually expect when terminating a tenancy – *just one notice in advance is enough and you don’t need to notify the other party every day*.

Though the translation projected an unexpected experiential reality, LR-13’s suggestion indicated that lay readers in both LR1 and LR2 who assessed the

translation as achieving Pragmatic Equivalence might possess the contextual knowledge and hence ignored the distorted experiential reality, probably assuming that *the translation must mean 28 days in advance because it doesn't make sense to give notice every day for 28 days*. Comments from LR-3 and LR-14 in Example 5 indicate that the lay readers felt informed and knew what they were advised to do when terminating a tenancy, respectively seeing that giving notice is an obligation (LR-3) and seeing the translation provides an action *guideline*.

Example 4: Lay readers' comments – Legal Text 1

LR-3	让租房者了解自己的权【力】利和义务
Back translation	<i>[the translation] helps tenants understand their rights (power) and obligations</i>
LR-14	…让租赁者在租赁期、承租期以及退租期三个时段的过程中，都有精准确实可操作的行动依据…
Back translation	<i>…[the translation] allows tenants to have an action guideline which is precisely and practically operable during the three process of leasing, renting and terminating…</i>

We believe that those lay readers' life experience in China and New Zealand allowed them "to put themselves into the source-text readers' shoes, drawing their own conclusions with regard to what the text may mean for them" (Nord, 2016, p. 33). That is, the lay readers possessed the contextual knowledge regarding house renting and they used that knowledge to **correct the contextual distortion** – i.e. the distorted experiential and temporal reality projected in the translation which led to the pragmatolinguistic failure.

The comments also reminded us that we cannot rule out the possibility that lay readers might not possess the contextual knowledge of house renting. They therefore might not correct the distorted experiential reality. They would have felt the translation had achieved pragmatic equivalence because the translation Sounded Natural and Made Sense; hence they felt well informed (achieving Original Manner) and misguidedly believed that *they were advised to give notice every day for 28 days* (achieving Similar Response). This finding reveals a risk identified in previous studies (Teng, 2019; Teng et al., 2018): "a translation which Sounds Natural and Makes Sense...may distort the original [contextual] meaning...without the target audience's awareness of anything being amiss" (Teng, 2019, p. 91).

One other instance is Passage 11 in Legal Text 5 (Appendix C), which is the last passage in the text offering readers a final advice on dealing with traffic incidents.

Seeing the overall improvement of translation quality in Draft 2 (Figure 7), the translation in Draft 2 of Passage 11 in Legal Text 2 is one rare instance where the

revised translation of the passage showed a degraded quality. Figure 8 shows that less lay readers in LR2 assessed the revised translation of Passage 11 as achieving all four criteria (Pragmatic Equivalence) and more felt that translation had not met any of the four criteria (Totally Lost). Passage 11 is presented in Example 5.

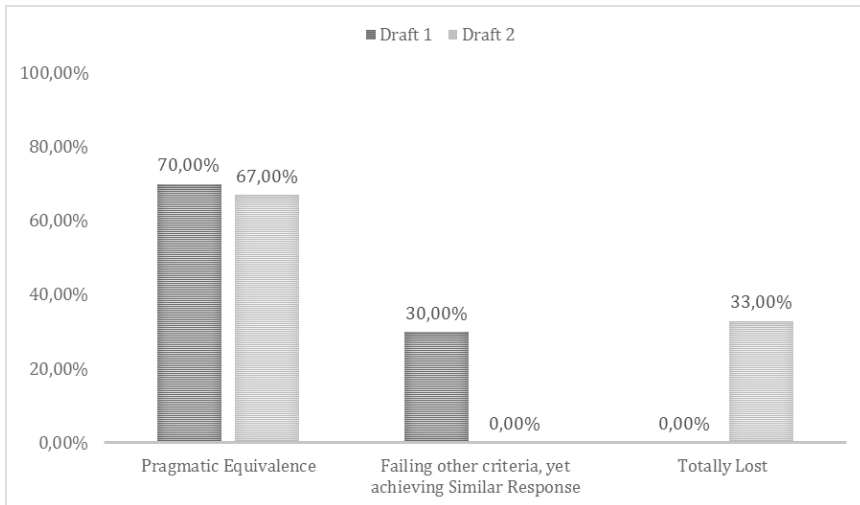


Figure 8: Degraded translation quality of Passage 11 in Legal Text 5

Example 5

Passage 11 – Legal Text 5

- Source text It is best not to admit liability for any accident, especially at the scene...Causes can be **less simple** than at first appear and more than one driver can contribute to an accident.
- Draft 1 不要承认引起这次意外的责任，尤其是在事发现场。...意外发生的原因，可能比单在现场看到的情况更为**复杂**，同时**意外发生也不可能是单一方面的司机引起的**。
- Back translation Do not admit liability of this accident, especially at the scene ...Causes of accidents could be more complicated than it appears at the scene, in the meantime, **it is not possible that the occurrence of an accident is attributed from one single driver.**
- Draft 2 在意外发生的时候及现场，你最好不要立刻承认引发这次意外的责任...发生意外原因，可能比在意外现场看到的更为**复杂**；而且**引发意外也不可能只是单方面的司机引起**。
- Back translation When an accident happens and at the scene, you'd better not admit immediately the liability of causing this accident...Causes of accidents can be more complicated than it appears at the scene; and also **it is not possible that what attributes to the accident is attributed from just one single driver.**

Firstly, both drafts include the addition of the Chinese phrase 不可能/*impossible* which greatly distorts the experiential reality in the source text. Secondly, both drafts deliver similar messages, except for the translation of the English phrases *less simple* and *more than one driver*. We are now looking at how the combination of these Chinese expressions in the translation contributed to a higher percentage of lay readers assessing it as Totally Lost (33%; Figure 8).

Contextually, the semantic meaning of a word in one language may not always project the same experiential meaning in another language due to cross-cultural and cross-linguistic differences. The English phrase *less simple* in Passage 11 was translated as 复杂/*fuzha* in Draft 1 and 繁复/*fanfu* in Draft 2³. Both Chinese adjectives can be rendered as the English *complicated*; however, the Chinese 复杂/*fuzha* denotes things not easy to analyse or understand for its intricately combined, interwoven parts, for instance, 这个机器的结构很复杂/*the structure of this machine is very complicated*; 繁复/*fanfu* denotes things not easy to be done or completed for involving complex steps, for instance, 申请签证的过程很繁复/*the process of VISA application is very complicated*. Translation of the English *less simple* into Chinese 繁复/*fanfu* in Draft 2 therefore created a **contextual distortion** as people usually do not see a traffic incident as something which involves complex steps.

One other cause of distorted experiential reality is the translation of *more than one driver* in both drafts. Draft 1 included the Chinese copular verb 是/*shi* which delivers a textual function of emphasising the following or preceding messages (Li & Thompson, 1981). Particularly when 是/*shi* is used in a 是...的/*shi...de* structure, an anglicised expression commonly seen in modern Chinese (Xiao & Hu, 2015), what is placed between 是/*shi* and 的/*de* is the prominent information and other options are excluded (Liu et al., 1996). Therefore, along with the addition 不可能/*impossible*, Draft 1 entirely excluded a scenario that *a traffic incident may indeed be caused by one single driver*. Some LR1 lay readers therefore felt lost when reading Draft 1 because the translation projected an experiential reality that conflicted with their concept of traffic incidents. Draft 2 included the adverb 只是/*just* preceding 单方面的司机/*one driver*⁴. Along with the addition 不可能/*impossible*, the rendition 不可能只是单方面的司机引起/*it is impossible to be caused by just one driver* in Draft 2 also projected an experiential reality conflictive to the reality that lay readers would have experienced.

³ We do feel that the phrase *less simple* could be translated as 不单纯/*not simple*, and would translate *Causes can be less simple than at first appear* as 车祸发生的原因可能不像现场看到的那么单纯/*causes of a traffic accident may not be as simple as what appears at the scene*.

⁴ The literal translation of 单方面的司机 is *one side of the driver*, which does not make sense in English in this context. Hence we back-translated the phrase as *one driver*.

Despite the distorted experiential reality in both drafts, LR1-4's comment (Example 6) to the translation of Passage 11 in Draft 1 specifically included the wording 不论哪一方过错/ *no matter whose fault it is*. That means the lay reader possessed the common sense that any party involved in a traffic incident can hold liability. This understanding is rather discrepant to the message delivered in the translation of Passage 11.

Example 7

Lay readers' comments – Legal Text 5

Draft 1 这篇翻译提醒我们，在驾驶汽车发生意外时必须要做的事情，以及司机本人要做的事项，同时意外发生后，不论哪一方过错，都不要急于承担这次意外的责任，保护好现场，让第三方来判定是谁的责任。

LR1-4

Author's translation *This translation reminds us of things that should be done after the occurrence an incident when we are driving, and things that the driver himself need to do. In the meantime, after the occurrence of an incident, no matter whose fault it is, [you] do not rush to undertake the responsibility of this incident. Protect the site and let a third party to determine whose responsibility it is.*

LR-4's comment helps explain why more than 70% of the lay readers felt the translation (both drafts) had achieved Pragmatic Equivalence (Figure 8). That is, they seemed to rely on their own knowledge about handling traffic incidents to **correct the contextual distortion in the two drafts** and felt that they knew the advised approach to deal with a traffic incident.

5. Conclusion

Involving CALD members in the process of producing community translation can help guarantee the translation meets CALD members' expectations of a text delivering publicly-shared information in a particular realm of public services (Taibi; AUSIT). However, when considering the social mission of community translation as to help CALD members be socially integrated into mainstream society, we feel that translation delivering interpersonal meaning accordant with the norm of CALD members' original social-cultural background may not always be an ideal practice.

As per our case studies, New Zealand is a society where patient's autonomy is a crucial aspect in medical ethics (Zhang et al., 2021). A translation that meets lay readers' expectations albeit by distorting the interpersonal and experiential meaning of the source text may lead to a compromise of CALD members' autonomy in reception of healthcare services, as we demonstrated in examples of pragmalinguistic failures that fall under the guise of what we have coined "contextual distortions." Should that happen, we wonder how community translation could help CALD members be socially integrated and express their own will in the healthcare context.

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Appendices

Appendix A – Health Text 1 – Source Text

IBUPROFEN

PATIENT INFORMATION GUIDE

Never give your medicines to others even if their symptoms are the same as yours.

WHY HAVE WE GIVEN YOU THIS GUIDE?

- This information is for you to use when taking ibuprofen
- Ibuprofen is used for pain relief and inflammation
- Ibuprofen can cause **serious side effects** so it is important you know how to take it safely
- Talk to your doctor, pharmacist (chemist) or nurse if you have any questions

THINGS YOU CAN DO TO TAKE IBUPROFEN SAFELY

- Take the tablets with or straight after food
- Swallow the tablets whole – do not crush or chew them
- Let your doctor know if you have had any problems with stomach ulcers, your kidneys, liver or heart, including high blood pressure

▶ IBUPROFEN CAN BE HARMFUL

- ▶ **Extra care is needed especially for older adults, or people who smoke or drink a lot of alcohol**
- ▶ **Always store ibuprofen out of reach and out of sight of children**
- ▶ **Let your doctor or pharmacist (chemist) know immediately if you:**
 - Have a skin rash, fever, or other 'allergic-type' reaction
 - Cough up blood (red or brown), or pass blood (red or black) in the toilet
 - Have pain in your stomach or indigestion-like pain
- ▶ **Tell your doctor and pharmacist (chemist) about all of the medicines you are taking**
 - Ibuprofen can be harmful when taken with some other medicines, especially medicines used for pain relief and some heart conditions
- ▶ **Asthma and ibuprofen**
 - Let your doctor or pharmacist (chemist) know if you have asthma **before** you take ibuprofen
 - If you have **asthma and nasal polyps**, you should not take ibuprofen; ask your doctor or pharmacist (chemist) about other types of pain relief for you
- ▶ **PREGNANCY and ibuprofen**
 - If you are pregnant, let your doctor and pharmacist (chemist) know; they may recommend other types of pain relief for you
- ▶ **Do not take any more than recommended**
 - High doses can be harmful, especially for older adults

Appendix B – Legal Text 1 – Source Text

► 12 tips for tenants

1. Know your rights and responsibilities and where to find information: tenancy.govt.nz.
2. Get a written tenancy agreement.
3. Inspect the property and complete a property condition report that is dated, and signed by both parties, before signing a tenancy agreement.
4. Keep all records relating to your tenancy.
5. Get a receipt for any rent paid by cash or for any bond you pay to the landlord.
6. Pay your rent on time.
7. Keep the property reasonably clean and tidy.
8. Tell the landlord if something needs fixing.
9. Do not intentionally or carelessly damage the property.
10. Give 28 days' notice to end a periodic tenancy.
11. A fixed term tenancy cannot be ended early by notice.
12. Letting fees and key money can't be charged to tenants.

TABLE 5922

New Zealand Government

Appendix C – Legal Text 5 – Source Text

MOTOR VEHICLE ACCIDENTS AND ALCOHOL

You should also:

- Write down the name and address of any other driver or witness, the registration number of any other vehicle and the company insuring any other vehicle;
- Write down the name and number of any police officer who attends the accident;
- Provide your name and address and the registration number and insurance company of your vehicle;
- As soon as practicable, make a note of what occurred and draw a sketch plan of the accident to help you remember what occurred; and
- Report the accident to your insurance company promptly.

It is best not to admit liability for any accident, especially at the scene. It could affect your insurance cover. Causes can be less simple than at first appear and more than one driver can contribute to an accident.

PERSONAL INJURY IN AN ACCIDENT

If you are injured in an accident, you should:

- See a registered medical practitioner.
- Report it to the Accident Compensation Corporation.

PROPERTY DAMAGE IN AN ACCIDENT

If you are the owner of property damaged in an accident, you should try to obtain the name and address of the driver and owner of any vehicle involved, together with registration numbers and insurance companies.

If you are insured, report the accident to your insurance company promptly. Make sure you answer all questions on the insurance form fully and truthfully - particularly those about drinking alcohol before the accident. An untruthful or incorrect answer may mean that the insurance company does not have to pay under your policy.

A lawyer can assist you to make an insurance claim and recover any uninsured loss (such as hiring an alternative vehicle or paying an excess).

CONTACT WITH POLICE OFFICERS

- Be satisfied that the person is, in fact, a police officer. If you are in any doubt, you should request proof of identity as a police officer.
- Be very careful that what you say to or write down for a police officer is exactly what you

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Multilingual Families Based in Poland: An Investigation into Family Language Policies

SUMMARY

This article explores family language policies among mixed families in Poland, focusing on how family members perceive and manage their languages. Using Spolsky's FLP Model, the authors analysed 79 case studies of multilingual speakers based on in-depth narrative interviews conducted between 2014 and 2021. The findings revealed that although families expressed explicit language ideologies and strategies, these often did not align with their actual language practices. The analysis also indicated that the affective and social aspects of multilingualism, such as the language status resulting from the political, social, and historical situation, were crucial factors influencing family language policies.

KEYWORDS

multilingual family; Family Language Policy; language ideology; language management; language practices; heritage language

1. Introduction

This paper presents the results of a study on language biographies of multilingual speakers, focusing on mixed families residing in Poland. This study is situated within the interdisciplinary research field of Family Language Policy (FLP) (Hollebeke et al., 2020; Piller & Gerber, 2018; Spolsky, 2012), where language behaviours are analysed within the broader social and cultural context of family life. FLP views these behaviours as reflections of parental beliefs and the values they assign to their languages and cultures.

Although research on family language policies is a relatively new field, it has garnered increasing interest, as evidenced by the growing number of publications (see King & Fogle, 2013; Lanza & Lomeu Gomes, 2020; Schwartz, 2010, for

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review). What makes this area particularly compelling for researchers, as noted by King and Fogle (2006, p. 696), is that “family language policy decisions merit careful investigation as the linguistic, psychological, and emotional stakes for both children and parents are high”.

Additionally, this research field offers significant opportunities for cross-linguistic comparisons, as many combinations still need to be thoroughly investigated (cf. Bose et al. 2023, p. 359). In particular, there is a noticeable lack of publications devoted to the Polish language (cf. Stępkowska, 2021a).

Building on Spolsky’s Family Language Policy Model (2004, 2012, 2017, 2019), we aimed to identify the language ideologies of the families studied and examine how compatible these are with their family language management and practices. Since the affective and social aspects of FLP are less frequently discussed (cf. De Houwer, 2020; Hollebeke et al., 2020; Ivanova, 2019; Juvonen et al., 2020), this study focused on the affective and social factors influencing the formation of family language policies in mixed families in Poland.

Given the unique nature of each respondent’s multilingual experience and the potential divergence between their perspectives and those of their family members (cf. Wilson, 2020), our study concentrated on attitudes towards languages – particularly heritage languages – and bi-/multilingualism, as well as multilingual upbringing, as perceived by the respondents and their (extended) families. We also considered the attitudes of third parties, such as teachers, educators, and professionals consulted by parents regarding their children’s developmental issues, where the data permitted. We assumed that varying attitudes toward individual languages – shaped by their relative status in Poland and the international community – would be vital in shaping the language policy of the families studied (Curdt-Christiansen & Huang, 2020).

Our analysis concerned 79 cases of mixed families residing in Poland. We acknowledge the limitations of our study and the challenge of generalising from an even larger number of case studies to a broader population (Duff, 2012). Our goal was not to generalise universally but to provide practical insights and illustrate findings with qualitative data. We aimed to corroborate previous research, identify significant patterns, and highlight phenomena and regularities discussed in the literature in a concrete and personal way. However, given the large number of cases, some of our results allow us to draw relevant and new conclusions.

2. The study

2.1. Research Questions

Our analysis is guided by three key questions inspired by Spolsky’s FLP model:

1. What language ideologies do multilingual families residing in Poland represent?
2. Are there discrepancies between the language ideologies of these families and

their actual linguistic realities? 3. Which factors, especially affective and social, can be identified as shaping these discrepancies?

2.2. Research material and procedure

Our analysis was based on case studies (language biographies) of bilingual and multilingual speakers. The case studies were conducted by student researchers at the Faculty of Applied Linguistics of the University of Warsaw¹ in the years 2014–2021 as part of a research project devoted to selected aspects of bilingualism². Each language biography was based on an in-depth narrative interview with a bi-/multilingual respondent or – in the case of young children – with their parents (cf. Cavallaro et al., 2023; Doyle, 2013; Et-Bozkurt & Yağmur, 2022; Karpava et al., 2020; Romanowski, 2021, 2022; Sevinç & Mirvahedi, 2023). To minimise the risk of suggested responses, the student researchers conducted an unstructured interview without using a predefined questionnaire, allowing them to freely choose and formulate questions.

For this analysis, we selected 79 language biographies from respondents raised in families, where the parents were native speakers of two or more languages (cf. Guardado, 2017; Yamamoto, 2001) and living in Poland. The respondents' ages at the time of the interview ranged from 2 to 81 years³. In all but one family, either the mother or father was of Polish origin (cf. cross-native/community language families, Yamamoto, 2001, p. 42), with 49 cases where the mother was Polish and 29 where the father was Polish. In one case, both parents represented different non-Polish languages (cross-linguistic/non-community language family, cf. Yamamoto, 2001, p. 42). Across the families, the fathers spoke 18 languages other than Polish (see Table 2)⁴, while the mothers spoke 11 (see Table 3).⁵

2.3. Aim of the analysis and methodology

The aim of this analysis was to investigate how bi-/multilingual families residing in Poland perceived, managed, and practised language use within the family context, focusing on emotional and social factors that shaped these processes.

¹ We would like to express our gratitude to all the student researchers for conducting the interviews, preparing the case study reports, and for agreeing to use them in our study.

² More detailed information about the project, selection criteria for respondents, etc., can be found in Banasiak & Olpińska-Szkiełko (2019, 2020).

³ Detailed data on respondents are presented in Table 1 in Appendix: https://docs.google.com/document/d/1WWgqrS1Cqh_nFUPdfxUGRnSWIsnj1wDSKCR_GuW_tWg/edit?tab=t.0

⁴ See Appendix: https://docs.google.com/document/d/1WWgqrS1Cqh_nFUPdfxUGRnSWIsnj1wDSKCR_GuW_tWg/edit?tab=t.0

⁵ See Appendix: https://docs.google.com/document/d/1WWgqrS1Cqh_nFUPdfxUGRnSWIsnj1wDSKCR_GuW_tWg/edit?tab=t.0

Drawing on Spolsky's FLP model (2004, 2012, 2017, 2019), the study employed qualitative research methods, particularly thematic analysis, to explore the language ideologies, management strategies, and language behaviours of the families involved.

In our study, language ideology refers to parents' beliefs about their own and their partners' languages and cultures, their views on raising bilingual/multilingual children, and their willingness to foster their children's bi-/multilingual competence. Language management, following Lanza (1992, 1997, 2001), is defined as explicit parental strategies aimed at shaping family language practices. These include the "one person, one language" strategy (OPOL), the oldest and still the most common model for balancing languages within the family (cf. Baker, 2011, pp. 92–103; Barron-Hauwaert, 2004; Yamamoto, 2001), and the "minority language at home" (MLAH) strategy, often combined with time- or place-based approaches. The MLAH strategy, aimed at promoting the minority (heritage) language within the family, is also referred to as "the principle of maximal engagement with the minority language" (Schwartz, 2020, p. 200; Yamamoto, 2001, p. 128). The other strategies are, at best, considered "mixed strategies" (Schwartz, 2020, p. 205) and, more critically, as "no strategy at all" (Guardado, 2017, p. 7). In discussing the mixed strategies, Schwartz (2020, p. 205) introduces the concept of the "design of home language environment," defining it as a set of language practices parents use to foster bilingual development. Our study adopts this understanding, which refers to the specific linguistic behaviours observed in the analysed families.

Thematic analysis was used to identify and examine recurring themes in the data, focusing on how family members expressed their beliefs about languages (language ideology), what endeavours they made to sustain their particular family languages – the mother's language (or languages) and the father's language (or languages) and how they navigated multilingual upbringing (language management), and how they actually used their languages within the family (language practices). This approach allowed for an in-depth exploration of the subjective experiences of family members, with particular attention to emotional and social influences on language decisions (cf. Hollebeke et al., 2020; De Houwer, 2020). By analysing these qualitative data, we aimed to uncover the underlying factors shaping family language policies and offer insights into how multilingual families negotiate language use in their daily lives. This study contributes to the growing body of literature on the affective and social dimensions of family language policy (cf. Ivanova, 2019; Juvonen et al., 2020).

For this analysis, L1 was defined as a mother's language, and L2 was defined as a father's language, regardless of whether Poland was the country of origin of the mother, the father, or neither and regardless of which language L1 or L2 or neither was dominant for a child. In the further part of the article, we refer to the

language (languages) of the family other than Polish as a heritage language(s) (cf. Montrul, 2020, p. 61).

2.4. Findings

2.4.1. Parental attitudes and linguistic realities: the declared versus the practised

In the analysed cases of mixed families in Poland, parents mostly declared mutual respect for all their languages and cultures, equal status of all languages within the family and willingness to bring up their children bi- or multilingually. The following excerpts illustrate this:

Case 22:

The decision to raise the child so that she had language competence in both languages [Polish and Italian] was made long before her birth; it was well thought out and jointly agreed upon⁶.

Case 59:

The parents had a positive attitude towards both cultures [Bulgarian and Polish]. This seemed to be confirmed by the fact that each of the parents learned the spouse's language, and both languages were used in the home daily.

However, the declared equivalence of the languages did not in all cases translate into the linguistic reality of the family because in almost two-thirds of the cases (65.3%), where Polish was the language of the mother (L1), the father did not know it or did not exceed a basic level of proficiency (see Table 2).⁷ This means that in at least 32 out of 49 cases, in which the father's language was different from Polish, the languages could not have equal status within the family. The father's language (L2) became necessarily the only possible language of family communication, sometimes preceded by a stage when a third language (mostly English) was used between the parents:

Case 43:

The father did not speak Polish at all. [...] The mother was fluent in both languages. Therefore, the parents communicated with each other only in Italian.

Case 63:

The father had never spoken Polish; attempts at learning it were unsuccessful. The parents first communicated in English [...]. Later, when the mother developed her language skills in Greek, they started using it in the family.

⁶ All excerpts were translated into English by the authors of the article.

⁷ The scope of our analysis did not include the measurement of the language competence of the respondents and their parents, but we were interested in how the knowledge or lack of knowledge of one partner's language reflected the attitude towards this language of the other parent.

In families where the father's language (L2) was Polish, and the mothers represented other languages, in nearly 69% of the cases (see Table 3), the fathers were proficient in the mother's language, most often for professional reasons and/or related to a longer stay in the mother's country. However, this did not mean the heritage language (L1) received more significant support. In almost all cases, regardless of the father's proficiency in L1, the family language was the father's – Polish.

As for the mother's knowledge of the father's language, instances where mothers did not know it or did not learn it during the marriage were exceptional, with only three such cases among the analysed case studies. In two cases, the mother's language was English; in one case, it was French, which the fathers were also proficient in (Cases 18, 53, and 71).

Thus, the father's language often emerged as the preferred language of the family, whether it was Polish (the majority language) or a non-Polish minority language. But in six cases involving Flemish, Pashto, Swahili, Punjabi, Turkish, and Vietnamese did the fathers, finding these languages "less useful," substantially refrain from transmitting them to their children, opting instead for English:

Case 67:

The father of Peter considered this language [Pashto] useless, and as he used only English daily, he did not make any attempt to even speak to him in Pashto.

Case 74:

The mother was Polish, while her father was from Kenya [...]. Veronica had communicated with her father in English since childhood.

2.4.2. Parental strategies and agency in multilingual development: from declared intentions to practical actions

The (declared) attitudes of acceptance and respect for both parents' languages and cultures only partially influenced the language choice for family communication. A more significant influence came from language management, specifically the explicit parental strategies aimed at shaping language practices within the family (Lanza 1992, 1997, 2001).

Regardless of the languages used for communication between the parents and within the family, the OPOL model was the most frequently chosen strategy for interactions between parents and children. However, as noted by Caldas (2012, p. 352), "the majority of parents do not strategically plan a policy". Correspondingly, in many of the analysed cases, the parents' behaviour could likely not be described as consciously "strategic," even though they followed the principle of speaking to the child in their respective languages. The parents sometimes believed their children's bi-/multilingualism would develop "on its own" and were not concerned to take specific actions to support their linguistic development:

Case 30:

When Izabell was born, her parents did not particularly think about developing bilingualism in her, as they assumed that alternating contact with two languages from birth would be enough for the girl to become fluent in Polish and English.

Over time, this attitude was modified in some cases. In certain families, especially when the parents realised that the heritage language (most often L2) needed more support, OPOL was eventually adjusted to MLAH. This meant both parents exclusively used the heritage language in interactions with the child (e.g. Case 20) or selected specific times of day to speak the heritage language (time strategy; e.g. Case 36, see below). Sometimes, they also adopted the place strategy – using the heritage language at home while reserving the majority language for interactions outside the home (Case 6).

Most parents were genuinely interested in fostering their children's multilingual competence (cf. Fogle & King, 2013). They closely observed their children and actively sought to address any emerging difficulties. A very interesting example was the case of Julia's family (Case 36). From birth, Julia's parents communicated with her in their native languages – her mother in Polish and her father in English. Initially, Julia's contact with both languages was balanced. However, once she started preschool at the age of 3, her preference shifted towards Polish: "The parents noticed that the child was more willing to speak Polish even in everyday communication at home. The child was increasingly refusing to communicate in English". Noticing this, her parents decided to allocate specific times for English, using it from Monday to Friday evenings ("from 6.00 p.m.") and during activities such as watching films, reading bedtime stories, and playing games. Julia was resistant to this structured use of English, e.g. preferring Polish for shared reading and showing a decreased mood when English was used. Her parents realised they were applying too much pressure and thus shifted to a more relaxed approach. They continued to offer English activities, but only if Julia was interested. This adjustment led Julia to increasingly choose English on her own. Eventually, she communicated with her mother in Polish and English, depending on the situation (English was the family language), and with her father in English.

The parents' care for their children's proper multilingual development is also evidenced by the anxiety they expressed when observing developmental challenges made in several case study reports. The parents frequently indicated the mixing of languages in children, sometimes some delays in their linguistic development and communication difficulties predominantly at the moment of starting education in kindergarten or school (cf. Piller & Gerber, 2018):

Case 20:

The first problem was noticed around the age of 5, when Filip, as a normally developing child, spoke relatively a lot, mixing both languages in one sentence.

Case 38:

Julie spent most of the day speaking English [her father worked at home and spent all day with his daughter]. Her vocabulary and fluency in Polish became poorer. She often used English constructions in Polish. This greatly concerned her mother, who began to worry about her vocabulary level and how she would be different from her peers when she started school.

Despite these concerns, the family language practices, regardless of whether they were used consciously and strategically, should be regarded as effective since all respondents unanimously identified themselves as (at least functionally) bi-/multilingual and viewed their competence in all their languages as adequate.

2.4.3. Children's subjectivity and agency in multilingual development: personal engagement and identity formation

In several mixed families we examined, the children ultimately took the lead in shaping their multilingualism and managed the process independently. The respondents, most often in their teenage years, were consciously involved in various actions to support the development of their heritage language and made efforts to improve their knowledge of it, for example, by advancing literacy in this language (e.g. Case 27; Case 75).

Respondents in our study highly valued their multilingual competence and demonstrated very positive attitudes towards it:

Case 48:

Lucyna mentioned nothing but positive aspects of bilingualism. She said that her peers influenced her perception of herself more than her family. When she talked about the family situation, she said that both she and her brother were able to speak freely in two languages; everyone's reaction was admiration and sometimes even envy. Everyone said that they would like that too, so Lucyna felt fulfilled, happy and quite special.

Moreover, the respondents knew and appreciated the benefits of bilingualism, including "a very broadly defined tolerance, ease of adapting to a new situation, openness and above-average ability to learn new languages" (Case 8), and they talked about it openly and directly.

In terms of the linguistic competence of the respondents, Polish – as L1 or as L2 or neither (Case 45) – was, without exception, the dominant language in all the cases. The respondents generally identified as Polish but also felt a connection to the language and culture of the other parent's country, as seen in the case of Dominic (Case 16), who considered both Poland and Greece his homeland. The vast majority of the respondents declared that they wanted to live permanently in Poland, although they often intended to or already had studied abroad (not necessarily in the L1/L2

country other than Poland, but in a third country). Many respondents also chose jobs that allowed them to travel frequently to the L1/L2 country (e.g. a translator, travel guide, etc.). If they decided to change their country of residence, it was for practical reasons (career planning) and not for emotional reasons:

Case 79:

Zosia was studying oceanography at the University of Gdańsk, so she would like to live in an English-speaking country with access to the ocean, as there is a greater demand for skilled workers in this field.

The respondents had, in general, no unpleasant memories related to their bi-/multilingual upbringing. In single cases, they mentioned their childhood memories of situations that they perceived as unpleasant or discriminatory due to their bilingualism on the part of the social environment, especially their peers. Stasiek (Case 72) had to endure “malicious comments from his peers while discussing the topic of WWII during history lessons”, and Benjamin (Case 11) “was called names and asked to go back to Russia”. Veronica (Case 74) experienced some unpleasantness “for racist reasons”.

Apart from these, the majority of the bilinguals in our study stated that they could not remember any communication difficulties or discrimination from their childhood and declared their willingness to raise their own children bilingually. This best demonstrates their positive attitude toward bilingualism and the fact that they regard it as a value, as it is not at all evident that bilingualism is passed on and continued in the next generation (cf. Varro, 1998; see also Canac-Marquis & Walker, 2016; Schwartz, 2008). In one case, the process had already started:

Case 62:

Natalie already had a daughter who was also brought up bilingually. She was helped by her over 90-year-old grandmother from Argentina (the great-grandmother of the child) [at the time of the study she lived in Poland with her son’s family who took care of her], who previously made a great contribution to maintaining the Spanish language as L2 in her granddaughter, the daughter of her son.

2.4.4. The impact of social environment: the role of extended family and experts in shaping multilingual development

As in the case of Natalie mentioned above, many of the linguistic biographies of the multilingual respondents revealed that the attitudes of extended families, particularly grandparents (cf. Bohnacker, 2022), as well as friends, towards bi-/multilingualism were generally positive, regardless of the languages involved. In many cases, they were strongly committed to supporting the parents in fostering their children’s bi- or multilingual development:

Case 75:

The process of language acquisition [of Veronika] took place in favourable socio-psychological conditions and was very successful. She grew up in the most favourable environmental conditions. The community showed full acceptance of her bilingualism. It was not only her parents who tried very hard to support the development of both Polish and Arabic but also the rest of the family, such as her grandparents as well as her peers, who also contributed to this.

The exceptions to this were Russian (e.g. Case 11 and 72 mentioned above) and, surprisingly, German, due probably to historical and political circumstances:

Case 41:

The relatives did not fully support the parents' initiative [bilingual upbringing of their son, Konrad, in Polish and German], especially the older generation, including Konrad's grandparents, who judged his parents' actions as 'messing with his head'.

The parents largely considered the opinions of their extended families in their decisions about their children's multilingual development while also being guided by their own intuitions. In contrast, they less frequently sought expert advice or consulted professional literature (cf. King & Fogle, 2006). Nevertheless, there were cases where the parents' decision to limit or stop the child's contact with heritage languages resulted from advice given by specialists, such as teachers, speech therapists and psychologists, to whom the parents turned in cases of observed developmental issues, such as unbalanced linguistic development or delays in language acquisition (cf. Mirvahedi & Hosseini, 2023).

A telling case was that of Iwo (Case 29):

At the age of 6, [...] some symptoms appeared which the school psychologist interpreted as a disorder in the child's language development, possibly including dyslexia. It was suggested that the parents should eliminate one of the languages as this would be crucial in Iwo's 'therapy' and his development would quickly stabilise.

Initially, the parents found it a good solution, but after a short time they decided against it.

They found many documented cases of children with serious language disorders and dyslexia who spoke and read in two languages. Based on reading, scientific research and conversations with other parents and an external psychologist, the parents came to the conclusion that this dyslexic disorder was absolutely not a contraindication to continuing bilingual development.

In Iwo's case, not following the school psychologist's advice was the right choice regarding the child's continued positive progress in his bilingual development, as documented in his language biography. But in another case, the adoption of the expert advice resulted in the loss of the child's multilingual competence:

Case 45:

From the very beginning, Linda [her mother was from Kenya and used to speak English, Luo and Swahili as a child; her father was from Zimbabwe and was an English and Shona speaker] had contact with all the languages [...]. Her parents spoke to her in their native languages. They also used English to talk to each other. [...] With time, English began to dominate because the parents preferred to speak this language to each other. [...] Going to the preschool, Linda had problems getting along with her peers and educators. The psychologist advised her parents to start speaking Polish to each other at home. Everyone tried to use the Polish language as often as possible for the child's sake. Sometimes, English also 'crept in.' [...] Linda believed that as a child, she was overloaded with languages and thus had problems at school. [...] She felt uncomfortable, perhaps because the environment and the family did not use the same language. She had too many of them at once. [...] In her dreams, her father spoke Shona, English and Polish. The words spoken in Shona were incomprehensible to her. Dreaming about her mother, she heard Swahili, Luo, English and Polish. In this case, she did not know the meaning of the words in the language of the Kenyan people, too.

3. Discussion

Our discussion is based on three essential questions outlined in Section 2.1. Regarding language ideologies, in line with multilingual families both in Poland and internationally, the parents in our study expressed a mutual respect for their languages and cultures, emphasised their equal status, and supported raising their children to be bi-/multilingual (cf. Stępkowska, 2022; Romanowski, 2021, 2022). The families recognised the value of multilingual competence and actively communicated this to their children. This was evidenced by the very positive attitudes toward their own multilingualism among all respondents, as well as their sense of belonging or identification with their parents' cultures and languages (cf. Banasiak & Olpińska-Szkielko, 2020; Dewaele et al., 2020; Ivanova, 2019), regardless of their proficiency level – generally relatively high in most cases – while Polish, as the majority language, remained dominant (cf. Boyd, 1998; Lüke et al., 2020; Montanari et al., 2019; Montrul, 2016, 2023; Puig-Mayenco et al., 2018; Treffers-Daller, 2019; and also Knopp, 2022). This was further evident in the intentional efforts many respondents made to nurture their multilingual competencies (cf. Caldas & Caron-Caldas, 2000, 2002; Fogle, 2013; Fogle & King, 2013; Gafaranga, 2010; Smith-Christmas, 2020; Wąsikiewicz-Firlej, 2018; Wilson, 2020; Zhan, 2023).

These attitudes also reflected the effectiveness of the language management and practices employed within the families. Nevertheless, apparent discrepancies emerge between their language ideologies and their linguistic realities. As stated above, the OPOL and MLAH strategies governed most language practices related to communication in parent-child communication, yet inconsistencies were observed between the intended usage and actual language behaviours (cf. Curdt-Christiansen, 2016; Gharibi & Seals, 2019; Hirsch & Lee, 2018; Kopeliovich, 2010; Wąsikiewicz-Firlej, 2018; Wąsikiewicz-Firlej & Lankiewicz, 2019). The factors that seem to most influence these divergences include the role of the

father's language (L2) in family communication and the relative prestige of the specific minority (heritage) languages.

To begin with, there is a notable lack of proficiency in Polish as L1 among most fathers in our study. In these cases, the mothers were inclined—or even compelled by a lack of choice (cf. Stępkowska, 2022, p. 220)—to use L2 at home, which became the sole language of family communication (except for individual interactions between the mother and child). This situation was particularly prevalent since, in most cases, the mothers were proficient in the fathers' languages (cf. Dewaele & Salomidou, 2017; Pfenninger & Singleton, 2018; Stępkowska, 2021b).

It might seem that the father's lack of proficiency in the mother's language (L1 = Polish) would encourage support for L2 as the heritage language. Indeed, in most families where the mother was Polish and the father spoke another language, Polish was not the family language. Although just over a quarter of the cases (see Table 2) indicated that fathers had a good command of Polish, allowing it to be used in family communication, this was not the case in most families. However, whether establishing L2 as the sole family language reflects a conscious MLAH strategy based on the parents' ideological beliefs is debatable; the choice appeared to be mainly influenced by the father's reluctance or inability to communicate effectively in L1.

This assertion is further supported by the observation that the father's language became the primary language of communication between the parents and, consequently, within the family, even in cases where the mother's language was not Polish. In such linguistic configurations, over two-thirds of fathers demonstrated a good command of their partners' languages (see Table 3). Nonetheless, the children's contact with L1 was generally limited to communication with their mother and was predominantly facilitated by her actions (cf. Guardado, 2018; cf. also Banasiak & Olpińska-Szkiełko, 2019; Bezcioglu-Goktolga & Yagmur, 2018; Extra & Verhoeven, 1999; Okita, 2002).

Only in a few families in our study did the fathers' languages not become the family languages. In six cases, the fathers abandoned their languages in favour of English, considering the transmission of their heritage languages unnecessary (cf. Guardado, 2008, p. 178). In three cases, the mothers' languages became the primary family languages: English in two instances and French in one.

These choices did not seem to be random (cf. Stępkowska, 2022). The analysis of various language combinations in our study suggests that parents' willingness to support a heritage language (L1 or L2, other than Polish) depended largely on its status and relative prestige both in Poland and internationally. The families exerted more effort in supporting the development of English, French, Italian, and Spanish. In comparison, much less effort was devoted to languages considered "less prestigious" such as Bulgarian, Chinese, Hungarian, or Serbian. These findings align with previous research, which highlights the influence of language

prestige on parents' language choices and efforts to support their children's heritage language development (cf. Curdt-Christiansen, 2014, 2016; Curdt-Christiansen & Huang, 2020; Curdt-Christiansen & Wang, 2018; Guardado, 2017; Harding & Riley, 1986; Romanowski, 2021). Our analysis revealed that the attitudes of relatives and family friends significantly influenced bilingual parenting practices (cf. Romanowski, 2021; Smith-Christmas, 2014; Takeuchi, 2006). An interesting case was German, where the degree of acceptance from the families' social environment did not correspond to its significance in international communication, suggesting that historical reasons, rather than prestige, played a dominant role. Similarly, Russian was met with reluctance due to historical and political factors.

Regarding the attitudes towards multilingualism expressed by professionals, particularly in education, the greatest significance was given to the role of Polish as the majority language. Educators often focused solely on the development of Polish, viewing it as insufficient or problematic compared to monolingual peers. This reinforced concerns shared by some parents that bilingualism might hinder their children's language proficiency and academic success (cf. Okita, 2002; Piller & Gerber, 2018; Takanishi & Le Menestrel, 2017). Assuming that challenges in Polish language development stemmed from bilingualism, experts often advised against using two languages, especially non-Polish, in communication with the child.

4. Conclusions

Enabling children to develop multilingual competence is primarily the responsibility of their families. Families play a crucial role, particularly in transmitting their heritage languages to future generations (Fishman, 1991); otherwise, the languages are likely to be lost (Fishman, 2001). At the ideological level, the families in our study seemed aware of this obligation and willing to take on the challenges of raising multilingual children. However, in many cases, affective and social factors appeared to shape the linguistic realities of the family much more than ideologies. Our analysis identified several factors, including the role of the father's language, the relative prestige of the heritage language, and the attitudes of the extended family and social environment, including experts.

Despite the challenges multilingual families face, in all cases examined in this study, respondents considered themselves multilingual and expressed positive attitudes toward multilingualism derived from their personal experiences. Considering a large group of bilingual speakers, our study corroborates the findings of many other studies on family language policy, while also suggesting new avenues for future research. It would be interesting to explore whether a similar balance is maintained in comparable linguistic constellations among families living outside Poland. Further interesting social and affective aspects

worthy of investigation include the role of extended family members, particularly grandparents, as well as the role of siblings and their influence on the development of multilingual competence within families.

While the number of case studies might suggest a quantitative approach, we opted for a qualitative design due to the heterogeneity of the material. Some of our results, given the breadth of cases, offer the potential for original conclusions. However, despite the thorough and reliable preparation of each language biography and alignment with existing literature, we approach our findings with caution, acknowledging the limitations of our study.

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The Theme of Marriage in F. Scott Fitzgerald's Prose

ABSTRACT

Fitzgerald is the author of many short stories and five novels, heavily infused with autobiographical elements. The characters created by the writer often resemble himself or his wife Zelda, and not unfrequently the events depicted mirror documented episodes from their lives. In this article, I present the recurring theme of marriage in the writer's works, appearing in various forms in both his short and long prose. I also highlight the vagueness of literary terms such as theme, motif, plot, and character, which often intersect and do not always allow for clear differentiation.

KEYWORDS

American literature; Fitzgerald's prose; autobiography; theme; motif

1. Themes, motifs, plots, and characters in literature

Słownik terminów literackich [Dictionary of Literary Terms] (1998, p. 325, translations mine) defines a motif as “an elementary – analytically distinguishable – structural unit of the presented world in a work, its elemental component: event, object, situation, experience, etc.” These elements connect to form “higher-order complexes such as character, plot, theme”. According to the same source, a theme (p. 577) is “the subject of the discourse, a set of motifs constituting the core of the presented world of the work, its main component, the highest distinguishable component of its structural units”. The examples provided include “a sequence of events (in epic or dramatic works), object, human character, landscape, etc.”; It is added that “in narrative works, the theme is often identical with the main plot”.

A plot, on the other hand, comprises “narrative events centered around one character or a pair of characters distinguished from the entire group of presented individuals based on the type of relationships binding them (e.g., a love plot)” (p. 608). A literary character is “a fictional figure” constructed according to a pattern that is “the resultant of three components: 1. A literary stereotype established in the tradition of a given genre; 2. An extraliterary personal model shaped in the social conditions observed by the writer; 3. An ideal of life stance propagated by the creator” (p. 412). As Daemmrich (1985, p. 566) notes, researchers often use

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the terms motif and theme interchangeably, referring to such elements of a text as detail, metaphor, image, symbol, idea, issue. Adams (1983, p. 213) also points out the frequent conflation of theme and motif.

It might seem that at least a literary character should not raise any doubts, since it usually has a first or last name (or both) and can be easily distinguished from other constructs. However, the fate of this character, in conjunction with the abstract type it represents (e.g., a poor boy, a beautiful girl from a wealthy home, a war veteran in peacetime), is, at the same time, the theme of a given work.

As can be seen, these four concepts cannot always be distinguished, and their dictionary definitions do not necessarily prove helpful.

In this paper, I present marriage as a significant theme present in Fitzgerald's prose, which for individual works could also be termed a motif or plot and discussed under the label of the characters that represent it. It is worth noting that in his book on Fitzgerald's work, in the section titled *Main Themes* (which does not include marriage), Kirk Curnutt (2007, pp. 53–69) devotes much space to selected characters and their fates, and in the section titled *Main Characters* (pp. 68–84), he returns to the issue of themes. In my approach, the characterization of the characters constitutes a fundamental element of the presentation of the theme.

2. The marriage of the Fitzgeralds

The marriage of Scott and Zelda Fitzgerald, concluded shortly after the success of the writer's debut novel (1920), aroused widespread interest, which intensified as the author's popularity grew. From the beginning, the young couple led a lavish, expensive, sometimes scandalous social life, mingling with artistic bohemians and providing tabloid press with rich material for front pages. Much has been written about their colorful but ultimately unhappy life in numerous biographical books (e.g. Milford, 1970; Spargo, 2014; Stromberg, 1997; Taylor, 2001). Interestingly, several novels loosely based on facts have also been devoted to them, (e.g. Leroy, 2007 and Fowler, 2013) which on one hand, maintains their legend, and on the other, distorts it with the declared fictional contents.

The circumstances preceding the wedding of F. Scott Fitzgerald and Zelda Sayre and the ceremony on 3.04.1920 at St. Patrick's Church in New York could serve as material for a thriller movie. The romance of a handsome lieutenant with a local beauty in Montgomery, strong competition among young men courting her, parental disapproval of their relationship due to his poverty, sending and secretly receiving an engagement ring, intense correspondence between the two, the demobilized officer's strenuous work on a novel in which he used his beloved girl's letters, breaking of the secret engagement, the great success of his first novel, official engagement with reluctant parental acceptance, a rushed wedding held in a Catholic church, to which Zelda did not belong – these are some elements in their story, eagerly repeated by their biographers and echoed in the writer's works.

4. Autobiographical Aspect in Fitzgerald's Prose

One of the most frequently mentioned features of Fitzgerald's work is its autobiographical nature, which some critics (e.g. Callahan, 2006, p. 102; Diemert, 1998, p. 135; Eagleton, 1971, p. 438) note with reproach, while others consider it an added value, allowing Fitzgerald's works to be seen as "semi-autobiographical chronicles of the so-called 'Jazz Age', the lives of a generation of young people who came of age in the 1920s" (Stachura, 2010, 2013).

A reader who is just moderately familiar with the facts of Fitzgerald's biography will easily recognize him in the characters of all his completed novels. Like Amory Blaine (the main character in *This Side of Paradise*), Fitzgerald studied at Princeton, where he formed significant friendships, was influenced by a Catholic priest, and experienced a painful romantic disappointment. With Anthony Patch (the protagonist of *The Beautiful and Damned*), his creator shares a reckless, irresponsible lifestyle, alcohol abuse, and a destructive marriage. Like the title hero of *The Great Gatsby*, he painfully experienced the effects of social barriers that stood between him and the woman he loved. Like Dick Diver (the protagonist of *Tender Is the Night*), he struggles with his wife's mental illness, lacking the strength to stay and the courage to leave. These are, of course, only the obvious similarities, noticeable without in-depth analysis.

The characters in many of Fitzgerald's short stories also bear visible traces of the author's personal experiences or his well-known personality traits. Basil Lee (*The Freshest Boy*) is strongly disliked by his schoolmates. In another story (*The Perfect Life*), the same character stands out on the football team, earning the admiration of his peers. Andy (*The Last of the Belles*) is an officer who never made it to the European front. Adrian Smith (*The Rough Crossing*) travels by ship to Europe with his wife, flirting with a young admirer. The brilliant Bill McChesnay (*Two Wrongs*) achieves great success at a young age, only to succumb to alcoholism shortly after that. John Unger (*The Diamond as Big as the Ritz*) comes from an impoverished family but inherited from his creator a taste for wealth and luxury that is mismatched with his modest social status. Jim Mather (*Hot and Cold Blood*) falls victim to swindlers due to his good heart. An unnamed writer (*Afternoon of an Author*) suffers from creative block, killing time in a futile search for inspiration.

5. Engagements and Marriages in Fitzgerald's Fiction

Corresponding to these extraordinary experiences of the writer, his characters enter into their marriages (or make plans or suddenly withdraw from matrimonial projects) in strangest circumstances. Anthony Patch, the protagonist of *The Beautiful and Damned*, first declares with conviction that he will never marry. Then, during the wedding ceremony with the beautiful Gloria (whom he can keep only as his wife), the idea of escaping from the altar comes to his mind. When the

unremarkable bookstore employee Merlin Grainger (O Russet Witch) arranges the details of his wedding with his coworker Olivia, he stares fascinated at the eccentric, unattainable Caroline. The successful Perry Parkhurst (*The Camel's Back*) "marries" his former fiancée as a joke, dressed as a camel at a fancy-dress party, only to find out to his satisfaction that the marriage might be valid. On the eve of her wedding to Tom (*The Great Gatsby*), Daisy gets drunk and declares she has changed her mind, only to complete the ceremony soon, as planned. The heir to a great family fortune, Toby Moreland (*The Offshore Pirate*), kidnaps the capricious Ardita pretending to be a pirate, so that she agrees to marry him out of excitement. The wealthy George Van Tyne (*The Unspeakable Egg*) plays the role of a tramp to win the heart of his beloved Fifi. When Dick Diver (*Tender Is the Night*) marries his schizophrenic patient Nicole, he is unsure whether he is motivated solely by love or by the fortune offered by her family to the doctor willing to combine the roles of therapist and husband to Nicole. The theater producer Bill McChesney (*Two Wrongs*) breaks up with his famous fiancée without a reason to marry Emmy, whom he initially only tried to seduce. Due to a head injury, the veteran Charley Abbot (*Diamond Dick*) does not remember that he got married during the war; his wife patiently waits and fights for his lost memory to return. Obligated to marry an English aristocrat, Knowleton Whitney (*Myra Meets His Family*) weaves an expensive, elaborate intrigue to provoke Myra to break off their ill-considered engagement, lacking the courage to withdraw himself. The fifty-year-old millionaire Tom Squires (*The Rich Boy*) abandons his intention to marry the young Annie when he sees her with a young admirer and suddenly realizes the significance of their age difference, which he had desperately tried to overcome. On the way to her wedding Carol (*Fate in Her Hands*) decides to marry the groom's best man, even though nothing previously indicated such a possibility. A young widow Mary (*Day Off from Love*) forces her fiancé to agree to spend one day separately, each according to their own imagination, to minimize the risk of boredom in their relationship. Kiki (*Offside Play*) returns the engagement ring to her fiancé due to a misunderstanding related to his trip to Greece. Kathleen (*The Last Tycoon*) surprises Stahr with a telegram about her hastily concluded marriage, thus putting an end to their ongoing romance.

In each of these cases, the marriage-related circumstances deviate from accepted social norms in a surprising, outrageous, or shocking way.

6. Married Couples in Fitzgerald's Novels

The lifestyle of the young Fitzgeralds is reflected in the novel *The Beautiful and Damned* (1922), whose title aptly summarizes the fate of its characters as well as the later life of its author and his wife. As Jan Rybicki (1996, p. 390) observes in his translator's note in the Polish edition, from today's perspective, the story

of Gloria and Anthony may appear as a prophetic vision of the own future of the young author, who was already grappling with severe alcohol issues at the time. Gloria and Anthony only want to have fun and take for granted that the money of Anthony's grandfather will make it possible for the rest of their lives. Although Anthony, a Harvard graduate, has certain literary ambitions, he is not inclined to dedicate intense work to them. Unlike his creator, who earned his living with his writing and worked hard, Anthony lacks motivation for effort. Gloria and Anthony represent the type of heirs to great fortunes doomed to luxury, free from the need to work or make any efforts for their future – though, as will soon become clear, only temporarily. When the strict, demanding grandfather surprises them with an unannounced visit, stumbling upon one of the endless drunken parties at their home, he disinherits Anthony, triggering a cascade of the couple's financial troubles, marital crises, and leads to Anthony's moral decline and mental illness.

In the novel's world, Gloria manages to overturn the grandfather's will after many years, but for Anthony it is already too late. Importantly, despite mutual infidelities, accusations, illnesses, and other adversities, the couple ultimately does not separate, thus affirming the indissolubility of marriage. In real life, the Fitzgeralds remained married until Scott's death (1940), although he became involved with another woman towards the end, and Zelda spent most of the 1930s in mental institutions.

Compared to Gloria and Anthony, Daisy and Tom Buchanan in *The Great Gatsby* represent a different type of married couple. Their immense wealth does not depend on their families' will, they own a luxurious home with servants and are parents to a little daughter. They neither attend parties very often nor abuse alcohol. Although Tom has a mistress and has had episodes of infidelity in the past, it is noteworthy that he shows a degree of tolerance for his wife's affair with Gatsby, not exhibiting the hypocrisy in this respect. The disillusioned lover, Gatsby, temporarily alleviates Daisy's boredom, revives memories, and creates tension. However, his dazzling new money fortune and genuine devotion are insufficient to break the bond that unites the Buchanans. The lover must leave, and the wife remains with her husband, aware of his rights and her obligations. In his lifetime, Fitzgerald was somewhat like both Gatsby and Tom. Like Gatsby, he quickly made money for the woman he loved, and later, like Tom, he never abandoned her or let her leave him.

Myrtle and George Wilson, Tom Buchanan's mistress and her husband, are overshadowed in the novel *The Great Gatsby* by the Buchanans' glamour. George Wilson, who – as reported by his wife – had to borrow a suit for his wedding ceremony, owns a garage with a gas pump. Certainly, he has not achieved spectacular success and cannot offer his wife the luxury that Tom occasionally provides, but he has also accomplished something in life. He loves Myrtle and does not hesitate to decide to relocate when their marriage is threatened. Like

Tom, he defends his marriage in his way, ultimately giving his life for it. By locking his wife in a room, Wilson attempts not only to keep her by his side but also to protect her from the brutality of the outside world, which she encounters when she escapes his control. Myrtle, who refuses to admit that she married her husband out of love (though her sister remembers) and rejects him because he does not measure up to the wealthy Tom, is punished for her lack of faith in her marriage. Scholars pay little attention to Wilson; for instance, Philip Northman does not mention him in his list of main characters, and others (e.g., Lance, 2000) see him solely as an antithesis to the masculinity, wealth, and vitality of Tom Buchanan, which he undoubtedly is due to his low social status and resulting limited opportunities. However, no one highlights that he is (perhaps in the first place) a husband who believes in indissolubility of marriage, unable to continue living after losing his wife.

Dick and Nicole Diver lead a life of luxury thanks to Nicole's family's fortune, Dick continues to work "half-heartedly", including as his wife's physician. Unjealous and loyal to each other – until a breaking point – the Divers enjoy socializing and having fun, much like the young Fitzgeralds. Dick's fascination with the teenage actress Rosemary does not threaten their marriage (just as Fitzgerald's infatuation with the young actress Lois Moran does not destroy his marriage). Dick is responsible and aware of the dangers a potential affair could bring, not just to his marriage but also to the young girl's psyche. Albeit the role of a doctor to his mentally ill wife overwhelms him, and the opulent life at her expense humiliates him, he lacks both the courage to leave her and the strength to fight for her when she finally decides to leave him for another man. Dick sacrificed his professional career for Nicole, but he cannot withstand the pressure in the long run, succumbing to alcoholism that leads to scandals and excesses reminiscent of some documented episodes from Fitzgerald's own life.

In the novel *Tender Is the Night*, two other married couples appear, with a history partly borrowed from the Fitzgeralds' biography, namely Abe and Mary North and Albert and Violet McKisco.

Abe North is a talented composer, who has been suffering from a lack of creative inspiration for several years, seeking escape in alcohol, and sinking deeper into addiction – this clearly mirrors the experiences of his creator. Abe North accusing the wrong black man of stealing his wallet is a replica of a similar incident involving a quarrelsome Fitzgerald in a Parisian bar (Taylor, 2003, p. 232). Abe's death during a brawl in a New York bar gives his wife Mary a chance for a new, this time aristocratic, marriage. Perhaps by killing off his fictional alter ego, the writer wished to rid himself of that part of himself which he could not discard in reality and free his wife from the burden of his personality.

Albert McKisco is an underappreciated writer whose greatness is proclaimed to the world by his wife Violet, who dreams of being the wife of a famous author.

Violet expects her husband's success to be primarily for her benefit, while he desires to rise to the occasion. McKisco undergoes the nightmare of an absurd duel with the experienced soldier Tommy Barban, a confrontation that he himself provoked. McKisco, who disappears from the reader's view for a long time, eventually achieves the coveted success, and then watches from the sidelines as his wife Violet parades triumphantly in her dream role as the wife of a famous husband. With a bit of malice, one could ask whether this is how Fitzgerald viewed his relationship with his wife after the spectacular success of his first novel.

7. Marriages in Fitzgerald's Short Stories

Two opposite types of marriage are conveyed through some characters in Fitzgerald's short stories. One of them is the "artistic" marriage, where at least one partner is an artist. It is based on love and tolerance, but nonetheless marked by the temptation and eruption of jealousy. This is evident in stories like *Magnetism* (1928), *The Rough Crossing* (1929), *Two Wrongs* (1930) or *One Trip Abroad* (1930).

In *Magnetism*, the protagonist is a handsome actor struggling with the temptation posed by a young screen star, facing an unexpected surge of jealousy from his wife and a blackmail attempt by a female colleague, which ultimately helps to ease their marital conflict. Instead of leaving her husband as she had previously threatened, his wife Kay unexpectedly confesses her love to him: "George!" Kay called from the next room. "I love you!" "I love you too," he replied (Short Stories, p. 313).

This clearly echoes the turbulent relationship of the Fitzgeralds – Scott's fascination with the young actress Lois Moran, Zelda's jealousy, her acts of revenge, and the multiple reconciliations of the quarrelsome couple.

The difficult journey from America to Europe was undertaken by the Fitzgeralds in 1927. The theme of a married man's infatuation with a very young woman resurfaces in this story. The protagonist, a popular writer named Adrian Smith, is fascinated by his young female admirer, but despite his wife's suspicions, he does not commit adultery (as the author himself always claimed he did not with Lois Moran). Meanwhile, his suspicious wife flirts with another passenger drinking to excess, which results in a ban on further alcohol consumption on board (a scenario that could likely have befallen the party-loving and flirtatious Mrs. Fitzgerald). The story concludes on land with a happy act of mutual admiration by the spouses, reminiscent of the many times the Fitzgeralds reconciled, and a renunciation of their "traveling" versions of themselves: "What do you suppose those Smiths on the ship were like?" he asked. "That certainly wasn't me." "Nor me," she replied (Short Stories, p. 550).

In *Two Wrongs*, the characters Bill, a theatrical producer, and his wife, Emmy, whom he has groomed into an ambitious dancer, are depicted. Similar to his creator,

Bill achieves great success as a young man, only to experience a slow moral and professional decline, succumbing to alcoholism and engaging in affairs, eventually suffering serious health issues. Like Zelda Fitzgerald, Emmy dreams of a ballet career but, unlike Zelda (who turned down an offer to perform in Italy), she takes up a lucrative offer, even though she feels she should accompany her sick husband to a sanatorium. Unlike Scott Fitzgerald, Bill supports his wife's decision, albeit insincerely, hoping for her voluntary act of self-sacrifice: "He was sure Emmy would eventually come back, no matter what she did or what favorable contract she signed" (Short Stories, p. 639). Bill's hope has its foundation in the fact that in the end, Mrs. Fitzgerald always returned, even after packing her suitcases and moving out.

In *One Trip Abroad*, the young married couple Nelson and Nicole can indulge in their artistic passions and lead a rich, entertaining social life thanks to an inheritance that Nelson received. Not coincidentally, the reader meets them during a trip to Africa (similar to a trip that the Fitzgeralds took in 1930), where they are intrigued by another couple, with whom they ultimately do not establish a connection despite the temptation. Nelson and Nicole settle in Switzerland (a place the Fitzgeralds briefly visited), where, as a punishment for their snobbish tendencies, they fall victim to an aristocratic con artist. They remain in their relationship despite Nicole's flirtations with other men, but Nicole flies into a jealous rage when she catches her husband kissing another woman. The couple encounters the pair from the African trip twice more, eventually recognizing themselves in them. Though they feel aversion to their own replicas, harmony is restored between them, sealed by the romantic glow of the moon. As Marc Baldwin (2005, p. 69) writes, in 1930, the author experienced a nervous breakdown, and his wife was placed in a mental institution diagnosed with schizophrenia. According to Baldwin, the imagined second couple in *One Trip Abroad* symbolizes the disintegration of the self, and the positive ending contrasts with the author's real experiences (p. 78).

In sum, in this type of marriage, the spouses lead an intense life full of interactions with others, constantly questioning themselves and each other, yet never freeing themselves from a sense of duty and mutual solidarity, typical of the traditional model of marriage.

Another type is the boring marriage, where the husband or wife longs for change – such as in the stories *Oh Russet Witch!* (1922), *The Four Fists* (1920), *Offshore Pirate* (1941) or *Crazy Sunday* (1931). Boredom appears regardless of the couple's financial status and is often accompanied by marital infidelity or the temptation thereof, sometimes leading to the dissolution of the relationship.

In *O Russet Witch!*, the modest bookstore employee Merlin Graininger is fascinated by his eccentric neighbor but, driven by realistic pragmatism, proposes to his colleague from work, with whom he leads a lackluster middle-class life. His infatuation with Caroline, who, as it turns out after many years, is actually named Alice, never leaves him, and a chance meeting is enough for him to momentarily

forget his wife and child. However, this has no impact on the couple's relationship, especially since Olivia does not attach much importance to her husband's questionable behavior, seemingly content with her status as a wife and mother.

The protagonist of *The Four Fists*, Samuel Meredith, forms a close relationship with a married woman who agrees to meet him despite considering her marriage happy. Her behavior reflects the syndrome of a non-working wife free from any obligations, whose life starts to lack variety and excitement. The flirtation ends abruptly when her husband returns home earlier than expected and lands a punch to his rival, which the rival accepts with humility. Both men thus acknowledge the principle of marital indissolubility, which a minor episode cannot undermine.

In *Offshore Pirate*, the millionaire Gaston Scheer travels by ship with both his lover and his wife, from whom he has no intention of separating. When he accidentally notices his wife flirting with another passenger, he unhesitatingly orders his rival to be thrown overboard, making no reproach to his wife. His assessment of his marital rights is absolute, leaving no room for negotiation.

In *Crazy Sunday*, the protagonist, a barber by trade, amasses a great fortune thanks to a tip from a wealthy client, only to lose it all during the stock market crash. Disappointed by this turn of events, his wife Violet runs off with a neighbor, taking the last of their money from their joint account. Interestingly, the lover is also bankrupt, indicating that the woman is driven purely by a desire for adventure, not the prospect of security with another man.

In sum, Fitzgerald's short stories present a vivid tapestry of marital dynamics, reflecting both the allure and the challenges of romantic relationships. Whether it is the intense life of artist couples or the ennui of more traditional marriages, Fitzgerald's characters navigate the complexities of love, loyalty, and personal aspirations in a manner that often mirrors the author's own tumultuous experiences.

8. Conclusions

Fitzgerald's prose reflects, to some extent, the marital experiences of the author and his wife, but it would be wrong to view it solely as a literary chronicle of their tumultuous relationship. The writer seems to experiment with different models of marriage that often significantly differ from young people's dreams of a happy, untroubled relationship with their loved one. Nevertheless, many of Fitzgerald's characters pursue marriage with the beloved person as a priority in their lives, suffer if this intention is unsuccessful and recall it after years with nostalgia.

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Zur Problematik des Übersetzens von Elementen der dritten Kultur im Lichte der Scenes-und-Frames-Semantik

Translating Third Culture Elements in Light of Scenes-and-Frames Semantics

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Das Objekt der im Rahmen dieses Artikels angestellten translatorischen Erwägungen sind die Elemente der dritten Kultur, die ein Anzeichen der literarischen Mehrsprachigkeit und Multikulturalität darstellen. Am Beispiel des Romans *Pachinko* von Min Jin Lee und dessen Übersetzungen ins Deutsche und Polnische wird der Einfluss übersetzerischer Eingriffe auf das Bild der dritten Kultur unter den Adressaten des Translats dargelegt. Als die theoretisch-methodologische Grundlage der dargebotenen Analyse dient das Paradigma der anthropozentrischen Translatorik sowie die Scenes-und-Frames-Semantik. Der Beitrag zielt somit darauf ab, zu veranschaulichen, wie die Übersetzer das Bild (die Szene) der Elemente der dritten Kultur bei den Adressaten der Translate unter Verwendung von explikativen Übersetzungstechniken beeinflussen.

SCHLÜSSELWÖRTER

Translation; Elemente der dritten Kultur; Scenes-und-Frames-Semantik; Rahmen, Szene; Explikation

ABSTRACT

The object of the translational considerations made within the framework of this article are the elements of the third culture, which are an indication of literary multilingualism and multiculturalism. On the example of the novel *Pachinko* by Min Jin Lee and its renderings in German and Polish, the influence of translational interventions on the image of the third culture among the recipients of the translations is demonstrated. The paradigm of anthropocentric translatorics as well as the scenes-and-frames-semantics serve as the theoretical-methodological foundation of the analysis presented here. The aim of this contribution is to illustrate how translators influence the image (the scene) of the elements of the third culture among the recipients of the translations through the use of explicative translation techniques.

KEYWORDS

Translation; third culture elements; scenes-and-frames-semantics; frame; scene; explication

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1. Einleitung

Übersetzer literarischer Werke werden nicht selten mit Anzeichen literarischer Mehrsprachigkeit und Multikulturalität in den zu übersetzenden Texten konfrontiert, die ihre übersetzerischen Kompetenzen auf die Probe stellen. In Bezug auf die Mehrsprachigkeit eines literarischen Textes konstatiert Stratford (2008, S. 468) Folgendes:

Certes, les textes plurilingues présentent une confusion linguistique digne de Babel qui en complexifie la traduction. Néanmoins, ce défi ne signifie pas pour autant qu'ils sont absolument intraduisibles¹.

Von der Übersetzbarkeit mehrsprachiger und multikultureller Werke zeugen deren zahlreiche Übersetzungen, darunter auch die des Romans *Pachinko* von Min Jin Lee, einer koreanisch-amerikanischen Schriftstellerin, der kurz nach seiner Erstveröffentlichung nicht nur in den Vereinigten Staaten, sondern auch weltweit ein Bestseller geworden ist. Das auf Englisch verfasste Werk *Pachinko*, das erstmals 2017 veröffentlicht wurde, ist ein Familienepos, dessen Handlung an der Wende zum 20. Jahrhundert, also noch einige Jahre bevor sich Korea unter japanischer Besatzung befand, in Yeongdo bei Busan beginnt. Der Roman erzählt vom Schicksal einer Koreanerin namens Sunja und ihrer Familie, die in den dreißiger Jahren des 20. Jahrhunderts auf der Suche nach einem besseren Leben aus Korea nach Japan auswandern. Da in diesem Buch das Leben koreanischer Einwanderer in Japan, der sog. *zainichi korian*, geschildert wird, wird der Leser während der Lektüre mit zahlreichen Elementen sowohl koreanischer, als auch japanischer Kultur konfrontiert.

Die Elemente koreanischer und japanischer Herkunft werden im vorliegenden Beitrag als Elemente der dritten Kultur aufgefasst, die ein Anzeichen literarischer Mehrsprachigkeit und Multikulturalität darstellen. An ausgewählten Beispielen aus dem oben erwähnten Roman wird veranschaulicht, wie Übersetzerinnen – Susanne Höbel in der deutschen und Urszula Gardner in der polnischen Fassung – in ihren strategischen Herangehensweisen an ein mehrsprachiges und multikulturelles Werk das mentale Bild der dritten Kultur beim Adressaten des Translats beeinflussen, indem sie explikative Übersetzungstechniken anwenden.

In den hier präsentierten Erwägungen wird die Translation in Anlehnung an das von F. Grucza (1981) konzipierte und von seinen Nachfolgern erweiterte Paradigma der anthropozentrischen Translatorik als vermittelte sprachliche Kommunikation aufgefasst. Der anthropozentrischen Betrachtung der Translationswirklichkeit nach wird der Übersetzer im Mittelpunkt des Translationsgefüges positioniert. Infolge

¹ Gewiss weisen mehrsprachige Texte eine Sprachverwirrung wie bei Babel auf, die das Übersetzen komplexer macht. Diese Herausforderung bedeutet jedoch nicht, dass sie absolut unübersetzbar sind (Übersetzung von Michał Gąska).

von mentalen Operationen und den auf seinem eigenen Wissen, seiner Erfahrung und seinen Fertigkeiten und Fähigkeiten basierenden Entscheidungen erstellt er strategisch profilierte Texte, die eine reibungslos vermittelte Kommunikation zwischen Vertretern verschiedener Sprach- und Kulturgemeinschaften ermöglichen (Małgorzewicz 2022; Żmudzki, 2013).

Infolge der mentalen Operationen wird der Ausgangstext in der Produktionsphase des Translationsprozesses in die Zielsprache und -kultur kognitiv rekonstruiert bzw. rekonzeptualisiert. Dabei unterzieht der Übersetzer den zu übersetzenden Text der Umprofilierung/Umadressierung, worunter „ein notwendiges und komplexes Umfunktionieren des AS-Textes samt seinen bestimmten Elementen und Einheiten zwecks effektiver Realisierung des Kommunikationsziels mit dem ZS-Adressaten“ verstanden wird (Żmudzki, 2019, S. 87). Dabei passt er den Zieltext an die kognitiven Eigenschaften, Rezeptionsmöglichkeiten sowie kommunikativen Intentionen des Adressaten an (Małgorzewicz, 2022, S. 77).

2. Der Translationsprozess vor dem Hintergrund der Scenes-und-Frames-Semantik

Für die Erfassung der Komplexität des Übersetzungsprozesses, der Entscheidungsprozesse, die sich im Gehirn des Translators vollziehen, sowie des Einflusses übersetzerischer Eingriffe auf das Verstehen des Zieltextes beim Adressaten, erweisen sich zusätzlich die Annahmen der kognitiven Semantik als besonders nützlich, vor allem das Scenes-und-Frames-Konzept von Fillmore (1977), das in die Translationswissenschaft von Mia Vannerem und Mary Snell-Horby (1994) eingeführt wurde.

Bei diesem Ansatz wird davon ausgegangen, dass die Verstehensprozesse auf dem Zusammenwirken zwischen bottom-up- und top-down-Prozessen, d.h. dem äußeren Input und der eigenen Erfahrungen und dem Wissen eines konkreten Menschen, basieren (Kußmaul, 1996, S. 230). Die eigenen Erfahrungen und erlebte Situationen bilden dann eine Basis für die im Gehirn des Rezipierenden entstehende Vorstellung, die Fillmore (1977, S. 63) als eine Szene (*scene*) bezeichnet. Eine Szene kann aufgrund der linguistischen Kodierung des Gedachten in Form eines Textes entstehen, d.h. eines Rahmens (*frame*) (Fillmore, 1977, S. 63).

In Anlehnung an Fillmores Konzept beschreibt Snell-Hornby (1995) den Translationsprozess wie folgt:

The translator starts from a presented frame (the text and its linguistic components); this was produced by an author who drew from his own repertoire of partly prototypical scenes. Based on the frame of the text, the translator-reader builds up his own scenes depending on his own level of experience and his internalized knowledge of the material concerned. [...] Based on the scenes he has activated, the translator must now find suitable TL-frames; this involves a constant process of decision-making, whereby he depends entirely on his proficiency in the target language. (S. 81)

Es sei jedoch hervorgehoben, dass der Translationsprozess dynamisch ist und keine "bloße Wechselfolge von Produktion und Rezeption von Szenen und *frames* [Rahmen]" darstellt, wie Małgorzewicz (2012, S. 54) an die Erwägungen von Vermeer und Witte (1990) angelehnt zutreffend konstatiert. Dabei wird betont, dass diese Prozesse sich nicht umkehren lassen (ebd.). Der Grund dafür liegt darin, dass bei der Evokation einer Szene, die anhand eines Rahmens erfolgt, die Szene um das prototypische, internalisierte Wissen des Rezipienten und seine individuellen Vorstellungen und Assoziationen ergänzt wird. Beim Verbalisieren einer Szene hingegen werden nur gewisse Aspekte in den Fokus gerückt. In dieser Hinsicht sprechen Vermeer und Witte (1990, S. 84) von zwei Kanälen (*channels*), die sie respektive Amplifikation (*amplification*) und Reduktion (*reduction*) nennen.

Im Lichte des Scenes-und-Frames-Konzepts wird der Translationsprozess von Floros (2003, S. 48) modelhaft folgendermaßen dargestellt:

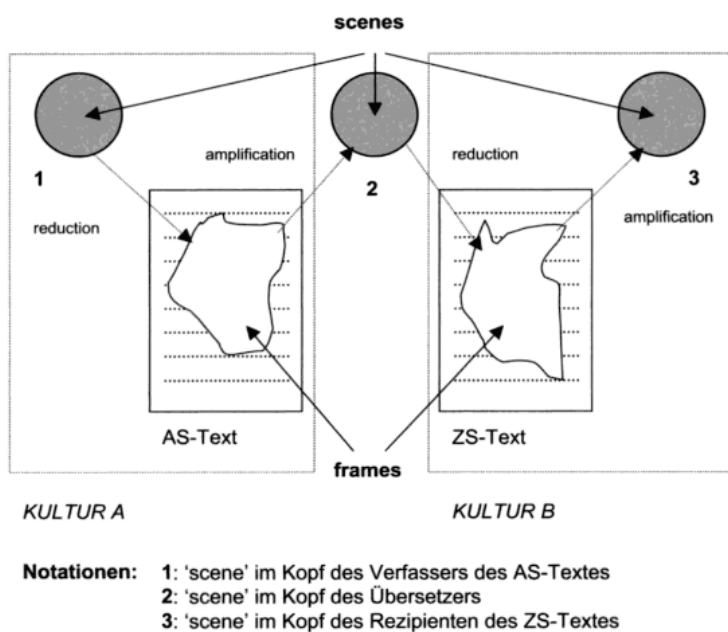


Abbildung 1: Modellhafte Darstellung des Translationsprozesses vor dem Hintergrund der Scenes-und-Frames-Semantik (Floros, 2003, S. 48)

Die obige Abbildung präsentiert den Ausgangs- und Zieltext, die entsprechend in die Kultur A und B eingebettet sind. Im Ausgangstext ist ein Rahmen vorhanden, der infolge der Reduktion einer Szene vom Verfasser des Ausgangstextes zustande gebracht wird. Dieser Rahmen evoziert durch die Amplifikation eine Szene im

Gehirn des Übersetzers, die anschließend infolge der Reduktion im Zieltext in der Form eines Rahmens verbalisiert wird. Dieser Rahmen ruft dann eine Szene im Gehirn des Adressaten hervor (Floros, 2003, S. 48)².

Im Translationsprozess ist es wichtig, dass der Übersetzer beim Rezipieren des Ausgangstextes

[...] die ausgangssprachlichen Zeichen nicht nur richtig identifizier[t], sondern sie im Kontext der ausgangskulturellen Faktoren, auf Grund seines prototypischen Wissens, seiner Erfahrungen, vor dem Hintergrund der Erwartungen und Intentionen des AT-Produzenten und unter Einbeziehung anderer *frames* auch interpretier[t] (Małgorzewicz, 2012, S. 44).

In der produktiven Phase, in der die Szene auf die Form eines Rahmens reduziert wird, ist es die Aufgabe des Übersetzers

[...] den Ziel-*frame* adäquat [zu] gestalten, d.h. solche linguistischen Formen aus[zu]wählen, die Konzepte aktivieren, welche der ZT-Rezipient in seine kognitiven Strukturen integrieren kann (Małgorzewicz, 2012, S. 44).

3. Literarische Mehrsprachigkeit und Multikulturalität im Translationsprozess

Die literarische Mehrsprachigkeit und Multikulturalität beziehen sich im Allgemeinen auf das Verwenden von fremdsprachigen Elementen oder Elementen, die einer sozialen, regionalen oder historischen Sprachvarietät entstammen (Meylaerts, 2006, S. 4). Diese Elemente können verschiedene Funktionen im literarischen Text erfüllen. Vor allem dienen sie der Hervorhebung des Lokalkolorits des Handlungsortes und der persönlichen Charakterisierung der Protagonisten.³ Literarische Mehrsprachigkeit manifestiert sich in einem literarischen Text auf verschiedene Art und Weise – von einem Wort bis zu ganzen Passagen in einer anderen Sprache (Meylaerts, 2010, S. 227).

Da diese Elemente charakteristisch für eine andere Kultur (weder für die Ausgangs- noch für die Zielkultur) sind, können sie als Einheiten des Ausgangs- und/oder Zieltextes definiert werden, die von den Adressaten dieser Texte als anders, atypisch oder fremd empfunden werden (Gaška, 2020, S. 134). Sie kommen oft in literarischen Texten vor, in denen die Ausgangsprache als Mittel zur Beschreibung der Realien dient, die in der dritten Kultur verankert sind.

² Dabei sei hervorgehoben, dass die Aktanten dieses dynamischen Kommunikationsprozesses sich bestimmter sprachlicher Operationen bedienen, wie des strategischen Framings, das „durch Rückgriffe auf diverse Wissensbestände des Empfängers“ realisiert wird (Bağ, 2020, S. 125), sowie der Profilierung, die „als eine Art Konzeptualisierung verstanden [wird], in deren Rahmen – entsprechend der Intention der Diskursgestalter – gewisse Aspekte der konstruierten sprachlichen Wirklichkeit aus- oder eingeblendet bzw. hervorgehoben werden“ (Bağ, 2020, S. 125).

³ Zu weiteren Funktionen von Mehrsprachigkeit in literarischen Texten siehe Horn (1981).

Demzufolge wird die dritte Kultur in einer Sprache manifestiert, die dieser Kultur gegenüber fremd und extern ist (Skibińska, 2007, S. 201).

Bei der anthropozentrischen Betrachtungsweise der Translationswirklichkeit kann sich das Translationsgefüge unter Berücksichtigung der Elemente der dritten Kultur schematisch folgendermaßen darstellen:

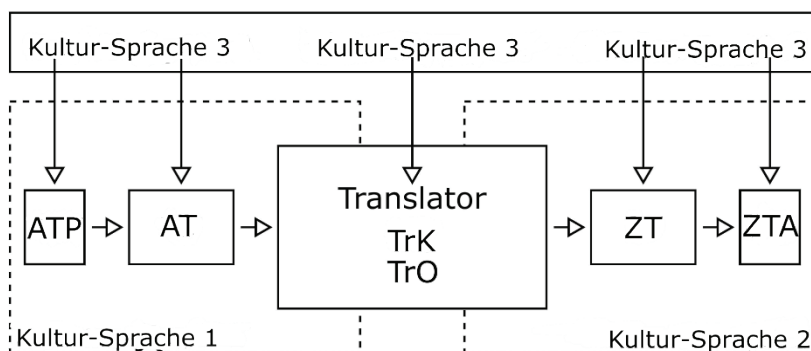


Abbildung 2: Translationsgefüge unter Berücksichtigung der dritten Kultur und Sprache (Gąska, 2021, S. 101)

Wobei: AS-Textproduzent, AT – AS-Text, TrK – Translationskompetenz und translatorische Kompetenz, TrO – Translationsoperationen, ZT – ZS-Text, ZTA – ZS-Textadressat

Aus dem oben dargebotenen Schema geht hervor, dass der Übersetzer als Vermittler zwischen dem in der Ausgangskultur verankerten Produzenten des Ausgangstextes und dem in der Zielkultur verwurzelten Zieldtextadressaten fungiert. In Anbetracht dessen, dass der Übersetzer meist eine bilinguale und bikulturelle Person ist, stellen die im Ausgangstext vorkommenden Elemente der dritten Kultur oft eine Herausforderung für ihn dar und das Übersetzen von einem mehrsprachigen Text geht weit über seine Kompetenzen und kognitiven Erfahrungen hinaus.

An dieser Stelle sei noch zu betonen, dass die Kenntnis der dritten Kultur unter den Vertretern der Ausgangs- und Zielkultur variieren kann. Die ausgangssprachige Leserschaft kann mit der dritten Kultur besser vertraut als die Adressaten des Translats sein oder umgekehrt. Diese Diskrepanz ist auch bei den Übersetzungen des hier analysierten Romans *Pachinko* zu beobachten. Angesichts des Zustroms koreanischer Einwanderer in die USA seit Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts und der recht beträchtlichen Vertretung der Bürger koreanischer Herkunft in der amerikanischen Gesellschaft kann angenommen werden, dass koreanische Kulturelemente den Amerikanern besser bekannt sind als den Polen oder Deutschen.

In einem literarischen Text können natürlich Elemente mehrerer Kulturen vorkommen, die weder der Ausgangs- noch der Zielkultur eigen sind. Dann

ist noch anzumerken, dass auch in dieser Hinsicht Differenzen bezüglich der Vertrautheit mit den Elementen der jeweiligen Kulturen erkennbar sein können. Beim Übersetzen eines mehrsprachigen Textes sollte der Übersetzer demnach diese Diskrepanzen in Betracht ziehen und ein Translat schaffen, das den kognitiven Eigenschaften und Erwartungen des Adressaten entspricht.

4. Explikative Übersetzungsverfahren

Falls ein sprachlicher Ausdruck (ein Rahmen), der sich beispielsweise auf ein kulturelles Phänomen bezieht, keine mentale Repräsentanz (d.h. eine Szene im Gehirn des Adressaten) evoziert, fühlt sich der Übersetzer oft dazu angehalten, neue Repräsentanzen zu konstruieren, was meist in Form von „Explikationen, paraphrastischen Wendungen, vergleichenden oder bildhaften Erweiterungen, ja völliger Transformation [seinen] Niederschlag [findet]“ (Kupsch-Losereit, 1996, S. 225).

Die Explikation ist nach Żmudzki (2011, S. 264) als ein „translations- und kommunikationsstrategisch bedingte[r] Verarbeitungsmodus des AS-Textes“ aufzufassen. Der Forscher betrachtet die Explikation als eine besondere Makrostrategie der Kommunikation mit dem Adressaten des Translats, die intentional organisiert und gesteuert wird. Sie hat zum Ziel, die Funktionen, Konzeptualisierungen und Verbalisierungen des AS-Textes zu erklären und dadurch den Text dem Adressaten kognitiv zugänglich zu machen (Żmudzki, 2011, S. 264).

Explikation, die „auf der Strategie-Ebene der translatorisch vermittelten Kommunikation“ (Żmudzki, 2011, S. 265) realisiert wird, ist nicht mit der Expansion zu verwechseln, die „auf der Strategie-Ebene der ZS-Textbildung“ vollzogen wird und „als ein textsprachliches Instrument der Realisierung der Explikation dient“ (Żmudzki, 2011, S. 265).

Die im vorliegenden Beitrag behandelten Explikationen, die sich auf kulturspezifische Elemente beziehen, werden von Klaudy (2011) als pragmatisch bezeichnet. Die Forscherin geht davon aus, dass:

[p]ragmatic explicitation of implicit cultural information is dictated by differences between cultures: members of the target-language cultural community may not share aspects of what is considered general knowledge within the source language culture and, in such cases, translators often need to include explanations in translations (Klaudy, 2011, S. 107–108).

Diese Erläuterungen können im Text verschiedene Form annehmen – angefangen von einer kurzen Amplifikation in der Apposition, über eine intratextuelle Beschreibung, bis zu einer Erklärung im Peritext (in der Fuß- oder Endnote).

5. Exemplarische Analyse des Untersuchungsgegenstandes

Der Einfluss explikativer Eingriffe auf die Szenen (*scenes*), d.h. auf die mentalen Bilder der Elemente der dritten Kultur bei den Zieltextradressaten wird im vorliegenden Beitrag an ausgewählten Beispielen der Erläuterungen aus dem Roman *Pachinko* dargestellt, die in ihrer verbalisierten Form im Text als Rahmen (*frame*) zu betrachten sind. In Anbetracht der umfangreichen Anzahl von koreanischen und japanischen Kulturelementen im analysierten Werk können aus Platzgründen im Rahmen dieses Beitrages nur einzelne Beispiele aufgezeigt und eruiert werden. Wegen der im Kapitel 3 erwähnten Diskrepanzen bezüglich der Vertrautheit der Zieltextradressaten mit den Elementen der jeweiligen, im Text vertretenen Kulturen, wurden die hier behandelten Kulturelemente in zwei Gruppen eingeteilt, je nachdem, für welche Kultur sie charakteristisch sind. Diese Elemente wurden höchstwahrscheinlich in den Zieltexten beibehalten, um das Lokalkolorit der beschriebenen Realität hervorzuheben. Um die Bedeutung dieser Elemente den Adressaten näher zu bringen, sind sie mit Erläuterungen versehen, die sich in der deutschen Fassung im Glossar am Ende des Romans befinden, in der polnischen Version dagegen wurden sie entweder in den Text eingebaut oder sind in Fußnoten zu finden. An dieser Stelle sei noch anzumerken, dass die Kulturelemente in der polnischen Übersetzung mit dem Japanologen und Koreanisten, Dr. Christoph J. Shin-Janasiak konsultiert wurden, was der Rückseite des Titelblattes zu entnehmen ist. In der deutschen Übersetzung gibt es keine Hinweise hinsichtlich jeglicher Beratung mit einem Experten.

5.1. Elemente japanischer Kultur in Übersetzung

Zu den japanischen Kulturelementen, die im analysierten Roman vorhanden sind, gehört das Kulturem *umeboshi*, d.h. getrocknete, in Salz eingemachte *Ume*-Früchte, die oft als japanische Pflaumen oder Aprikosen bezeichnet werden. Die rote Farbe verdanken die Salzpflaumen den *Shiso*-Blättern. In der unten angeführten Passage (1) wird dieses Kulturelement verwendet, um die Farbe der Lippen einer Frau anzudeuten. Für einen mit der japanischen Kultur nicht vertrauten Rezipienten wird dieser Rahmen höchstwahrscheinlich keine (adäquate) Szene evozieren.

(1)

EN: She wore a light green kimono over her elegant frame. The rouge on her lips was the color of *umeboshi*. She looked like a kimono model (Lee, 2017a, S. 352).

DE: Ihr Lippenstift hatte die Farbe von Umeboshi. Sie sah aus wie ein Model für Kimonos (Lee, 2020, S. 365).

[*Umeboshi*: Pflaume]⁴

⁴ In eckigen Klammern werden Erläuterungen zu koreanischen und japanischen Kulturelementen angegeben, die im Glossar am Ende der deutschen Fassung auf den Seiten 550–551 zu finden sind.

PL: Jej filigranową sylwetkę zdobiło lekko zielone kimono, wargi zaś pokrywała amarantowa pomadka koloru umeboshi, suszonej japońskiej mirabelki w zalewie octowej (Lee, 2017b, S. 376).

In der deutschen Übersetzung wurde das Kulturelement mithilfe des sich im Glossar befindenden Rahmens *Pflaume* erklärt. Basierend auf den Annahmen der Prototypensemantik kann angenommen werden, dass sich der Adressat anhand dieses Rahmens eher eine violette Frucht vorstellen wird. Daher kann man feststellen, dass durch diese Explikation die Vorstellung der Lippen beim Zieladressaten der Absicht der Autorin mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit nicht entsprechen wird.

Die polnische Fassung enthält eine intratextuelle Erläuterung des Kulturelements, aus der der polnische Adressat erfährt, dass es sich hier um japanische Mirabelle handelt, die im Essig eingemacht wird. Anhand dieses Rahmens kann sich der Adressat eine runde, eher gelbe Frucht vorstellen. Daher wird die Farbe der Lippen mit dem Adjektiv *amarantowy* [dt. amarantrot] im Text explizit signalisiert.

Das zweite hier besprochene Element japanischer Herkunft, *Yukata*, bezieht sich auf eine leichtere Variante des Kimonos, die aus Baumwolle gemacht und vorwiegend im Sommer oder als Bademantel getragen wird. Dieses Element kommt im unten stehenden Fragment vor (2):

(2)

EN: After her bath, she dressed in her blue-and-white *yukata* and headed toward her bedroom, where her innocent husband was snoring gently (Lee, 2017a, S. 431).

DE: Nach dem Bad zog sie sich ihren blau-weißen Yukata an und ging ins Schlafzimmer, wo ihr ahnungsloser Mann in tiefem Schlummer lag (Lee, 2020, S. 445).

[*Yukata*: Bademantel, Kimono aus Baumwolle]

PL: Po kąpieli włożyła niebiesko-białą yukatę, bawełniane letnie kimono, i skierowała się do sypialni, gdzie pochrapywał niewinnie jej mąż (Lee, 2017b, S. 460).

In den beiden Übersetzungen wurden Explikationen verwendet, in denen Bezüge auf ein anderes, dem europäischen Adressaten besser bekanntes Kleidungsstück, d.h. *Kimono*, enthalten sind. Da der Yukata, was die Form betrifft, dem Kimono ähnelt, lässt die Verwendung des Kulturelements *Kimono* in der Explikation eine approximative Szene im Gehirn des Adressaten unter gleichzeitiger Beibehaltung des Lokalkolorits evozieren. Das vorangestellte Adjektiv *letni* in der polnischen Explikation, das darauf hindeutet, dass das Kleidungsstück im Sommer getragen wird, lässt außerdem ahnen, dass es sich hier um eine leichtere Version des Kimonos handelt.

5.2. Elemente koreanischer Kultur

Zu den koreanischen Kulturemen, die im Roman *Pachinko* vorhanden sind, gehört u.a. das Element *hanbok*, worunter eine traditionelle koreanische Tracht zu verstehen ist, die bei Frauen aus zwei Teilen besteht: einem weiten Rock, der unter der Brust gebunden wird, und einer kurzen Jacke mit breiten Ärmeln. Dieses Element kommt im Roman häufig vor, u.a. in der unten angeführten Passage (1):

(1)

EN: Yangjin sat up and reached for the muslin *hanbok* that she'd just removed, which was folded in a neat pile by her pillow. She put on the quilted vest over her skirt and jacket. With a few deft movements, Yangjin put her hair into a bun (Lee, 2017a, S. 15).

DE: Yangjin setzte sich auf und nahm ihre Hanbok, die wattierte Weste aus feiner Baumwolle, die sie eben erst ausgezogen und ordentlich gefaltet neben ihr Kissen gelegt hatte, und zog sie sich über den Rock und die Jacke. Mit wenigen geschickten Handgriffen steckte sie ihr Haar zu einem Knoten auf (Lee, 2020, S. 26).

[*Hanbok*: wattierte Weste]

PL: Yangjin usiadła i sięgnęła po hanbok*, który dopiero co zdjęła i równo złożony umieściła przy poduszce. Nałożyła pikowaną kamizelkę na spódnicę i bluzkę, po czym paroma sprawnymi ruchami upięła włosy w kok (Lee, 2017b, S. 21).

*Dwuczęściowy koreański ubiór narodowy.⁵

In beiden Übersetzungen sind Explikationen in Bezug auf dieses Kulturem vorhanden. Anhand der Explikation in der Fußnote der polnischen Fassung erfährt der Adressat, dass es sich um eine zweiteilige, koreanische Nationaltracht handelt. Dies verschafft dem Adressaten eine allgemeine Ahnung von diesem Kleidungsstück. Dass die Tracht aus einem Rock und einer Jacke besteht, erfährt der Adressat aus dem oben angeführten Fragment.

In der deutschen Fassung hingegen liefert das Glossar eine Explikation, dass Hanbok eine wattierte Weste sei. Dies kann auf eine fehlerhafte Interpretation des angeführten Fragments zurückgeführt werden. Infolgedessen entsteht im Gehirn des Adressaten eine Szene, die der Intention der Ausgangstextproduzentin nicht entspricht. Da dieses Element auch mehrmals im ganzen Roman vorkommt, kann dies auch zur Verwirrung führen, wie in der folgenden Passage (2):

(2)

EN: She was wearing her white muslin *hanbok* beneath a dark quilted vest. She looked even younger than her age, and he thought she looked lovely as she focused on her task (Lee, 2017a, S. 68).

DE: Sie trug ihre weiße Hanbok unter einer dunklen wattierten Weste. Sie sah jünger aus, als sie war, und er fand, dass sie, konzentriert auf ihre Arbeit, wunderhübsch war (Lee, 2020, S. 80).

⁵ Mit einem Sternchen werden Erläuterungen zu koreanischen Kulturelementen aus der polnischen Fassung markiert.

Dieser Rahmen evoziert beim Adressaten eine falsche Szene, als ob die Heldin eine weiße Weste unter einer dunklen Weste trüge, was auch sinnlos wäre. In der Wirklichkeit trugen koreanische Frauen in kälteren Perioden eine wattierte Weste über dem Hanbok, also der Tracht.

Das zweite Element koreanischer Abstammung, das hier besprochen wird, ist *Gimbap*, ein koreanisches Gericht, das aus gekochtem Reis, Gemüse und Fisch oder Fleisch zubereitet und in Seetang eingerollt wird. Im Roman kommt das Kulturelement in der folgenden Passage vor (3):

(3)

EN: Mozasu made excuses about getting some *gimbap* on the other side of the market, and no one seemed to mind (Lee, 2017a, S. 273).

DE: Mozasu sagte, er wolle auf der anderen Seite des Marktes Gimbap kaufen, und niemand hatte etwas dagegen” (Lee, 2020, S. 291).

[*Gimbap*: in Algen gerollte Häppchen aus Reis und Gemüse]

PL: [...] Mozasu rzucił, że idzie po kimpap* na drugi koniec targu. Ani Yangjin, ani Sunja nie zaprotestowały (Lee, 2017b, S. 293).

*Rodzaj sushi, po japońsku norimaki.

Wie in den vorherigen Beispielen, wird auch dieses Kulturem in der deutschen Übersetzung im Glossar erklärt. Die in der Glosse enthaltene Explikation kann beim Adressaten ein mentales Bild (eine Szene) eines Sushi-ähnlichen Gerichts evozieren.

In der polnischen Fassung ist in der Explikation in der Fußnote (ähnlich wie in der Explikation zum Kulturelement *Yukata*) ein Bezug auf ein anderes Element vorhanden. Diesmal aber bezieht sich die Explikation auf ein Element einer anderen Kultur, mit der der Adressat wohl besser vertraut ist. *Gimbap* wird nämlich mit dem japanischen Sushi verglichen, was dem Adressaten eine approximative Vorstellung des Gerichts gibt.

6. Schlussfolgerungen

Das Übersetzen eines mehrsprachigen Textes stellt zweifelsohne eine herausfordernde, jedoch nicht unmögliche Aufgabe für einen Translator dar, der vorwiegend als eine bilinguale und bikulturelle Person aufzufassen ist. Aus der durchgeführten Analyse geht hervor, dass die Übersetzerinnen in ihrer strategischen Herangehensweise bestimmte Defizite im Vorwissen der Adressaten voraussahen, die sie dann unter Anwendung von Explikationen auszugleichen versuchten, wodurch sie die Adressaten kognitiv beeinflussten. Die angewandten Erläuterungen hatten es zum Ziel, eine Szene im Gedächtnis des Adressaten zu evozieren, die dem Adressaten eine Vorstellung des unbekanntes Kulturelements gäbe. Die Explikationen nehmen dann verschiedene Formen (Rahmen) an – von einem Wort bis zu erklärenden Beschreibungen. Die Explikation in der deutschen

Fassung, die sich auf das Kulturem *Umeboshi* bezieht, lässt schließen, dass das Verwenden approximativer Entsprechungen in der Zielsprache die Gefahr einer verfehlten Vorstellung des Kulturelements nach sich zieht, die der Intention des Autors nicht entspricht. In einigen Fällen bedienen sich die Übersetzerinnen in den Explikationen Parallelen zu anderen Kulturelementen, entweder aus derselben Kultur, wie beim Kulturem *Yukata*, oder aus einer anderen Kultur, wie beim Kulturem *Gimbap*. Die Evokation einer Szene geschieht demnach bei der Beibehaltung des Lokalkolorits. Dieser Eingriff ist natürlich nur bei denjenigen Kulturelementen möglich, die solche Parallelen aufweisen.

Da sich die präsentierte Analyse nur auf einige ausgewählte Beispiele stützt, erhebt der Beitrag keinen Anspruch auf Vollständigkeit. Eine detailliertere Besprechung der Problematik bedürfte nämlich breiter angelegter Untersuchung. Nichtsdestotrotz beweist die hier vorgenommene Analyse, dass die Scenes-und-Frames-Semantik einen treffenden und nutzbringenden methodologischen Rahmen für die Ermittlung des Einflusses der explikativen übersetzerischen Eingriffe auf die Vorstellung der Kulturelemente und dessen Folgen auf die evozierten Szenen im Gedächtnis der Adressaten des Translats bietet.

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Traducció sense fronteres: Theatre Projects and Translation in Multicultural Contexts, Originating in Barcelona

ABSTRACT

This paper is centred on different theatre initiatives linked to the city of Barcelona that emphasise performing arts as a means of promoting intercultural communication, as well as overcoming the barriers that prevent its production. The analysis is focused on observing the role that translation, understood in a broad and often performative sense, plays in all these projects calling for a review of its canonical definition in academia in order to adjust it to the reality of the 21st century. At the same time, the article claims the recognition of these theatrical creations, not so much as indisputable initiatives of social nature, but as artistic products of the first order.

KEYWORDS

community theatre; translation; multiculturality; multilingualism

1. “Enlarging translation”, enlarging theatre: rethinking concepts

Theatre (just like other performing arts) projects in multicultural contexts can adopt extremely different formats, as the present paper demonstrates, depending mostly on their primary objective, the functions in their respective environments, their intrinsic philosophy – i.e. the theoretical principles and framework – and those who actively partake. Nonetheless, to a varying degree, they all share social and artistic commitment, and they also represent various challenges to the dominant, and deeply rooted, paradigms of today’s scenic arts. The projects I will discuss in this paper, moreover, all share their bond to the city of Barcelona, the multicultural and multilingual contexts in which they are/ were carried out, and the central role they give to translation – in a very broad sense – as a means of overcoming language and cultural barriers while also fostering dialogue between groups. To exemplify two very distinct and long-running projects, the following analysis will look at the organisation *Pallassos sense fronteres* [Clowns without borders] and at the intergenerational scenic creation project *Pi(è)ce*. The former was born in 1993 in Barcelona and is still based there, but works internationally in conflict zones (war, natural disasters, refugee camps, etc.). The latter started in

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2011 in a multicultural neighbourhood in Barcelona and was developing projects until 2022.

Although I will necessarily contemplate different aspects of these projects in my analysis – having therefore to consider different theoretical frameworks, those that examine community and social theatre, collective creation, performative arts and multiculturalism among others –, the way each of them deals with translation is at the core of my approach. The main languages during the performances have usually been Catalan or Spanish, but a considerable number of other languages were also involved in the different phases of the creative process: Tagalog, Urdu, Hindi, Chinese, Ukrainian, Arabic, Berber, Wolof, among others. In this sense, several questions arose very early in my inquiries: To what extent has translation been part of the considerations that guided these projects from the very beginning? What translational notions lie behind their theatrical practice? Which translational perspective has been adopted? How has translation been used?

The first steps in my research already made it clear that I had to rethink the relatively stable concept of (theatrical) literary translation that I implicitly had in mind. To give an initial insight into the corpus, in the projects I am about to analyse, translation plays any role but a canonical one. I am not going to compare any text originally written in a certain language (the source text and language) with their transposition into a second language (the target text and language) or, as it more commonly happens in theatrical translations/ adaptations, with a version adjusted to the reality of the new audience. Whereas in the examples researched here, translation has been used often, on the one hand, as a performative tool throughout the creative processes to ensure communication between participants, as well as between performers and audience at the very moment of staging. On the other hand, it has been the means used to create one single final text (in Catalan or Spanish) from multilingual contributions produced by the multilingual participants in the projects. Therefore, while professional translators may have had a role in some cases, occasional translators were the most common and bore the greatest load in the translational processes. Furthermore, besides language, theatre and scenic arts make use of other semiotic codes: clothes, colours, music, images, objects, etc. How must they be treated and analysed from a translational perspective?

My translational concerns initially found some answers in Maria Tymoczko's volume *Enlarging translation, empowering translators*, that focuses on translation practice in the 21st century – inspiring the title of this section. To expand the very concept of translation, Tymoczko (2007) downplays the universal value of current translational notions upon which hegemonic translational theories are grounded as well as their univocality in describing translation practice:

In general Western European words for 'translation' and the history of translation practices in Western Europe indicate that dominant Eurocentric conceptions of translation are deeply rooted

in literacy practices (as opposed to oral translation practices still predominant in most of the world). They also suggest that Eurocentric ideas about translation are shaped by the practices of Bible translation. (p. 57)

Edwin Gentzler (2017) from an explicitly *post-translation studies* perspective, considers for his part:

In this new global age, conditions have never been so fertile for growth in translation, but I suggest that so too has the *nature* of translation changed with the age, as has the media through which translations travel. [...] I am taking the idea of post-translation to the extreme, but in this book I ask, what if we erase the border completely and rethink translation as an always-ongoing process of *every* communication? What if translation becomes viewed less as a temporal act carried out between languages and cultures and instead as a *precondition* underlying the languages and cultures upon which communication is based? (p. 5)

And he later adds:

Instead of thinking in terms of the self and other, in which the “other” is translated into the “same”, instead of thinking in terms of the source and the receiver, instead of thinking in terms of the native and the immigrant being labeled “different” or “foreign”, I suggest that we rethink translation by getting rid of the many dichotomies and reimagining the cultural foundation in terms of all peoples being rewriters. (p. 8)

Another voice that helped me lay the foundations for my research was Eugene van Erven (2001) in his reflections about the emerging importance of community theatre in contemporary society:

Community theatre is a worldwide phenomenon that manifests itself in many different guises, yielding a broad range of performance styles. It is united, I think, by its emphasis on local and/or personal stories (rather than pre-written scripts) that are first processed through improvisation and then collectively shaped into theatre under the guidance either of outside professional artists – who may or may not be active in other kinds of professional theatre – or of local amateur artists residing among groups of people that, for lack of a better term, could perhaps best be called ‘peripheral’. Community theatre yields grass roots performances in which the participating community residents themselves perform and during the creative process of which they have substantial input. Not only the participants are considered ‘peripheral’, community theatre as an art form is as well. (p. 3)

Before starting with the depiction of the projects discussed here, firstly I would like to thank the generous collaboration of some of the protagonists: artistic directors, ideologists, promoters, sponsors, programmers, playwrights, dramaturgs, choreographers, etc. Very often one single person has played several of these roles. The following people have made these ambitious and wonderful initiatives possible:

- Eva García as a collaborator in several multicultural projects.

- Heidy Ramírez from the City of Barcelona.
- Andrea Corachán from *Transductores*.
- David Martínez from *La nave va*.
- Albert Tola and Constanza Brnčić from *Pi(è)ce*.
- Tortell Poltrona from *Pallassos sense fronteres*.

2. Framework for projects: the role of the institutions. Eva García and Heidi Ramírez

The first person whom I met to start my inquiries was Eva García¹ who defines herself professionally as a curator in cultural organisations. She is not currently involved in any specific theatrical project but has extensive experience in creative collaborative projects, and she is now working with several administrations and event organisations, like Barcelona's GREC – a summer scenic arts festival. Throughout her career in the theatrical scene in Barcelona and other places around Catalonia and Spain, she has fostered theatre as a social tool for integration and is the author of several publications dealing with topics such as community theatre, inclusive scenic arts and arts and education.

García dates the first examples in Catalonia and Spain of this type of theatre back to the years 2009 and 2010. It is consequently quite a new phenomenon that coincides with the big international migratory waves from the first decade of the 21st century. Community theatre in Catalonia and Spain, although not exclusively, is therefore closely linked to matters of migration, integration, multiculturalism and multilingualism. A milestone for her in this sense was *Quijotadas*² – by Miguel Oyarzun and Juan Alaya –, a play that transposes the figure of Don Quixote to a group of immigrants who dream of a better life in Europe. It had resounding success at its premiere in 2013 in Lavapiés (Madrid) and had a long run on Spanish and international stages. The actors – at that time recent migrants coming from Sub-Saharan Africa – were at the beginning completely unaware of Quixote's figure, central to Western literary canon; the play was inspired by the narration of their experiences throughout a journey full of hope but also of dangers and obstacles. In our conversation, García (2022) stressed the value of culture and language not only as a means of social integration, but also as a basic right of citizens. She defines the function of community theatre as follows:

Community culture and inclusive arts place the fulfilment of citizens' cultural rights at the core of their ideology, recognized in several international and state legislative frameworks, but repeatedly postponed. In these contexts, coexistence with vulnerability, as well as emotion and circumstance, is daily. Not just through accompanying the people, but also reviewing the

¹ Date of the interview: 12th April 2024 on Microsoft Teams.

² <https://mirageteatro.wixsite.com/mirage/quijotadas-eng> (retrieved on 1.09.2024).

organisations' own internal dynamics and the values that support the projects to avoid repeating the conditions of the processes that generate exclusion. (p. 19)³

Focussing on our topic – translation in theatre projects –, she affirms that these kinds of community projects are not normally based on already existing texts (translated or not), as the *Quijotadas* was, but on texts written ad hoc – often as a co-participative work. One stage production which she is especially proud of is the collective opera *La gata perduda*⁴, performed with the participation of the neighbours of El Raval, a multicultural neighbourhood in the very heart of Barcelona. The opera production is presented as follows on its website⁵:

“La gata perduda” is the first community opera to be premiered within Opera Prima, a set of community operatic productions from the Gran Teatre del Liceu. [...] The project began in 2018, with a period of meetings and relationship building between the Liceu and the organisations, collectives, facilities and neighbours of the Raval. This period was centred on listening and mutual discovery, defining the areas in which each person could collaborate in the project. Finally, the organisations and neighbours became involved in the creation of the project's image; its diffusion; the adaptation of the summary of the opera's storyline so it could be read easily; the sung interpretation; the musical interpretation; building the elements of the scenography; and costume making. Victoria Szpunberg's libretto after individual and group interviews with neighbours, experts and relevant people from the Raval. The music is composed by Arnau Tordera I, through absorbing the musical realities of the neighbourhood.

García describes the difficulties that she had to face in trying to involve all communities from the “prohibited neighbourhood”, as El Raval is referred to in the opera: some of them were extremely reluctant to partake in a communitarian project that mixed very heterogeneous cultures, and she had to persuade representatives of some specific collectives what the benefits of the project were. Victoria Szpunberg, the dramaturgist, based her libretto on contributions from members of the communities, expressed originally in their languages and translated later into Catalan: some of the participants had to work with non-professional translators from the community to orally narrate their stories about living in El Raval.

To conclude the interview, García stresses the embryonic state of these kinds of projects in Catalonia and Spain. In her opinion, they should ideally start as an initiative of neighbourhoods and communities, without the leadership of any external promoters, becoming therefore aware of the fact that culture is everyone's business. We are still, she affirms, very far from this reality.

³ Original text in Catalan. Unless otherwise indicated, the translations are my own.

⁴ It was performed on 5th and 7th October 2022.

⁵ <https://lagataperduda.com/> (retrieved on 1.09.2024).

Heidi Ramírez⁶ is the person in charge of the *Programa BCN Interculturalitat (PROGIB)* at the City Council's Office *Barcelona Acció Intercultural*⁷. Her work mainly consists of organising a quarterly cultural program in the city's neighbourhoods based on activities that promote dialogue between communities. Theatre and other scenic art performances are only a small part, but an important one because they are an excellent tool to encourage debate: shows are usually followed by a talk between the audience and artists – actors, musicians, directors, dramatists, etc. Ramírez always looks forward to Barcelona's theatre schedule, especially productions by small independent theatres, because she can include some of them into her calendar for further staging. *Contrato indefinido*, for instance, by the Gambian-Senegalese playwright Aïssatou Djob, is a theatrical production of Sala Periferia Cimarronas⁸ staged later in other theatres: the play deals with the unfair contractual conditions for migrants and is narrated from the perspective of a black woman; *Voy donde no hay*⁹, by the Filipino playwright Berjer B. Capati – written in Catalan, Spanish and Tagalog –, shows the experiences of different generations of the Filipino community in Barcelona¹⁰.

Although Catalan or Spanish are usually the vehicular languages of these activities, almost all other languages spoken in the city have a place in the staging schedule organised by the institutions: they are protagonists, for instance, on the International Day of Poetry (21st March)¹¹ or on the Day of the Mother Tongue (21st February)¹². On both dates, translation plays a central role: in 2023 a poem by the Catalan writer Vicent Andrés Estellés was translated and performed into twenty-two languages¹³. Translation and translators are also present in other activities: Ramírez described a sewing course in which a big group of Pakistani women participate and where members of the community translated all instructions into Urdu. The main aspect I want to stress from my conversation with Heidi Ramírez is the central role that administrations play in intercultural dialogue; financial and

⁶ The interview took place on 22nd April 2024 at the Espai Avinyó (Barcelona).

⁷ <https://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/bcnacciointercultural/ca/espai-avinyo> (retrieved on 1.09.2024).

⁸ *Contrato indefinido* was performed in Sala Periferia Cimarronas between 10th and 26th November 2023. Since then, it has been scheduled in several *Centres Cívics* [civic centres].

⁹ *Voy donde no hay* premiered at the Casa Orlandai on 1st December 2023 and has been represented around the city since then.

¹⁰ Both plays are a good example of another recent global phenomenon: migrant playwrights who have recently settled in Barcelona adopt Catalan or Spanish for their stage productions.

¹¹ <https://www.barcelona.cat/barcelonacultura/ca/recomanem/dia-mundial-poesia-vicent-andres-estelles-protagonista> (retrieved on 1.09.2024).

¹² https://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/bombers/ca/noticia/en-el-marc-del-dia-internacional-de-la-llengua-materna-lespai-avinyo-presenta-polifonies-linguistiques_1045224 (retrieved on 1.09.2024).

¹³ <https://cultura.gencat.cat/ca/ilc/que-fem/programes/dia-mundial-de-la-poesia/dmp-2024/index.html> (retrieved on 1.09.2024).

infrastructural support are essential requirements for the success of these types of initiatives. As important as these factors are, the strategies used in the design of the activities with the objective of actively involving as many citizens as possible are equally significant.

3. Andrea Corachán and David Martínez: scenic arts and social mediation

Andrea Corachán¹⁴ is a member of the organisation *Transductores*¹⁵. They define themselves on their website as: “*Transductores* is an interdisciplinary platform that carries out research projects and mediation based on three main axes of interest: collective pedagogies, collaborative artistic practices and methods of intervention in the public sphere”. Corachán describes her role in the group as an artistic mediator for socially vulnerable groups: young migrants, for instance. She claims that in recent years Barcelona’s City Council and the Catalan Government have improved their financial support for social artistic projects like theirs after realising how important they are in promoting integration. Nonetheless, she regrets how institutions demand quick visible evidence of their investment.

As an example of their social work through performative arts, Corachán describes the project called *La trama* – regularly integrated into the program of the *Centre d’Art Contemporani de Barcelona: Fabra i Coats* – that promotes dialogue between arts (exhibitions, performances, etc.) and different audience groups. She focuses on the activity *Take back the night. Make the centre ours* based on the exhibition *Periphery of the night* by the Thai artist Apichatpong Weerasethakul¹⁶. The target group was in this case a collective from the *Centre d’Acolida de Sant Andreu*, an institution that provides accommodation and support to underage migrants, arriving in Europe without any relatives accompanying them after a traumatic journey. The most important goal of the activity was to create a safe environment in which the participants could express themselves without any fears. After visiting Weerasethakul’s exhibition about the night, they were expected to contribute individually with two different interventions performed in front of the rest of the group: they first had to sing a lullaby and later to tell a dream. Both proposals – personal experiences related to the act of going to sleep, and not related to any conflict situations – should encourage them to participate in the performance. They were free to act, dance, write, talk about anything they wished. For the lullaby they obviously used their mother tongue, and they were also free

¹⁴ We met on 2nd May 2024 at the centre cívic Ca n’Andalet (Barcelona).

¹⁵ <https://transductores.info/> (retrieved on 1.09./2024).

¹⁶ <https://www.barcelona.cat/fabraicoats/centredart/en/content/process-take-back-night-make-centre-ours> (retrieved on 1.09.2024).

to use it to narrate their dreams¹⁷. However, all of them preferred to express themselves in Spanish, including at times some words in Catalan: the oldest members of the centre helped the newcomers in their narration and performance; language subgroups were built, but all participants sought communication with the other members of the group, sometimes using body language and gestures. Corachán remembers this performance as one of the most stunning of her program and highlights the implication of all participants and the beauty of the results.

David Martínez¹⁸, from the theatre group *La nave va*¹⁹, describes his artistic development as one determined by several encounters. In 2001, he met the dramaturgist Augusto Boal in Barcelona and learned his theory of the “Theatre of the Oppressed” together with Paulo Freire’s “Pedagogy of the Oppressed”. Due to these experiences, he adopted a social perspective in his theatrical activity and implemented methods such as “Image Theatre”, which questions the very nature of human communication and explores the capacities to reach the very essence of the human soul without using language. Two further important figures for him were Peter Brook and his idea of the indispensable connection between stage and audience, and Allan Owens’ works on the intercultural dimension of drama. The theatre company *La nave va* works in prisons, in schools, with migrants and with groups with special needs. Although some of their most successful productions have to do with migrants, interculturality and translation, I would like to mention his participation in two European research projects that explored the possibilities of drama as a social tool for communication between heterogeneous social and cultural groups: “Drama, a way to social inclusion” (1999–2004) and “Beyond text” (2016–2019). Speaking about the exchange of experiences that take place in these kinds of projects, Martínez stresses the importance of realising how important the cultural and linguistic perspective is in the construction of narratives – including scientific discourse – and the possibilities that theatre offers to improve research by offering a more holistic and universal view of reality and communication. Translation plays a central role in these projects because English is the *lingua franca* – in encounters and publications²⁰ – although most of the participants come from non-English speaking countries.

4. Pi(è)ce: intercultural, intergenerational theatre.

Emerging from an idea of Julio Álvarez – the manager of the small independent theatre Tantarantana, on the border between the multicultural neighbourhoods of El Raval and Poble Sec –, *Pi(è)ce* was a theatre project between 2012 and 2022

¹⁷ There are some pictures of this activity on the web.

¹⁸ We met on 14th May 2024, on Microsoft Teams.

¹⁹ <https://www.lanaveva.org/> (retrieved on 1.09.2024).

²⁰ Benmergui et al. (2019); Piekkari (2005).

that involved students from two secondary schools – IES Milà i Fontanals and IES Consell de Cent – and a group of senior citizens from the district. After being linked to the school subjects of Catalan, first, and Spanish, later, the project began to be carried out within the so-called *aula d'acollida*, i.e. the classroom where migrants start their schooling immediately after their arrival in Catalonia without any knowledge of Catalan or Spanish. Every school year, a group of students and senior citizens developed a play and performed it at the theatre Tantarantana²¹. Albert Tola²² – dramaturgist, translator, and playwright – and Constanza Brnčić²³ – dancer, dance teacher and researcher – led the process, guided artistic investigation on a topic determined before by the students and were responsible for the final text and choreographies, always based on the individual contributions of the group. Exercises on linguistic expression and movement in space – and their relationship and interconnection – were always the starting point for further inquiry – learning to listen to and to observe oneself and others. The projects always implied interpretation of verbal and non-verbal cues within the culturally extreme heterogeneous groups in order to promote communication and living together.

By framing the project around a fictional plot, the participants were able to keep some distance from their personal circumstances during the creative process. After having proposed some exercises, Tola rewrote all the contributions in a unique text; Brnčić did the same with the choreography. The final products were always staged in Catalan or Spanish – with all the imperfections of non-native speakers; some contributions had to be translated before, especially those of students who had recently arrived, with the help of other students from the same linguistic background. Brnčić and Tola define the central role they confer to translation as less of a tool that searches for perfect equivalence between texts and languages but rather as a way to reflect the very process of expressing concepts and feelings. In their own words:

Because translation always specifies what is incomplete, the imprecision of the expression, whether it is linguistic or gestural. Yet this imprecision, what we could call distance, has many degrees and this scale awakes our interest especially during the creation of scenic materials. (Brnčić & Tola, 2017, p. 5)

Tola is fascinated by the imperfections of language due to the use of other languages, by the contamination resulting from contact between languages and cultures. *Pi(è)ce* was an absolute success and started a path as an independent

²¹ <https://tantarantana.com/projecte-comunitari-social-piece> (retrieved on 1.09.2024).

²² I met Albert Tola on 24th May 2024, at Café Nabucco (Barcelona).

²³ I met Constanza on 31st May 2024, at the Teatre Antic (Barcelona).

project linked to the City of Barcelona and to its summer festival, GREC. Their performances took place at the CCCB, a very prestigious cultural centre in the city.

5. Clowns without borders: communication without words

The organisation *Pallassos sense fronteres* was born in Barcelona in 1993 during the Yugoslav Wars with the aim of providing support to the children in the conflict zone. In February 2024, after thirty years of existence, they published the book *Riures i emocions – Els viatges de pallassos sense fronteres (1993–2022)* including a chronology of all their actions and collecting experiences from their members and occasional collaborators. After Yugoslavia, they have been performing in conflict zones all around the world, always pursuing the same goal: to bring a smile to children in times when they are living traumatic experiences. Because of the complexity of their presence in these areas, the clowns always work with local organisations that take care of the logistics and advise them about local particularities – of ideological, religious or cultural nature – to avoid dangerous misunderstandings. Although the clowns learn some words or small texts in local languages – *Good morning, how are you? Are you enjoying the performance?* –, using some words as well in English – as the *lingua franca* –, they base their shows on non-verbal circus language and universal comicality. Tortell Poltrona²⁴ – the artistic name of Jaume Mateu, founder and heart and soul of the troupe – highlights that there is a universal language of circus as well as a universal language of humour. On the one hand, they are based on physics – juggling and acrobatic acts, for instance – and on the other hand, on universal comicality – normally based on actions that lack harmony in the cause-effect relationship. Their performances are based on universal common sense, respect and the so-called white humour. Poltrona (2024) tells us the following anecdote about communication:

In Livingston (Guatemala) the Garifuna people didn't understand the acrobatic act with the inverted pyramid of chairs by Tortell because that game with such an unusual object caused strangeness. Although Guatemala is a Spanish speaking country, the gestural language had always had much more impact, because the meanings in the Spanish from one place and another very often don't coincide. (p. 84)

Ana Mota (2024), who was in Kosovo in 2004, describes the following situation:

Although the war finished some years ago, tensions are still evident and aggressions between the different sides of the conflict still exist. We, the clowns, arrive and start performing: on one side sit the Kosovar Albanian children, on the other the Serbian. And I thought of the idea to

²⁴ Personal communication by telephone on 23rd April 2024.

bring a Kosovar Albanian kid and a Serbian one on stage together. And while we are doing the act, both kids start laughing, they look at each other laughing... And I realise here that when two people laugh together, they connect, and it is impossible that they look at each other with hatred and distrust, they stop being enemies. (pp. 47–48)

6. Conclusions

It was impossible to analyse all these projects in depth. My aim was rather to make visible the role that translation plays in the contemporary scene, especially in projects that foster intercultural communication. This paper, rather than offering answers, raises questions that should serve to explore the limits of translation studies in the 21st century.

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Of Sphinx and Sparrows: The Apocalyptic Vision in Yeats's "The Second Coming" and Miłosz's "A Song on the End of the World"

ABSTRACT

This paper critiques the contrasting apocalyptic visions in Yeats's "The Second Coming" and Miłosz's "A Song on the End of the World". Taking Yeats's poem as the epitome of modern apocalyptic vision, we can dissect the differences between the mainstream view of the apocalypse in this era and the marginal one in Miłosz's poem, which are represented in the imagery each poet creates. Consequently, the juxtaposition of the two poems leads to a more profound understanding of the competing formulations of apocalypse in the early twentieth century, which is more heterogeneous in nature than the literature of the period may initially suggest.

KEYWORDS

apocalyptic vision; imagery; W. B. Yeats; Czesław Miłosz; twentieth-century poetry

1. Introduction: Writing against the backdrop of the early twentieth century

As Nobel Prize winners of different geographical, sociopolitical and literary backgrounds, W. B. Yeats and Czesław Miłosz are both deemed major contributors to the modernist poetic tradition. Being an Irishman living and writing poetry at the turn of the twentieth century, Yeats was equipped with the rich history of Ireland and its myths, added to the prolonged historical oppression that the nation had suffered at the hands of the English. Likewise, Miłosz had the experience of living in Warsaw (Poland), during World War II atrocities, which made a lasting impact on his worldview, in general, and his poetry, in particular. Whereas Yeats wrote his poetry in English, the Polish Miłosz mostly preferred to make use of his

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mother tongue, and only later were some of his works translated into English. The poets' position outside a strictly English canon of literature allows them a range of possibilities to incorporate in their works. Politically, they are somewhat similar in their nationalistic tendencies, despite their different approaches to such a nationalistic identity. Yeats was deeply affected by events such as the Easter Rising of 1916, and yet "although a convinced patriot, [he] deplored the hatred and the bigotry of the Nationalist movement, and his poetry is full of moving protests against it" (Frenz, 1969). Similar to Yeats, Miłosz became disillusioned with the Communist Party and became the cultural attaché for the newly formed People's Republic of Poland in Washington. The dreadful circumstances of the first half of the twentieth century and the position of these poets in a period of rapid and vast historical changes affected their poetic imagination and sensibility, so much so that it is only natural to expect their visions of the end of the world to be similar to each other. Such a similarity can be witnessed in their extensive use of imagery: Yeats views the world as entirely symbolic, as he explicates in detail in his 1900 "The Symbolism of Poetry":

All sounds, all colours, all forms, either because of their preordained energies or because of long association, evoke indefinable and yet precise emotions, or [...] call down among us certain disembodied powers, whose footsteps over our hearts we call emotions; and when sound, and colour, and form are in a musical relation, a beautiful relation to one another, they become [...] one sound, one colour, one form, and evoke an emotion that is made out of their distinct evocations and yet is one emotion.

If we agree with Abrams and Geoffrey (2015) that imagery can be generally defined as "all the objects and qualities of sense perception referred to in a poem or other work of literature, whether by literal description, by allusion, or in vehicles [...] of its similes and metaphors," then Yeats's concept of unified emotion could be counted as a specific form of imagery, or the way we feel these interconnections as a cohesive whole in our mind (2015, p. 172). This idea is consistent with Yeats's predisposition to view the world through a personal symbolic lens, meaning that he relates disparate images so intricately that they can be perceived only in one, ambiguous sense. The perception of images is the essence of what Yeats calls a symbol, so by examining the images he describes in "The Second Coming," it is not difficult to observe how the entire poem becomes symbolic of Yeats's apocalyptic vision. Yeats had the ability to ingeniously craft complex images that would adequately portray the spectrum of significations and "emotions" he intended to convey. Consequently, his poetry offers a range of images and symbols that are at once ambiguous and unified in their connotations. His ideas about the symbol and the image went so far as to claim that "a human being who embodied truth would also, presumably, take the form of an image or symbol." As Harper (2006) has observed, "Yeats's work

from start to finish suggests the pre-eminence of what can be envisioned over what can be rationally explained” (p. 144). Harper’s observation is particularly apt with regard to the symbol of the Sphinx in “The Second Coming.” Similar to Yeats, Miłosz tends to provide the reader with a constellation of images, although his writing is not usually deemed to fall neatly into the category of symbolist poetry proper. Instead, he prefers to turn to the physical nature and set the modern man at the center of all the forces that influence him. In Miłosz’s poetry, humans are often portrayed through what shapes and helps them in their process of becoming, to rise above and beyond what he terms “being”:

Reality calls for a name, for words, but it is unbearable and if it is touched, if it draws very close, the poet’s mouth cannot even utter a complaint of Job: all art proves to be nothing compared with action. Yet, to embrace reality in such a manner that it is preserved in all its old tangle of good and evil, of despair and hope, is possible only thanks to a distance, only by soaring above it – but this in turn seems then a moral treason. (Miłosz, 1980)

The environment around Miłosz, then, becomes a way of making sense of and philosophizing the situation of the modern man. This environment is not merely restricted to physical nature as distinguished from the human, but, as Buell (2005) defines it, “more commonly . . . environment comprehends both ‘built’ and ‘natural’” (p. 140). The human condition is inevitably tied with one’s connection with the world around them, and the natural imagery Miłosz constructs in his poetry showcases this bond and explores various aspects of it. While the repertoire of images Miłosz employs may happen to be symbolic, they are not as integral to his poetic imagination as they are to Yeats’s.

The significance of the two poems under study¹ has to do with their subject material – the imagination and prophesizing of the end times. Yeats’s poem was written in 1919, after witnessing the horrors of the World War I and the upheaval of literary traditions that had begun with the *fin de siècle* movement. As one of the most important figures in the Irish Literary Revival, Yeats had a thorough knowledge of Irish history, myth, and mystical traditions. His profound knowledge enabled him to capitalize on images that would serve as the perfect symbol across history. With this substantial repository at his disposal, he wrote one of the most famous apocalyptic poems of all time in English, using symbols derived from this rich history and situating them in a meticulously woven net of significations. While Miłosz’s poem is not as symbolically rich as Yeats’s, it is nevertheless an important note on the metaphorical when and how

¹ The full text of the Yeats’s poem can be accessed at the following link: <https://www.poetryfoundation.org/poems/43290/the-second-coming> and the full text of Miłosz’s poem in Polish can be accessed here: <https://polska-poezja.pl/lista-wierszy/255-czeslaw-milosz-piosenka-o-koncu-swiatea> and the translation in English here: <https://www.poetryfoundation.org/poems/49451/a-song-on-the-end-of-the-world>

of the apocalypse. Having experienced the atrocities of World War II firsthand, Miłosz composed the poem in 1944 in Warsaw, shortly before the war came to an end. His unmediated experience of the war is expected to figure in this poem with its distinctive subject matter as, perhaps, the depictions of the horrors endured by the people, yet the tone of the poem is surprisingly at odds with the reader's preconceptions or expectations of his poetic concerns. Initially, it can be observed that his premonition of the apocalypse stands in marked contrast to what Yeats had pictured it to be a few decades ago. The universe Miłosz lives in does not seem threatening on the surface, but is rather ignorant of his existence. As Fiut (1978) has observed, Miłosz "stands alone in the face of an indifferent cosmos and cruel history, which move across human fate with a destructive force akin to that of nature" (p. 420). Although this place proves to be as destructive as Yeats's world, it does not lend any profound meaning to human existence above other forms of being. In other words, everything appears to be equally insignificant.

2. The symbolic apocalypse of "The Second Coming"

In the very first lines of "The Second Coming," one can detect the importance of the past in Yeats's vision of the future. The poem starts with Yeats's famous formulation of historical cycles, shown in the symbol of the "widening gyre". The expansion of one end of the gyre represents the speedy move toward the end of an era, followed by the narrow end of another, antithetical gyre in the form of interpenetrating cones. This process, which is continuously reversed, can signify "the ebb and flow of the subjective and objective principles," and now that one of these gyres is reaching its widest point, everything will be turned upside down in a short span of time, causing great historical turmoil, such as the ones witnessed during the beginning of the twentieth century (Holdeman, 2006, p. 78).

Yeats was influenced by diverse historical events, including the World War that killed many of the people from his home country who were not fighting for their own cause. Moreover, he was troubled by the Easter Rising, after which he declared in "Easter 1916" that "all changed, changed utterly: A terrible beauty is born," and other extreme changes in the world brought about by the hands of the people searching for freedom, including the Russian Revolution. The coincidence and harrowing effects of these events caused him to feel that utter mayhem was descending upon Europe, and it is this state of havoc precipitated by abrupt historical changes that is represented in the symbolic image of the gyre. The contemporary significances of the poem were more specifically mentioned in the first draft of the poem, with the year 1919 being included in the text, yet as Dettmar (1986) has observed, "Yeats realized [...] that references to identifiable historico-political events [...] would by their very nature limit the moral statement he felt compelled to make" (p. 83).

In summary, Yeats is portraying a world that has fallen into chaos in vivid intensity:

Things fall apart; the centre cannot hold;
Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world,
The blood-dimmed tide is loosed, and everywhere
The ceremony of innocence is drowned (lines 3–6)

Yeats's view of apocalypse is as foreboding as one would imagine. In a world that is disintegrating fast, there is no hope or innocence left to resist the "blood-dimmed tide" that threatens to drown the best of humanity. One might assume that the beginning of the new gyre might proffer some hope underlying the horror, but Yeats does not seem to envisage any kind of revelation by the end of the first stanza. In the second stanza, the tone abruptly changes. At the sight of these horrors, the poem now hopes for some sort of revelation – something that would restore the stability of the world as we know it, although this balance might be superficial:

Surely some revelation is at hand;
Surely the Second Coming is at hand. (lines 9–10)

Nevertheless, Yeats is in fact mocking the naïve certainty in such a vain hope by repeating the word "Surely" at the beginning of the two lines. In the first stanza, the poem looks at the general state of anarchy through the lens of philosophy – which is Yeats's own historico-philosophical vision in this case – and the mythological past, best exemplified in the symbol of the falcon and falconer, as falconry was a traditional sport of the kings in such stories and real-life. However, Yeats introduces another perspective into his poem, which is a Christian one: If there is no hope for redemption in either history or myth, then religion *must* have something to offer to undo the evil unleashed, as promised by the story of Christ's return. This certainty is broken as soon as it is voiced by the speaker, suggesting that religion does not provide any relief either. The poet is immediately pulled back into the realm of mythology, with the first-person speaker of the second stanza having a sudden vision:

The Second Coming! Hardly are those words out
When a vast image out of Spiritus Mundi
Troubles my sight: somewhere in sands of the desert
A shape with lion body and the head of a man,
A gaze blank and pitiless as the sun,
Is moving its slow thighs, while all about it
Reel shadows of the indignant desert birds. (lines 11–17)

The poem picks up the pace at once when the speaker takes over with his vivid imagination. Now the end of the world is not seen by an overarching presence

from above, but rather perceived through the consciousness of the singular, limited psyche of the speaker. This change of form is one of the ways in which Yeats resembles the modern poets more than the traditional ones, and the opening of the poem:

becomes the octave of a 'failed' impersonal blank-verse sonnet. The poem cannot continue in the impersonal mode; it cannot write its own sestet. Therefore Yeats re-begins the poem, in line 9, as a sonnet in the first person, which then, as one man's lyric perspective, can find its sestet. (Vendler, 2006, p. 80)

Yeats' speaker is the poet-prophet who ostensibly has access to a repertoire that others cannot easily reach: his own version of the collective unconscious, *Spiritus Mundi*. With the infinite resources of the past comes the ability to predict the future, but it is represented in symbolic imagery as well. The poet sees the Sphinx as soon as he thinks about the religious revelation, which is yet another way in which Yeats combines different discourses to add to the complexity and ambiguity that characterizes his symbols and the range of meanings they imply. The poet-prophet is raised above the general observer of the first stanza and the reader of the poem, for it is through his psychological vision that the reader can access the image of the beast. The reader is getting the news of how the world would end second hand. This could imply that the psyche of the reader is not as elevated as that of the poet and that they stand in an inferior position in their level of understanding – an idea that is somewhat consistent with Yeats's slightly elitist stance in his view of literature. The central symbol of the poem, the Sphinx, is situated in a nexus of other significations, which could be summarized in one word: evil. Yeats believes that "human evil" exists, and his idea opposes the early twentieth-century faith in science and rational reasoning. In fact, "The Second Coming" can be read as "a treatment of the nature of human evil" and not merely a terrorizing vision of the future (Dettmar, 1986, p. 79). Dettmar claims that the hollow gaze with which the Sphinx is described is parallel to the absence of specifications of the historical details of the chaos previously mentioned and becomes "emblematic of the evil personality" in Yeats's vision (p. 83). The image of the Sphinx, moving through the hot desert in full light, is used to connote the presence of such evil. It is hard not to notice such a vivid image put into motion, and to add to its intensity, the shadow of the birds is portrayed as a way of highlighting the impending sense of doom that follows such a creature (Wheeler, 1974, p. 240).

The poem comes to a climax at its last lines, finally delivering the dreadful prophecy the reader has anticipated from the beginning of the second stanza:

The darkness drops again; but now I know That twenty centuries of stony sleep
Were vexed to nightmare by a rocking cradle, And what rough beast, its hour come round at last,
Slouches towards Bethlehem to be born? (lines 18–22)

The vision is as rapidly lost as it first appeared to the speaker. The symbolic image presented to the poet-prophet is interpreted by him, albeit using further symbols that make it even more ambiguous. The religious references find their way back when the speaker returns to reality, subtly implying that Christianity is not part of the *Spiritus Mundi* and merely belongs to the rational world, which the poet does not favor much. The two thousand years of the historical cycle associated with Christianity and the rationalistic mode of understanding are coming to an end, but not with the promised salvation of the Second Coming. Religion, therefore, is referenced only to be undermined again, with the image of the Sphinx in the position of the anti-Christ moving in a backward motion toward Bethlehem. This objectivity is replaced with the subjective view of the speaker of the second stanza, symbolizing the end of the former gyre and the beginning of the latter. Nevertheless, “The Second Coming” does not specify the nature or essence of the Sphinx that is about to be born, rendering the climax of the poem to take the form of a question. This formulation of Yeats’s apocalyptic vision suggests that the speaker’s subjective insight lacks knowledge of the extent of the predicted horror. Vendler’s (2006) observation in this regard is noteworthy:

‘I know *that* ...’ is followed by ‘And *what* rough beast ...?’ The non-parallel syntax shows that the poet’s knowledge is limited. He is convinced that a new force is imminent [...] yet what sort of beast it will be is as yet undetermined. Unlike the canonical Apocalypse, the Modernist apocalyptic utterance is not certain of its visions. (p. 80)

Contrary to Yeats’s catastrophic apocalyptic vision, Miłosz’s “A Song on the End of the World” (original Polish title: “Piosenka o końcu świata”) offers a more peaceful image of the apocalypse anticipated by many during the twentieth century. Unlike “The Second Coming,” none of the images he evokes are as visually captivating as Yeats’s images and yet, they still leave a deep impression on the reader. In stark contrast to Yeats’s poem, all the scenes Miłosz portrays are extracted out of everyday experiences, and the marked incongruity between their ordinariness and the magnitude of the apocalypse creates the greatest intrigue of this poem.

3. The apocalypse as commonplace in “A Song on the End of the World”

A line-by-line reading of the poem, as translated by Anthony Miłosz, would suggest that both the title and the first line of the poem are quite shocking and abrupt, causing a tension in the reader who now must deal with a terrifying premonition that is presented in a peaceful tone at the same time:

On the day the world ends
A bee circles a clover,
A fisherman mends a glimmering net.

Happy porpoises jump in the sea,
 By the rainspout young sparrows are playing
 And the snake is gold-skinned as it should always be. (lines 1–6)

Much like the first stanza of “The Second Coming”, the poem’s first lines do not establish a first-person speaker, which implies that the events are being observed by a supposedly omniscient observer who has curiously taken the position of the poet-prophet. For Miłosz (1980), the vocation of the poet is “to be above and simultaneously to see the Earth in every detail,” creating a sense of equilibrium between these paradoxical aims. The tension caused by the startling line about the end of the world provokes a sense of anticipation in the readers who are already familiar with such prophetic visions: the poem’s title purports to present an image of the end of the world, perhaps including images recalling the horrors of World War II. Knowing that the poet is writing this from Warsaw surely reinforces such an expectation. However, the imagery that shapes the poem is all but expected. Surprisingly, in a poem about the apocalypse, the reader encounters images that are placid and beautifully envisioned, and that offer a picture of the world through some of its gentlest and most pleasing qualities. The world the poem describes is buzzing with life, with the clovers hinting at the possibility of hope and luck, and everything is just right with the “happy porpoises” and the “gold-skinned” snakes. Significantly, the images of animals and physical nature figure much more prominently than the single reference to human life in the first stanza. Miłosz’s vision of the end times does not blend as many discourses and traditions as Yeats’s does, but instead focuses on the immediate, the physical, and the non-human. This difference in the apocalyptic vision of the two poets can be accounted for by the difference between the ecocentric outlook and the anthropocentric one. Yeats’s anthropocentric worldview is best defined as “the assumption or view that the interests of humans are of higher priority than those of nonhumans,” while Miłosz’s ecocentric approach posits that “the interest of the ecosphere must override that of the interest of individual species”, as “ecocentrism points to the interlinkage of the organismal and the inanimate” (Buell, 2005, pp.134–137). In Miłosz’s poem, there seems to be essentially no difference between the human and the non-human in the environment. The fisherman is not separated from or above the other animals but is as much part of the backdrop as the rest of the environment. Furthermore, these two aspects of the environment are intermingled in the fisherman’s dependence on the fish for survival. In this light, while Yeats’s poem is complexly psychological, mythical, and symbolic, Miłosz’s poem offers a much more tangible, tactile, and objective perspective, which seems to defy a hierarchical conception of the world, and instead presents one in which the bee and the fisherman are accorded the same significance. From a rather different point of view, it could be argued that it is only in the encounter with the reality of the apocalypse that the reader begins to realize

that man is not necessarily nobler than bee and that they equally belong to the same nature. The second stanza follows the same principle, evoking images reminiscent of normal coexistence between the environment and humans, as well as the animate and the inanimate: everything is equal – the women carrying umbrellas (a signifier of their social status), the drunkard from the lower ranks of society, and the man-made boat and violin fading into their surroundings. The images hitherto are not derived from a mythic past or a possible future. Rather, they represent everyday life situations the poet sees as unvarying throughout history. The next stanza, however, brings the poet's intention to light:

And those who expected lightning and thunder
 Are disappointed.
 And those who expected signs and archangels' trumps
 Do not believe it is happening now.
 As long as the sun and the moon are above,
 As long as the bumblebee visits a rose,
 As long as rosy infants are born
 No one believes it is happening now. (lines 14–21)

In a series of images mostly extracted from nature, Miłosz's poem makes it clear that the apocalypse is no great undoing of the world, nor is there an enormous change underway. Miłosz is undermining the view held by "those who expected signs," bringing down not only Yeats's symbolic vision but also that of his readers – those who have taken "The Second Coming" as a symbol itself. Moreover, the poem hints that the classic vision of apocalypse is harmful in that it blinds people to the threat of the end times by creating such expectations in them. Unlike Yeats's poem, Miłosz's poem does not offer the reader a vivid and horrific image of the beast before it has been born. The poet is unable, or rather reluctant, to prophesize as confidently as Yeats does in "The Second Coming." In contrast to the reader's expectations, the center of the world is too intact and unwavering, for Miłosz does not entertain a cyclical conception of history like Yeats does. Miłosz (1980) elaborates on his view on the absence of such earth-shattering alteration in the state of the world in his Nobel speech:

A profound transformation, of which we are hardly aware, because we are a part of it, has been taking place, coming to the surface from time to time in phenomena that provoke general astonishment [...]. But transformation has been going on, defying short term predictions . . .

Miłosz realizes that it is impossible to recognize profound changes when they are happening slowly and one is very much part of their flow. The recognition of change happens only in retrospect. And as Fiut (1978) puts it, "the poet looks at history from a timeless perspective, an almost divine one" (p. 421). If history is repeating itself at every moment even in its changes, why would there be a need to go back in time when one can simply look around and understand how everything

is going to come to an end? The last stanza is the only part in which a hint of religious ideology can be found, but the prophet that Miłosz portrays is far from the image of the prophet the reader may expect:

Only a white-haired old man, who would be a prophet
 Yet is not a prophet, for he's much too busy,
 Repeats while he binds his tomatoes:
 There will be no other end of the world,
 There will be no other end of the world. (lines 22–26)

The image of the old man is associated with wisdom, and has connotations of prophetic vision, but this modern man is simply busy doing his everyday work, without being elevated above anyone else. The anti-climax of the poem is presented in this very stanza: nothing special happens at the end of the world. This image is paradoxically indicating a different kind of horror: no one can tell when and how the end of the world will take place, and there are no prophets left in this modern world. In his egalitarian manner, Miłosz brings the poet-prophet down from the pedestal into the same realm of ignorance to which common people are prone. Moreover, as Fiut (1987) has observed, “attempts to grasp what is stable and unchangeable in human nature are marked in Miłosz’s poetry by uncertainty and indecision,” which indicates that humans are both ignorant of the way the world works and their own nature (p. 67). This is why the poet poses more questions than he answers: this ambiguity-inducing method is clear in the shared ignorance of the apocalypse in mankind. Miłosz’s poem portrays this double ambiguity in its focus on the lack of awareness as a general trait in humans. The attention shifts from picturing how the apocalypse will happen toward a partial, unhelpful commentary on human nature. Therefore, one can conclude that perhaps “the true subject of Miłosz’s poems is not the finished concept of human nature, but the process of attaining this concept”, and the impossibility of predicting the apocalypse through a singular consciousness, as in “The Second Coming” (pp. 68–69).

4. Conclusion: The human question of the apocalypse

In general, the similarities between the two poems arise out of the conditions of the first decades of the twentieth century. Both poets were apprehensive toward an idea of modernistic human progress, yet Yeats sided with the conventions of groundbreaking modernist work, which turned the perspective of objective, scientific inquiry into an overtly personal, subjective, and symbolic one. The Celtic Revival and Yeats’s understanding of his mythological past leads him to prophesize the apocalypse in terms and images familiar to him – both as a modernist and an Irishman who had witnessed the dismaying consequences of resisting against England’s imperial power. Miłosz had a similar experience of catastrophe, which may have been a shared reason for these poets’ attention to

the concept of apocalypse. His egalitarianism simply did not allow him to let the world be depicted through a singular, subjective psyche. This is partly the reason why his apocalyptic vision differs in its terrifying passivity and tranquility from that of Yeats. In the words of Fiut (1978), “tormented by the foreboding of the unavoidable catastrophe that threatens the world, Miłosz stands alone in the face of an indifferent cosmos,” (p. 420), and this is the essence of his view on the apocalypse that is charged by human ignorance.

Miłosz (1980) himself states that his poetry “remained sane and, in a dark age, expressed a longing for the Kingdom of Peace and Justice”. The terror of the end times figures differently for Yeats and Miłosz – the former anticipates an active unstoppable force of horror while the latter envisions the worst part of it to be the ignorance and inactivity of mankind in moving on with their lives despite even the literal apocalypse. Their experiences of horror led them to distinctive conclusions, yet they both share a loss of trust in humanity. Though none of the poets deny or offer any remedies for the apocalypse, they are both driven by the human ignorance to talk about the end times. These two approaches to the possibility of the apocalypse are rooted in highly unstable historical circumstances, but they remain different, nonetheless. The concluding question, then, is one left to the readers of the poems: Which view do we tend to agree with more? That the end of the world happens in the silent disintegration of our everyday lives when nothing is too out of the ordinary, or that we go out with a bang, and a reversal of all that history has had to offer?

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Shevchenko and Pushkin: Deconstructing Imperial Narrative

ABSTRACT

This article examines the intertextual dynamics between Taras Shevchenko's *The Caucasus and The Dream* and Alexander Pushkin's narratives where the author justifies imperial expansion and assigns roles and identities to Russia's multinational colonies. Through ironic references and subversive recontextualization, Shevchenko critiques the glorification of Russian imperialism based on the falsified "knowledge" about the colonized subjects and challenges Pushkin's portrayal of Russia's dominance in the Slavic world. The analysis highlights Shevchenko's use of hypertextuality to deconstruct Pushkin's vision of imperial grandeur, contrasting it with Shevchenko's advocacy for a future grounded in Slavic equality and mutual respect.

KEYWORDS

Shevchenko; Pushkin; deconstruction; hypertextual links; imperial narrative; "knowledge"

1. Introduction

In 1993 in *Culture and Imperialism*, a sequel to seminal *Orientalism*, Edward Said extrapolates his earlier ideas about the Western misrepresentation of the Orient as the uncivilized, primitive Other into the realm of literature to demonstrate the intricate connection between the colonial policies of the empire and literary texts produced by the most celebrated authors of the time. He develops a method based on what he calls a contrapuntal reading, intending "to focus as much as possible on individual works, to read them first as great products of the creative or interpretative imagination, and then to show them as part of the relationship between culture and empire" (Said, 1996, p. xxii). Almost ten years before Said, Gayatri Spivak employed a very similar analysis and deconstruction of *Jane Eyre* emphasizing the decisive role of literature in the cultural representation of the empire and *the worldling* of the Third World, i.e. the creation of the colonized space through the falsified and imposed "knowledge" about the colonized (Spivak, 1985).

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Regrettably, the traditional “orientalist” approach to postcolonial literary criticism leaves out internal colonialism within Europe. Said (1996) acknowledges the selectivity and constraints inherent in his exclusive emphasis on the British, French, and American imperial experience, yet he is cognizant of the fact that Russia’s domination in Central Asia and Eastern Europe is neither benign nor any less imperialist. Among the reasons for this selectivity, he lists his background as a native of the Arab world, cultural centrality and, most importantly, the idea of the overseas rule of the empires as mentioned earlier (pp. xxii – xxiii).

In the latter part of the 1990s, the domain of postcolonial literary studies underwent a further expansion that encompassed the conventional West-East dichotomy, incorporating the concept of internal colonialism within the European context. The initial significant research focused on the case of Ireland (Michael Cronin’s *Translating Ireland*, 1996, and Maria Tymoczko’s *Translation in a Postcolonial Context*, 1999)¹. It was inevitable that this evolution would have implications for the field of Russian literature criticism, with its entrenched elements such as the enigmatic Russian soul, the existential torment of the superfluous man, and the compassionate portrayal of “the insulted and the injured”.

An Australian scholar of Ukrainian descent, Marko Pawlyshyn, was among the pioneers in suggesting the use of the term *postcolonial* in reference to post-Soviet Ukrainian literature (Pawlyshyn, 1992). Ewa Thompson’s *Imperial Knowledge: Russian Literature and Colonialism* (2000) explores how the canonized Russian narrative manifests itself as a *textual empire*, a direct textual expression of Russian imperial “knowledge” assigning cultural identities and roles to the colonizer and the colonized (Thompson, 2000, p. 55). While Thompson analyses Russia’s Central Asian and Polish colonial narratives, Myroslav Shkandrij’s *Russia and Ukraine: Literature and the Discourse of Empire from Napoleonic to Postcolonial Times* (2001) examines a discourse of empire in the nineteenth-century Russian literature and a counterdiscourse in the Ukrainian literature. Unfortunately, at the time of publication both books received very little if any attention in academia where “non-Russian Slavic studies partake of the politics of invisibility” (Thompson, 2015, p. 10). Numerous departments of Russian and Slavic studies have been encouraging students to acquire knowledge of Russian literature, culture and language with the elements of *other* Slavic cultures, pushing the latter to the background and presenting via a Russian-dominated lens.

Thompson expands Said’s list of reasons for bracketing off internal, namely Russian, colonialism from the postcolonial studies. In addition to the contiguous character of expansion, it comprises the cultural superiority of the colonized over

¹ Cronin uses the term *translation* not only in the narrow sense of a transfer of texts from one language into another but as a broad metaphor for the subjugation of Ireland by Britain: “Translation at a cultural level – the embrace of English acculturation – is paralleled by translation at a territorial level, the forcible displacement and movement of populations” (Cronin, 1996, p. 49).

the colonizer and their common race (Thompson, 2000, pp. 1–15). In her essays on Ukrainian-Russian cultural relations, Vira Aheyeva adds to the aforementioned appropriation of the cultural heritage of the colonized (Aheyeva, 2022, p. 11).

Since the first day of the full-scale Russian invasion of Ukraine, the Slavic studies academia has been slowly but inviolately unveiling the Russian imperial grand narrative kept under wraps of “deeply humane Russian culture”. The masks were dropped even by Russia itself. The State Hermitage Museum’s director, Piotrovsky, openly expressed the jingoistic goals of the Russian cultural expansion as “a kind of special operation” and “a powerful cultural offensive” a few months after so-called “special operation of Russia in Ukraine” (Leigh, 2022, p. 133). However, when on the first days of the invasion Ukrainian cultural professionals and organizations called on the international community to impose cultural sanctions on Russia, German PEN declared that “the real enemy is Putin, not Pushkin”. Putting aside the argument of Russia’s constant and very successful attempts at instrumentalizing culture for political influence, Pushkin is responsible for shaping and disseminating imperial “knowledge” about the colonized nations via his resonant narrative and the status of the greatest Russian poet.

2. Pushkin’s imperial profiling narrative: assigning roles and identities to the colonized

Pushkin, according to Thompson (2000, p. 62), “was probably the crudest jingoist” of all the Russian writers. Thompson elaborates on this claim:

Pushkin can be credited with the first fully successful artistic formulation of Russian imperial consciousness. [...] He conjured up an image that had never before existed in Russian literature: a proud Russia destined to rule over the “miserable Finns” and other races it had conquered; a Russia replete with humble and admirable patriots who discharged their duty faithfully in the faraway Caucasus; a Russia whose upper class equated in sophistication and education the most refined circles in the West. (Thompson, 2000, pp. 60–61)

Pushkin’s narrative is imbued with the most consistent assignment of roles and identities within the empire with a distinct marginalization and moral condemnation of the defeated: Russian heroes, knights (*bogatyr*s), statesmen, men of wisdom are contrasted to the conquered violent savages, predators, traitors, villains or wretched, pathetic, intellectually deficient creatures.

Nevertheless, this artistic profiling of the subjugated nations differs. Pushkin’s “Southern” texts, particularly, his early poem *The Prisoner in the Caucasus* (1821) describing the Circassians as *predators* and *villains* build up the most obvious imperial discourse in its manipulative mission “to extend civilization” to the savage Orient. Even seemingly positive description of the Circassians’ everyday life in the author’s endnotes to the poem shows condescending superiority: their hospitality is typical of “all savage peoples” (Pushkin, 1975, vol. 3, p. 105)

while their “pleasant yet monotonous songs” glorify “*temporary* success of the Caucasian weapon, the death of our heroes, treasons, murders” (Pushkin, 1975, vol. 3, pp. 103–104). The outrageously violent and inhuman treatment of a young Russian captive by the Circassians highlights the opposition between civilized “Us” and uncivilized “Them”. Pushkin’s narrative intricately reverses the poles of victimhood, as the poem was written amid the genocidal massacre exerted in Chechnya and Dagestan by General Yermolov highly praised in the epilogue to the poem.

Susan Layton highlights another characteristic of Pushkin’s representation of “the Southern colonized” as the classical Orient: given that people from the Northwestern Caucasus, the region Pushkin speaks about, self-identified as Adyge, the word *Circassian* used in the poem is not entirely accurate (Layton, 1997, p. 84). The aforementioned conforms to Said’s theory of the distorted, conflated image of the Orient that eliminates all national distinctions. The word *Circassian* is a perfect sample of what Sudhansu Kumar Dash (2016, p. 48) defines as an “over-inclusive term” reflecting “the discourse of political homogeneity”.

Said’s argument about the feminization of the Orient viewed by Europe in “its backwardness, its silent indifference, its feminine penetrability, its supine malleability” (Said, 1978, pp. 206–207) is traceable in Pushkin’s depiction of an enamored Circassian maiden who saves the prisoner and commits suicide recognizing his superiority. Consequently, as Ethan Helfrich keenly observes, “the Caucasus and its people in *Prisoner* provide the foreign “other” for which Russia’s identity as a European power can be based upon. The expansion of empire and the direct contact with non-Russians allow for Pushkin to formulate this “other” (Helfrich, 2015, p. 24).

In *The Bronze Horseman* (1833), Pushkin’s unquestionable masterpiece, the Northern colonized is contemptuously relegated to the margins of history as a “poor foster-child in Nature’s keeping” (Pushkin, 2020, p. 4) and “ubogij chukhoniez” (Pushkin, 1975, p. 255)². Besides, claiming that St. Petersburg arose at the place of forests, swamps, and mean log huts, Pushkin disregards the previous historical presence of the Nyenschantz fortress and the town of Nyen, a significant commercial hub in Swedish Istria. Thompson (2000, p. 78) rightly defines the Finnish narrative in *The Bronze Horseman* as “imperialism at its purest” because “Peter’s right to destroy the Finnish way of life is taken for granted”. This argument surprisingly echoes the endnotes to the poem in the Soviet academic ten-volume edition, which asserts “full recognition of the rightness of Peter I, who could not consider the interests of an individual in his state-oriented “great thoughts” and deeds” (Pushkin, 1975, p. 466).

² The derogatory connotations of the latter failed to be fully conveyed in Lednicki’s translation “wretched Finns” (Lednicki, 1955, p. 141) or in Dewey’s one “poor Finns” (Pushkin, 2020, p. 3).

The Slavic colonized (Poland and Ukraine) are represented through the integrationist narrative, particularly in Pushkin's odes *To the Slanderers of Russia* and *Borodino Anniversary* from the infamous booklet *On the Capture of Warsaw* (1831), most probably commissioned by Nicholas I, Pushkin's "personal censor". Pushkin's menacing invective was addressed to the members of the French parliament who condemned the bloody massacre of the Russian army against the rebels and, more generally, to the whole of Europe that supported the Poles with the slogan "For your freedom and ours". In conformity with the idea of Russia's dominance in the Slavic world, Pushkin calls the November Uprising of Poland "Slavonic kin among themselves contending, an ancient household strife" (Shaw, 1845, p. 150). Yet the integrationist Polish narrative is intricately intertwined with the narrative of the hostile Other. As Shkandrij argues, "Russian literature portrayed Poland as an equally foreign and inimical "hydra" that required slaying by heroic figures" (Shkandrij, 2001, p. 30). This role assignment is made manifest in *Borodino Anniversary* with its glorification of the bloody suppression of the rebellion and, even more, in Pushkin's letter to Elena Khitrovo, Kutuzov's daughter: "So, our *ancestral enemies* will be finally exterminated" (Pushkin, 1977, vol. 9, pp. 355–356). The main attributive characteristic assigned to Poles in Pushkin's narrative is arrogance; e.g. the opposition of "the haughty Liakh" and "faithful Russ" in *To the Slanderers of Russia* and the mockery at "Warsaw's proud law" in *Borodino Anniversary*.

In his poem *Poltava* (1828), Pushkin foregrounds the integrationist narrative representing the Ukrainian colonized. In Pushkin's imperially biased interpretation, Hetman Mazepa's failed attempt to tear Ukraine away from Russia and restore its statehood under Sweden's protection acquires attributes of *violent crime* and *treason*: Mazepa is repeatedly described as "villain", "Judah", "traitor" and "corrupt soul" (Pushkin, 1975, p. 171–211). As Ivan Dziuba argues, all of the history of the Russian empire is full of complaints about *izmiena* (*treason*), search for *izmiena*, and prevention of the possibility of *izmiena*. The underlying rationale behind this phenomenon can be traced to the redefined interpretation of the concept: any resistance to the invaders was announced as "izmiena Otiechiestvu" (treason of Motherland) (Dziuba, 2008, p. 294).

Simultaneously, Mazepa represents the hostile Other (*enemy Mazepa, enemy of Russia*) whose clinging to the pre-colonial "bloody old days" impedes the ultimate integration of Ukraine and the erasure of its Otherness. The recurrent reference to Mazepa's advanced age (*arrogant old man, evil old man, living corpse, old kite*) emphasizes the predestined failure of Ukraine's outdated pursuit of self-governance. In contrast to this "old violent" Other, Mazepa's young lover Maria represents the feminine nature of assimilated Ukraine that in the end rejects its Otherness.

3. Rewriting the narrative: The misrepresentation of Pushkin and Shevchenko's literary relationship

The all-compassing imperial narrative constructed by the Russian empire, USSR, and eventually Putin's regime has always been "translating" Ukraine to the world as a secondary derivative "little Russia". Through the annexation or marginalization of Ukraine's cultural heritage, and the physical elimination of Ukrainian intellectuals and artifacts, Russia meticulously elbowed Ukraine out of the global cultural context. In the article with the telling title *Slavic but not Russian: Invisible and Mute*, Thompson mentions the case of Pushkin and Shevchenko to make manifest how unequal representation of Russian and non-Russian Slavic narratives in the public square makes them appear "insignificant, minor, marginal, low prestige, invisible to the naked eye". Consequently, "while books on the trivial aspects of Pushkin's poetry and life can be counted by the dozen, a silently accepted opinion about Shevchenko is that, well, he has little to say to contemporary readers, because he represents "local color" of interest to no one but ethnic Ukrainians" (Thompson, 2015, p. 12).

A dismissal of Shevchenko as a poet of mere "local colour", solely "for domestic use" and unworthy of mainstream literary attention goes hand in hand with the systematic obfuscation of his anti-colonial themes and critical stance toward Pushkin's imperial narratives. Soviet literary criticism traditionally portrayed Shevchenko as a deferential student of Pushkin, upholding Pushkin's moral and artistic authority as unassailable. This interpretation has persisted in more recent scholarship, often citing excerpts from Shevchenko's *Diary*, which confirm that he read Pushkin but do not adequately address Shevchenko's critical perspective.

The initial, and notably successful, endeavor to link Shevchenko to Pushkin was the Leipzig edition *New Poems by Pushkin and Shavchenko* published in 1859. In 1937, during the peak of the Great Terror, the USSR reissued the Leipzig edition to mark the 100th anniversary of Pushkin's death, with a clear political motive — to blend Shevchenko with Russian culture. Soviet Shevchenko studies underscored this unification mission: "The publication of works by two eminent poets from two fraternal nations holds significant symbolic weight" (Kyrylyuk, 1955, p. 11). However, the Leipzig edition is, in essence, a prime illustration of literary mystification. Initially, the title contains two intentional errors – referring to "new poems" by Pushkin, who had passed away more than two decades earlier, and a modified letter in Shevchenko's name (Shavchenko). Furthermore, six revolutionary anti-colonial poems by Shevchenko, including his powerful *The Caucasus*, were intermingled among four entirely apolitical minor poems by Pushkin and three poems falsely attributed to Pushkin. Lastly, as Ivan Ohiyenko astutely pointed out, the compact size of the book, its soft dark blue cover, and the introductory poem *The Prayer* (a free paraphrase of *The Lord's Prayer*) credited

to Pushkin, gave the impression of a Book of Prayers. These manipulations were orchestrated to divert the attention of censors and customs officials rather than to foster Russian-Ukrainian solidarity (Ohiyenko, 2002, pp. 149–150).

A more nuanced understanding of Shevchenko's views on Pushkin can be gleaned from the 1876 Prague edition of *The Kobzar*, the most representative collection of Shevchenko's works of the time, which includes memoirs from Shevchenko's contemporaries. These recollections reveal Shevchenko's deep-seated aversion to Pushkin's imperial narrative, particularly in relation to the poem *Poltava*, where Pushkin glorifies historical figures whom Shevchenko regarded as traitorous. Yakiv Polonskij reminisces: "Paying visits to Shevchenko, I learned from him that he did not like our poet, Pushkin, not because he considered him a bad poet but simply because Pushkin was the author of the poem "Poltava": Shevchenko viewed Kochbej as a mere weasel and scammer while Pushkin depicted him as Peter's loyal subordinate who was unjustly defamed and put to death by Mazepa" (Shevchenko, 1876, Vol. 1, p. IX). Mykhailo Mikeshyn also recalls how passionately Shevchenko "in the heat of the moment scathed Pushkins, and Dierzhavins, etc" (Shevchenko, 1876, Vol. 2, p. XV).

In his 1955 essay *Taras Shevchenko and West European Literature*, Munich-based Prof. Jurij Bojko concluded: "Shevchenko, who understood and felt Pushkin's talent, saw in him primarily the genius of a rapacious empire and did not hesitate to throw at him the scornful appellation of 'poetaster'" (Bojko, 1955, p. 30). The last statement is left unexplained, which makes it even more intriguing. We believe that the explanation can be found in the grotesque depiction of Tsarina Alexandra in Shevchenko's poem *The Dream*³. Tsarina is portrayed as a dried mushroom, lanky-legged, skinny, and suffering from the twitch. Yet of particular interest is the narrator's conclusion:

So this is what a goddess looks like!
Pitiable wretch!
And I, poor fool, not having seen
You ever once, you marvel,
Was even ready to believe
Your poetasters' drivel. (Shevchenko, 2008, p. 191)

Editors of some Soviet editions of *The Kobzar* in the endnotes helpfully provided a list of no names glorifying tsarina, as possible "dumb poetasters"⁴ from *The Dream*. For obvious reasons, they could not mention the most famous

³ The unflattering references to the royal family became the most aggravating circumstance in Shevchenko's indictment in 1847 when he was sentenced to military service as a private for an indefinite period in the Caspian steppes.

⁴ In Vera Rich's translation, the derogatory attribute is omitted.

of them. Pushkin expressed admiration for the tsarina's beauty in his diary and devoted to her the poetic lines "the star Harita among the Haritas" (Pushkin, 1975, vol. 4, p. 420)⁵. The assumption that Shevchenko might allude to Pushkin or Zhukovskij, Pushkin's mentor and coauthor of the notorious *On the Capture of Warsaw*, appears quite plausible.

4. Subverting the Empire: Shevchenko's Anticolonial Counter-Narrative in Dialogue with Pushkin's Textual Hegemony

Shevchenko's poems *The Dream* and *The Caucasus* articulate potent anticolonial counter-narratives that engage in a subversive dialogue with Pushkin's "textual empire". Through the lens of postcolonial theory, these works can be seen as acts of resistance that challenge and dismantle the hegemonic discourses embedded within Pushkin's writings, which often function as instruments of imperial power and cultural domination. Shevchenko's verse destabilizes and deconstructs the imperialist ideology inherent in Pushkin's texts, reappropriating the narrative space to articulate a distinctly Ukrainian voice of defiance.

Shevchenko's hypertextual references to Pushkin operate as a form of intertextuality that not only engages with but also subverts the authoritative colonial discourse. By reinterpreting and recontextualizing Pushkin's literary tropes, Shevchenko disrupts the monologic nature of the empire's narrative, foregrounding the colonial subject's perspective. His polemical engagement with Pushkin reveals the constructedness of the imperial narrative, exposing its underlying assumptions and contradictions.

In the *Epilogue to The Prisoner in the Caucasus*, Pushkin glorifies the Russian conquest, symbolically represented by the image of the two-headed eagle rising at the scent of blood:

And then I shall celebrate the glorious time
when our two-headed eagle, scenting bloody combat,
rose up high against the disaffected Caucasus. (Pushkin, 2001, p. 147)

This imagery not only evokes the imperial power of Russia but also associates the conquest with a natural, almost inevitable, act of predation. In stark contrast, Shevchenko's poem *The Caucasus* begins with the image of Prometheus, a symbol of the indomitable spirit of the Caucasus, eternally punished by an eagle that sucks his blood:

⁵ Franko (1982, vol.35, p. 163) and Dziuba (2008, p. 256) mistakenly assume that Pushkin takes priority in insulting tsarina in his poem *Herons* (1831). However, though the poem was long attributed to Pushkin and even included in the Leipzig edition *New Poems by Pushkin and Shavchenko* (1859), Yevgenij Baratynskij authored it.

Chained to the rock, age after age
 Prometheus there bears
 Eternal punishment — each day
 His breast the eagle tears.
 It rends the heart but cannot drain
 The life-blood from his veins. (Shevchenko, 1963, p. 167)

The juxtaposition of these two eagle images is emblematic of the fundamental ideological divergence between Pushkin and Shevchenko. Pushkin's portrayal is underpinned by a belief in the moral legitimacy of Russian generals such as Tsitsianov, Yermolov, and Kotliarevskij, whom he exalts as “the scourge of the Caucasus” (Pushkin, 2001, p. 147). This uncritical celebration of imperial violence is further highlighted in Roger Clarke's translation, which, perhaps unintentionally, reveals the brutal reality behind Pushkin's poeticism by translating *siecha* (*battle*) as *carnage*: “And our daring general Tsitsianov, with head held high, / himself took part in the carnage” (Pushkin, 2001, p. 147).

This glorification of the carnage⁶ is deconstructed in Shevchenko's poem *The Caucasus*. Shevchenko employs a sarcastic tone to subvert Pushkin's glorification, addressing it to Russian imperialists depicted as hounds and keepers of the hounds at the service of the tsars (referred to as *tsars-batiushki*). The attempts to translate this untranslatable Russian realia into English — such as John Weir's version *rulers golden-crowned* (Shevchenko, 1963, p. 168), Vera Rich's *tsars, our 'little fathers'* (Shevchenko, 2008, p. 289), Clarence Manning's *tsars, our dearest fathers* (Bojko, 1956, p. 45), and Peter Fedynsky's *our patriarchal czars* (Shevchenko, 2013, p. 172) — all fall short of capturing the full weight of Shevchenko's irony. Shevchenko (2013) reserves true glory for the Caucasian heroes, whom he describes as *great knights, not forgotten by the Lord* (p. 172).

Shevchenko's assertion of the fundamental human right to live freely on one's native land — expressed in his lines, “Bannock and croft are all your own; / They were not alms, were not a gift – / No one will seize them for his own, / Clap you in chains and drag you off” (Shevchenko, 2008, p. 289) — stands in direct opposition to the imperial ambition embodied in Pushkin's *The Bronze Horseman*.⁷ The

⁶ The phrase was used by Pushkin's penfriend Pavel Vyazemskij who scathingly criticized Pushkin's poem: “Such glory makes your blood run cold and your hair stand on end. [...] Poetry is not the ally of executioners; [...] the poet's hymns must never be the glorification of carnage” (letter to A. Turgeniev from 27 Sept. 1827) (Vyazemskij, 1996, p. 127).

⁷ The translated volume of Shevchenko's selected works, published by Moscow Progress Publishers to commemorate the 150th anniversary of the poet's birth, carefully aligns the readers' reception with the prevailing ideological doctrines of the Soviet state. In the Introduction, Yevhen Kyrylyuk asserts that “the theme of Slavic unity and brotherhood” constitutes the central motif in Shevchenko's oeuvre. Kyrylyuk even goes so far as to reinterpret *The Caucasus* through this lens, suggesting that Shevchenko's poem calls for the united struggle of all peoples within the Russian Empire against autocracy (Kirilyuk, 1963, p. 14). This ideological reframing is further reflected in

introductory lines of that poem describe how the log huts of the “poor Finns” were swept away to make room for Peter the First’s violent ambition to “hack through” a window to Europe. Ewa Thompson’s observation is particularly relevant here: the Russian verb *prorubit’* (to hack through) connotes a violent action (Thompson, 2000, p. 78), a nuance that is somewhat lost in Dewey’s (Pushkin, 2020, p. 4) and Lednicki’s (Lednicki, 1955, p. 141) translations, where *cut through* appears far milder and less forceful.

The first important step to highlight Shevchenko’s anti-Russian counter-discourse was undertaken by Ivan Franko in his seminal article, *Temne Tsarstvo (The Dark Realm)* (1881). Franko analyzes Shevchenko’s exhortation to the defenders of the Caucasus, “Battle on – and win your battle!”, a maxim that has since become emblematic of Ukrainian freedom, as part of a hypertextual dialogue with Pushkin:

Shevchenko here stands so much higher than Pushkin who in his poem “The Prisoner of the Caucasus” unreservedly approves of the war against Circassians from the stance of greatness and glory of Russia and concludes his poem with proud words: “Give in, the Caucasus: Yermolov is coming!”, words, which are as distant from Shevchenko’s heartfelt words as a predatory war is from peaceful brotherhood. (Franko, 2009, p. 18)

It is not surprising that this unflattering comparison between Pushkin and Shevchenko was excised from Soviet editions of Franko’s works. Two additional deletions from Franko’s article further illuminate the problematic nature of Pushkin’s ode *To the Slanderers of Russia*. Franko critiques Pushkin’s nationalist lament, “Are we few?” by pointing out the inherent disregard for the human condition of the serfs (kholops), whose suffering is not mitigated by their number. Franko identifies this as a prime example of “St. Petersburg-Moscow centralism,” which recognizes no rights beyond that of brute force, ignores the inherent right of every nation to self-determination, and reduces the Slavic lands to mere provinces of Russia, destined to lose their national identities and dissolve in the Russian sea (Franko, 2009, p. 17).

Paradoxically, Soviet Ukrainian critics accused the title of the 1961 London edition of Shevchenko’s selected poems, *Song out of Darkness*, translated by Vera Rich, of bourgeois nationalism because the title’s epigraph explicitly references Franko’s *The Dark Realm*, approved yet abridged in the USSR. Unsurprisingly, this reference was also omitted from subsequent Soviet editions of Franko’s works, despite encapsulating the essence of his critique: “Indeed, in those two

John Weir’s otherwise competent translation of *The Caucasus* from the aforementioned volume. In his rendition, there is a subtle shift in emphasis from the theme of colonial oppression to one of social and class exploitation, as evidenced in the lines: “A hut, a crust – but all your own, / Not granted by a master’s grace, / No lord to claim them for his own, / No lord to drive you off in chains” (Shevchenko, 1963, p. 169).

poems, the poet painted the picture of a great Realm, that of Russia, that Realm of Darkness which oppresses Ukraine...” (Shevchenko, 1961, cover).

A year after the publication of *Song out of Darkness*, *Literaturna Ukraina*, the official organ of the Writers’ Union of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR), published John Weir’s⁸ review titled *Shevchenko in London Smog*, condemning the edition:

From the title through introductory articles and prefaces up to the endnotes — everything is sewn with a black thread: intentional attempts to use the name and works of Shevchenko for the anti-Soviet propaganda and support the views of the discredited Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists. (Weir, 1962, p. 3)

The paratexts in *Song out of Darkness* indeed made Shevchenko’s anticolonial narrative accessible to foreign readers. In his introduction, Victor Swoboda (1961) asserts, “It is hardly possible to find a more passionate, scathing, or damning invective against Russian colonialism and military imperialism than Shevchenko’s ‘The Caucasus’” (p. xxix). Even more unacceptable to Soviet officials was the emphasis on the “uncanny prophetic ring” of *The Caucasus* to contemporary readers, given that “exactly a hundred years later whole peoples were deported from the Caucasus to Siberia by another, though still Russian, regime” (p. xxix).

The most explicit hypertextual reference to Pushkin’s imperial narrative can be discerned in the juxtaposition between the sarcastic depiction of the Russian empire in Shevchenko’s *The Caucasus* and the triumphalist assertion of its grandeur, both in territorial expanse and imperial mission, in Pushkin’s ode *To the Slanderers of Russia*. In *The Caucasus*, Shevchenko presents a biting critique of the empire’s vastness and its oppressive reach:

A good slice of world is ours;
Siberia, think! Too vast to cross!
Jails? People? Counting takes too long!
From the Moldavian to the Finn
Silence is held in every tongue...
All quite content... (Shevchenko, 2008, p. 291)

This stark irony directly contrasts with Pushkin’s celebratory tone in *To the Slanderers of Russia*, where the poet extols Russia’s immense power and unyielding unity:

⁸ John Weir (Ivan Fedorovych Viv’yurskiy), a Canadian of the Ukrainian lineage, translated into English 29 Shevchenko’s poetic works, a prosaic foreword to the poem of “The Haidamaky”, the narrative “The Artist”, the poet’s autobiographic letter and some excerpts from his diary. As a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Canada, he was always welcome in Soviet Ukraine.

Or rather, shall they not, from Perm to Tauris' fountains,
 From the hot Colchian steppes to Finland's icy mountains,
 From the grey Kreml's half-shattered wall,
 To far Cathay, in dotage buried, —
 A steely rampart close and serried,
 Rise, Russia's warriors, one and all? (Shaw, 1845, p. 151)

Clarence A. Manning, one of the early translators of *The Caucasus*, was among the first to highlight this ironic intertextual link, describing Shevchenko's lines as "the answers to the proud boasts of Pushkin" (Manning, 1944, p. 496). Manning further notes that Shevchenko's critique extends beyond *The Caucasus*; in his poem *The Heretic*, Shevchenko directly challenges Pushkin's notion of Russia's dominance within the Slavic world. *The Heretic* is dedicated to Pavel Josef Šafárik, a prominent advocate of Slavic unity and equality. In the introduction to *The Heretic*, Shevchenko deliberately invokes Pushkin's chauvinistic metaphor of "Slavic streams merging in the Russian sea," repeating it three times but with a sharply different connotation. Whereas Pushkin's metaphor reinforces the idea of Russia as the central, absorptive force within the Slavic world, Shevchenko subverts this imagery to underscore a vision of a Slavic brotherhood of equal nations, where the "Slavic sea" symbolizes not Russian hegemony, but a collective and harmonious union of diverse Slavic peoples (Manning, 1944, p. 496).

Shevchenko's sarcastic portrayal of the silent, subjugated peoples in *The Caucasus* further evokes a pointed contrast with Pushkin's self-assured assertion of eternal fame in *Exegi monumentum*. Pushkin's verses proudly predict his renown across Russia's vast territories, where even the most remote and unlettered subjects will know his name:

Rumour of me shall then my whole vast country fill,
 In every tongue she owns my name she'll speak.
 Proud Slav's posterity, Finn, and un-lettered still –
 The Tungus, and the steppe-loving Kalmyk. (Pushkin, 2023)

This stands in sharp contrast to Shevchenko's modest and humble request in his *Testament*, where he envisions his memory being preserved not through imperial grandeur, but through the quiet, sincere remembrance of a free and united people:

Then in that great family,
 A family new and free,
 Do not forget, with good intent
 Speak quietly of me. (Shevchenko, 2008, p. 321)

In Shevchenko's poem *The Dream*, the depiction of St. Petersburg and the monument to Peter I establishes a significant hypertextual link with Pushkin's

The Bronze Horseman, which itself was a response to Mickiewicz's *Digressions* in the third part of *Dziady (Forefathers' Eve)*, triggered by the Polish uprising of 1830–1831. Despite recognizing the influence of *Dziady* on both poems, Soviet critics notably ignored Pushkin's role as an intermediary in shaping Shevchenko's narrative. This oversight was rooted in the Soviet glorification of Peter the Great as a "good tsar", a view reinforced by popular media and academic commentary.

Soviet annotations to *The Kobzar* gently reproached Shevchenko for his "tendentious" and "one-sided" portrayal of Peter, condescendingly attributing this to Shevchenko's national feelings rather than recognizing it as a legitimate critique of imperial power. This selective reception was deeply influenced by the evaluative criteria established by prominent Russian critics such as Vissarion Belinskij, who praised *The Bronze Horseman* as "the apotheosis of Peter the Great," suggesting it was the most daring and fitting tribute that could only come from a poet worthy of depicting such a monumental figure" (Belinskij, 1981, p. 464). In stark contrast, Belinskij derisively dismissed Shevchenko's *The Dream* and *The Caucasus* as "lampoons", not worthy of serious consideration. Belinskij's bias is further revealed in his cavalier attitude, claiming that neither he nor any of his acquaintances had read these poems, and expressing satisfaction at Shevchenko's punishment of being sent to serve as a soldier for his literary works, a fate Belinsky claims he would have endorsed himself (Belinskij, 1959, p. 440).

In recent decades, Ukrainian scholars such as Yevhen Nakhlik, Oksana Zabuzhko, Volodymyr Panchenko and others have conducted comparative analyses of the works by Mickiewicz, Pushkin, and Shevchenko. Nakhlik argues that Shevchenko, whether consciously or inadvertently, constructed his "comedy" as a direct contrast to Pushkin's tragedy, effectively subverting the narrative of imperial magnificence (Nakhlik, 2004, p. 68). Oksana Zabuzhko asserts that unlike Mickiewicz and Pushkin, who both perceived St. Petersburg as embodying the "irresistible appealing greatness of evil" – fearsome for the former and awesome yet beautiful for the latter – Shevchenko employs open parody and grotesque deheroization to depict the imperial capital, rendering it almost pathetic in its grandeur (Zabuzhko, 2009, pp. 62–63).

This contrast is especially pronounced in the portrayal of Peter I. In the opening lines of *The Bronze Horseman*, Pushkin opts for a reverent, almost sacred tone, referring to Peter not by name but by the italicized pronoun *he*, underscoring the tsar's revered status: "Here stood *he*, wrapped in thought and drawn / To distant prospects" (Pushkin, 2020, p. 3). Conversely, Shevchenko's depiction of Peter is marked by utter contempt, symbolized by the omission of any pronoun in reference to the tsar, a detail that unfortunately eludes English translations due to syntactical constraints:

On it [a figure] rides bareback,
 In coat yet no true coat,
 Without a hat – some kind of foliage
 Binds his head about. (Shevchenko, 2008, p. 195)

Both poems include the detail of Peter's outstretched hand, but while Pushkin's Peter is portrayed with "splendid indifference" to the forces of nature, "suspended on high, with arm extended," Shevchenko's Peter is a figure of rapacious greed, his outstretched hand emblematic of an insatiable desire to "grab forever the entire world".

The motif of imperial greed is a recurring theme in Shevchenko's portrayal of Peter. In *The Dream*, the soul of Hetman Pavlo Polubotok, who was tortured to death in the Fortress of St. Peter and St. Paul, denounces Peter as an "asp insatiate", warning that on the Last Judgment Day, he will obscure God's light from the tsar's insatiable eyes. This image of Peter is further reinforced by Shevchenko's introductory description of a man with insatiate eyes scouring the horizon for new lands to conquer and plunder.

Shevchenko's profound animosity toward Peter I is vividly illustrated in the memoirs of Mykhailo Mikeshyn, who recalls how the colossal statue of Emperor Peter I haunted Shevchenko, like a ghost that seemed to crush him. Mikeshyn notes that this oppressive image of Peter often drove Shevchenko into fits of pathos, culminating in poetic recitations addressed directly to the clay replica statuette of the emperor (Shevchenko, 1876, Vol. 2, p. XV).

5. Conclusion

The ideologically driven interpretation of Soviet literary criticism imposed a reductionist reading on Shevchenko's complex and multifaceted work, subsuming its anticolonial essence under a more palatable narrative of class struggle and pan-Slavic solidarity. Such a reinterpretation distorts the original intent of Shevchenko's poetry and obscures the poet's profound critique of imperial oppression and colonial subjugation.

Shevchenko's strategic use of intertextuality serves to deconstruct and undermine the imperial ideology embedded in Pushkin's works. By recontextualizing Pushkin's language and imagery, Shevchenko both exposes the oppressive underpinnings of Russian imperialism and asserts a counter-narrative that envisions a different future for the Slavic world – one that resists domination and embraces the principles of equality and mutual respect.

In this context, Shevchenko's poetry can be understood as an act of symbolic decolonization, where the subaltern voice emerges as a powerful agent of cultural and political resistance. By reasserting the agency of the colonized, Shevchenko's texts challenge the legitimacy of the imperial center and contribute to the broader discourse of anticolonial struggle.

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Sprach- und Sprachmittlungskompetenz in Translationswissenschaft und Sprachdidaktik

Language competence and language mediation competence
in Translation Studies and Language Teaching

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

In diesem Artikel werden die Sprachmittlungskompetenz und ihre Modellierung sowie ihr Verhältnis zur Sprachkompetenz in der Übersetzungswissenschaft und der Sprachdidaktik verglichen. Während die Modellierung von Kompetenzen in der Übersetzungswissenschaft eine lange Tradition hat und sich auf die Beschreibung der Kompetenzen professioneller Übersetzer (oft im Gegensatz zu den Kompetenzen von Bilingualen) konzentriert, ist Sprachmittlung ein relativ neues Konzept in der Sprachdidaktik, das durch den GeR 2001 in den Fokus gerückt wurde. Für meine Analyse werde ich zunächst zentrale Fragen und relevante Modelle beider Disziplinen beschreiben und dann Überschneidungen und Unterschiede sowie kontroverielle Aspekte analysieren.

SCHLÜSSELWÖRTER

Fremdsprachenunterricht; Sprachmittlung; Mediation; Übersetzungskompetenz

ABSTRACT

In this article, I will compare the concept of mediation competence, its modelling and its relationship to language competence in Translation Studies and Language Teaching. While competence modelling has a long tradition in Translation Studies and focuses on describing the competences of professional translators (often opposed to bilinguals' competence), mediation is a relatively new concept in Language Teaching, which was put on the map in the CEFR 2001. For my analysis, I will first describe areas of interest and relevant models in each discipline and then analyse the overlaps and differences as well as areas of contention.

KEYWORDS

language teaching; language mediation; translation competence

1. Einleitung

Es ist naheliegend, dass das Beherrschen mehrerer Sprachen in der Regel eine gewisse Fähigkeit zur Vermittlung zwischen diesen mit sich bringt, die Harris (1977, S. 96–114) als *natural translation* bezeichnet. Die Vermittlung zwischen zwei

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verschiedenen Sprachen wird jedoch von den beiden hier betrachteten Disziplinen, der Translationswissenschaft und der Fremdsprachendidaktik, unterschiedlich konzeptualisiert. Die Translationswissenschaft geht im Allgemeinen davon aus, dass es sich bei *Translation*, traditionell unterteilt in (schriftliches) *Übersetzen* und (mündliches) *Dolmetschen*¹, um professionelle Tätigkeiten handelt, für die eine spezifische Kompetenz erforderlich ist, die idealerweise in einer einschlägigen Ausbildung erworben wird (vgl. bspw. Kadrić et al., 2012, S. 18). Obwohl auch seitens der Translationswissenschaft mehrsprachigen Personen eine rudimentäre Sprachmittlungskompetenz attestiert wird (bspw. PACTE Group, 2017b, S. 38), fanden translatorische Tätigkeiten durch „Laien“ in der Translationswissenschaft bisher wenig Beachtung (vgl. bspw. Agnetta & Dalkeranidou, 2024) und wurden oft als unfaire Konkurrenz betrachtet. In der Fremdsprachendidaktik wird sprachliches Vermitteln heute als *Sprachmittlung*² oder *Mediation*³ bezeichnet⁴. Während sich *Sprachmittlung* meist auf unterschiedliche Sprachen (oder fallweise auf die Vermittlung innerhalb einer Sprache) bezieht, wird der Begriff *Mediation* weiter gefasst und als Vermittlung oder Konstruktion von Bedeutung innerhalb einer Sprache, zwischen unterschiedlichen Sprachen oder auch zwischen unterschiedlichen Modalitäten (z. B. im Gebärdensprachdolmetschen) verstanden (Council of Europe, 2020, S. 90)⁵.

Dieses Thema hat allerdings erst in den letzten zehn Jahren breite Aufmerksamkeit erlangt, denn in der Fremdsprachendidaktik herrschte über viele Jahre das Prinzip der Einsprachigkeit vor. Im Zuge dessen wurden im Unterricht andere Sprachen sowie sprachmittlerische Aktivitäten wie Übersetzen ausgeklammert (vgl. Cook, 2010, S. xviii & S. 20–36). Seit Beginn dieses Jahrtausends gewinnt jedoch die Auffassung einer kommunikativen Kompetenz, die alle erlernten Sprachen umfasst, immer stärker an Gewicht (Europarat, 2001, S. 17). Dadurch

¹ Um den Rahmen des Texts nicht zu sprengen, wird auf das Dolmetschen nur punktuell eingegangen.

² Der Begriff *Sprachmittlung* wurde auch in der Frühphase der Translationswissenschaft vor allem von Vertretern der einflussreichen Leipziger Schule als Oberbegriff für *Übersetzen* und *Dolmetschen* benutzt (Kade, 1980); heute hingegen hat sich in der Disziplin als gemeinsamer Begriff für (professionelles) Übersetzen und Dolmetschen der Begriff *Translation* durchgesetzt.

³ Zur Problematik des Begriffs *Mediation* im Deutschen, vgl. Kolb (2016, S. 12–13).

⁴ Im Deutschen gestaltet sich die Abgrenzung zwischen den beiden Begriffen schwierig, da in der vor 2018 erschienenen Literatur durchgehend der Begriff *Sprachmittlung* verwendet wird, im GeR jedoch die beiden Begriffe unterschiedlich breit gefasst werden (vgl. Hartwich, 2020, S. 37). In diesem Artikel verwende ich im Allgemeinen den geläufigeren Begriff *Sprachmittlung* (für inter- und interlinguale Vermittlung) und nur in Bezug auf das Companion Volume des GeR den Begriff *Mediation*.

⁵ vgl. z. B. den Abschnitt *Relaying specific information*: “Language A and Language B may be different languages, varieties of the same language, registers of the same variety, modalities of the same language or variety, or any combination of the above. However, they may also be identical“. (Europarat, 2020, S. 93).

stellt sich die Frage nach der Kompetenz zur Vermittlung zwischen zwei Sprachen als (mögliche) fünfte Fertigkeit erneut.

Auf den folgenden Seiten möchte ich den Zusammenhang zwischen dem Beherrschen von Sprachen und der Kompetenz zum Vermitteln zwischen diesen Sprachen in den beiden genannten Disziplinen beleuchten und Konvergenzen und Divergenzen herausarbeiten.

2. Translationswissenschaft

2.1. Anliegen der Translationswissenschaft

Zu den zentralen Anliegen der Translationswissenschaft gehören die Beschreibung der äußeren und inneren Prozesse des Übersetzens und Dolmetschens sowie translatorischen Handelns, die Modellierung der dafür erforderlichen Kompetenz, die Beobachtung von Entwicklungen in der professionellen Translation und die Ausbildung der Studierenden für ebendiese Industrie. Aufgrund der starken Orientierung der Translationswissenschaft am „Markt“ wird in den universitären Ausbildungsgängen sehr viel Wert darauf gelegt, Studierende mit den Abläufen der professionellen Berufspraxis vertraut zu machen. Dafür werden standardmäßig didaktische Übersetzungsaufträge vergeben, sowie Vorträge mit praktizierenden Übersetzern und Dolmetschern, Workshops und Übungskonferenzen organisiert.

2.2. Sprach- und Sprachmittlungskompetenz in der Translationswissenschaft

In der Translationswissenschaft ist es *common ground*, dass Sprachkompetenz eine Voraussetzung für das Erlernen und Praktizieren von Übersetzen und Dolmetschen ist und vor oder zu Beginn der Ausbildung, jedenfalls vor den Kursen zum Übersetzen und Dolmetschen, erlernt werden sollte (vgl. Nord, 2011, S. 289). Bei der von Carreres (2014) beschriebenen Unterscheidung zwischen *translation as a means and as an end* positioniert sich die Translationswissenschaft ganz klar am zweiten Pol dieser Dichotomie, auch wenn in der gelebten Unterrichtspraxis, vor allem beim Übersetzen in die Fremdsprache, auch viele sprachliche Fragen angesprochen werden und es in letzter Zeit Stimmen gibt, die nach einer stärkeren Verknüpfung zwischen Sprach- und Übersetzungsausbildung rufen (vgl. bspw. Siever & Wehberg, 2023).

Die starke Ausrichtung an den Anforderungen der Translationsindustrie spiegelt sich auch in Modellen zur Übersetzungskompetenz wider, in denen Sprachkompetenz im Laufe der Jahre immer stärker an Bedeutung verloren hat (vgl. Hurtado Albir, 2017, S. 333). In den heute einflussreichsten Modellen ist Sprachkompetenz nur eine von meist fünf oder sechs Kompetenzen, die einander zumindest in der Modellierung gleichberechtigt gegenüberstehen (zur Kritik daran vgl. Schmidhofer & Recio Ariza, 2020, S. 38). So definiert der EMT-Kompetenzrahmen für das Übersetzen (2022) folgende Kompetenzbereiche: *Sprache und Kultur, Übersetzen, Technologie, persönliche und interpersonelle*

Kompetenz sowie *Dienstleistungskompetenz*. Das PACTE-Modell platziert die *strategische* Subkompetenz als zentrales Element, darum gruppieren sich die *bilinguale*, *außersprachliche* sowie *instrumentelle* Subkompetenz, die Subkompetenz *Kenntnis des Übersetzens* und *psycho-physiologische* Komponenten⁶⁷ (Hurtado Albir, 2017, S. 41).

3. Sprachdidaktik

3.1. Die Rolle der Erstsprache in der Fremdsprachenmethodik

Die Rolle der Erstsprache (sowie anderer zuvor erlernter Sprachen) in der Fremdsprachendidaktik erfuhr im Laufe der Geschichte dieser Disziplin höchst unterschiedliche Bewertungen. In der Grammatik-Übersetzungsmethode, bei der die Rezeption fremdsprachiger Literatur und die intellektuelle Entwicklung des Lerners im Vordergrund standen, diente die Erstsprache als Bezugspunkt, mit der die neue Sprache verglichen wurde, wodurch das Übersetzen von Sätzen oder kurzen Texten im Unterricht eine zentrale Rolle einnahm. Nach einer Reihe von Methoden, die die Erstsprache aus den Klassenzimmern verbannten, wurde diese dogmatische Position mit der pragmatischen Wende zwar aufgegeben, doch auch in der Frühphase der kommunikativen Ansätze waren Vergleiche mit der Erstsprache eher verpönt, da das Hauptaugenmerk auf der Kommunikation in der Fremdsprache lag und der Muttersprachler als das nachzuahmende sprachliche Vorbild galt. Auf die Erstsprache wurde meist dann zurückgegriffen, wenn es zu Schwierigkeiten kam: „A consensus has been reached in favour of a kind of monolingualism with small concessions. (...) The L1 is more of a hindrance than a help, and sophisticated bilingual teaching techniques are as good as unknown in schools” (Butzkamm & Caldwell, 2009, S. 18).

Eine Trendwende hin zu einem positiven Verständnis der Rolle der Erstsprache ist seit der Jahrtausendwende zu beobachten. Dies wurde durch gesellschaftliche Veränderungen wie Migration und Globalisierung und damit einhergehend einer Neubewertung von Mehrsprachigkeit als etwas Bereicherndes begünstigt. Wegweisend war dabei die Neukonzeptualisierung von mehrsprachiger Kompetenz im GeR:

Diese Sprachen und Kulturen werden aber nicht in strikt voneinander getrennten mentalen Bereichen gespeichert, sondern bilden vielmehr gemeinsam eine kommunikative Kompetenz, zu der alle Sprachkenntnisse und Spracherfahrungen beitragen und in der die Sprachen miteinander in Beziehung stehen und interagieren. (...) Aus dieser Perspektive ändert sich das Ziel des Sprachunterrichts ganz grundsätzlich. Man kann es nicht mehr in der Beherrschung

⁶ eigene Übersetzung der Subkompetenzen des PACTE-Modells aus dem Englischen

⁷ Der Vollständigkeit halber ist noch anzumerken, dass diese Modelle unterschiedlichen Ursprungs sind. Der EMT-Kompetenzrahmen umfasst die (erwünschten) Lernergebnisse der teilnehmenden Hochschulen, während das Modell der PACTE-Gruppe auf empirischen Studien basiert.

einer, zweier oder vielleicht dreier Sprachen sehen, wobei jede isoliert gelernt und dabei der ‚ideale Muttersprachler‘ als höchstes Vorbild betrachtet wird. Vielmehr liegt das Ziel darin, ein sprachliches Repertoire zu entwickeln, in dem alle sprachlichen Fähigkeiten ihren Platz haben. (Europarat, 2001, S. 17)

Diese Veränderungen in der Bewertung von Mehrsprachigkeit und ihrem Einsatz im pädagogischen Kontext beeinflussten nach und nach auch den Fremdsprachenunterricht (vgl. Butzkamm & Caldwell, 2009; Cook, 2010, S. 46). Es kam zu einer Flexibilisierung in der Handhabung von Methoden und Unterrichtstechniken (Roche, 2013, S.32) und schließlich zum sogenannten *multilingual turn* (Conteh & Meier, 2014), der das Ziel des Fremdsprachenerwerbs in der Entwicklung von mehrsprachiger Kompetenz sieht und mehrsprachigen Sprachpraktiken wie Translanguaging (García, 2012) und Sprachmittlung (Kolb, 2016) breiten Platz einräumt.

3.2. Nutzung der Erstsprache und Sprachmittlung in der heutigen Sprachdidaktik

Für die Rückkehr der Erstsprache in die Klassenzimmer werden unter Lehrenden meist pädagogische Gründe angeführt, nämlich die Nutzung der Erstsprache als Unterrichtsressource für Anweisungen und Erklärungen, zur Überprüfung oder als Möglichkeit, mit Lernenden in einen Dialog über das Gelernte und den Lernprozess zu treten. Ebenso kann die Nutzung der Erstsprache für manche Lerner oder in bestimmten Situationen zur Stressreduktion beitragen. Möglichkeiten des Einsatzes der Erstsprache im Fremdsprachenunterricht findet man bei Kerr (2014), darunter Aktivitäten für die Arbeit mit Wörterbüchern, maschinellen Online-Übersetzungsprogrammen und Glossaren sowie verschiedene Formen des Übersetzens und zweisprachige Rollenspiele.

Eine besondere Form der Nutzung der Erstsprache sind (meist) sprachübergreifend vermittelnde Aktivitäten, die laut Schöpp (2013, S. 5) heute „eine fest etablierte Größe im Unterricht der modernen Fremdsprachen“ darstellen und vielerorts ein fixer Bestandteil des schulischen Fremdsprachenunterrichts sind (vgl. Kolb, 2016, S. 37–73). Prägend ist beim heutigen Verständnis von Sprachmittlung in der Fremdsprachendidaktik die kommunikative Handlungsorientierung: Sprachmittlung dient zur Verständigung über sprachliche und kulturelle Grenzen hinweg, wodurch ihre Nähe zu kommunikativen Lehrmethoden deutlich wird.

In der ersten Version des GeR wurde Sprachmittlung jedoch nur überblicksartig angesprochen (Europarat, 2001, S. 89–91), was zu unterschiedlichen Umsetzungen in verschiedenen europäischen Ländern führte (Hartwich, 2020, S. 36). Genauere Deskriptoren wurden später im 2018 erschienenen Companion Volume (Europarat, 2020) bereitgestellt (s. oben). Dies begünstigte eine allmähliche Vereinheitlichung des Verständnisses von Sprachmittlung bzw. Mediation.

3.3. Sprach- und Sprachmittlungskompetenz in der Sprachdidaktik

In der Vergangenheit wurde Übersetzen häufig als fünfte Fertigkeit neben den mündlichen und schriftlichen rezeptiven und produktiven Fertigkeiten bezeichnet. Ob dies jedoch auch auf Sprachmittlung, wie sie heute von Vertretern der Sprachdidaktik verstanden wird, zutrifft, wird in der Literatur unterschiedlich gesehen. So zweifelt Schöpp an, dass man Sprachmittlung als *Fertigkeit* bezeichnen kann, da es sich dabei um eine Kombination aus anderen, rezeptiven und produktiven, Fertigkeiten handelt. Er spricht sich deshalb dafür aus, Sprachmittlung als „eigenständige kommunikative Aktivität“ zu betrachten (2013, S. 8–9). Reimann spricht von „transversaler“ Kompetenz, da schriftliche und mündliche Sprache in verschiedenen Formen kombiniert wird (2016, S. 12–13).

Ähnlich wie im Fall der Übersetzungskompetenz gibt es auch für die für Sprachmittlung erforderliche Kompetenz bereits mehrere Modelle (Schöpp, 2013, S. 9; Reimann, 2016, S. 26; Kolb, 2016, S. 161–181). Stellvertretend soll hier das umfangreichste, nämlich jenes von Kolb (2016), kurz beschrieben werden. Kolb definiert zehn Kompetenzen für die Sprachmittlung, nämlich Sprachkompetenz als „auffälligste Teilkompetenz“ der Sprachmittlung (2016, S. 163), wobei im Großen und Ganzen eine formal korrekte Ausdrucksweise gemeint ist, Diskurskompetenz, pragmatische Kompetenz, interaktionale Kompetenz, bei der es hauptsächlich um adäquate Gesprächsführung geht, soziolinguistische Kompetenz, strategische Kompetenz, die sich auf die Wahl von Kommunikationsstrategien bezieht, sachlich-fachliche und (inter-)kulturelle Kompetenz, instrumentelle Kompetenz, verstanden als „das Wissen der Sprachmittler darüber, welche Hilfsmittel ihnen zur Verfügung stehen“ (2016, S. 174), persönlichkeitsbezogene und psychische Kompetenzen, die sich vorrangig auf Einstellungen wie Offenheit und Neugier, Motivation und vorhandene Fähigkeiten wie Belastbarkeit und Flexibilität beziehen, und schließlich die Transferkompetenz, wobei vorwiegend metakognitive Strategien zur Planung der Sprachhandlung gemeint sind. Verwiesen sei in diesem Zusammenhang auch noch auf die Ausführungen von Reimann (2016, S. 13–15), der hervorhebt, dass bei Sprachmittlung weniger die sprachliche Präzision relevant sei, sondern die kognitive, interkulturelle und interaktionale Kompetenz. Deshalb schlägt er ausgehend von Kutz' Beschreibung zum bilateralen Dolmetschen in 2010 folgende Teilkompetenzen für den schulischen Bereich vor (2016, S. 26): Wahrnehmung der Rolle des Sprach- und Kulturmittlers, interkulturelle kommunikative Kompetenz (einschließlich interkultureller, pragmatischer und nonverbaler Kompetenz), Empathie-Fähigkeit, vermittlerische Kompetenz, gerade auch im Fall (inter-)kultureller Missverständnisse, Spontaneität und Reaktionsschnelle.

Reimann (2016, S. 33) unterscheidet drei Grundformen der freieren Sprachmittlung, nämlich Zusammenfassung, Paraphrase und informelles

Dolmetschen. Konkrete Situationen und Übungsformen sind beispielsweise das Zusammenfassen von E-Mails, Briefen, Zeitungstexten oder Internetseiten sowie Kommunikationssituationen im Urlaub und im Alltag (vgl. Katelhön & Nied Curcio, 2012, S. 61–265).

4. Zusammenschau

4.1. Kompetenzvergleich

Vergleicht man nun die Kompetenzprofile des (professionellen) Übersetzens und der (nicht-professionellen) sinngemäßen Sprachmittlung, fällt sofort auf, dass es zahlreiche Überschneidungen gibt, was sich zwangsläufig daraus ergibt, dass beide Aktivitäten die Ermöglichung von Kommunikation zwischen Sprechern unterschiedlicher Sprachen zum Ziel haben (vgl. auch De Florio-Hansen, 2013, S. 72). Auch Kolb (2016, S. 53–57) kommt anhand einer Analyse verschiedener Definitionen von Sprachmittlung und der Gegenüberstellung mit professionellem Übersetzen und Dolmetschen zu dem Schluss, dass eine eindeutige Abgrenzung zwischen Sprachmittlung und professionellem Übersetzen und Dolmetschen nicht möglich ist.

Demgemäß finden sich alle von Kolb (2016) gelisteten Kompetenzen in den genannten Modellen der Übersetzungskompetenz wieder. Unterschiede bestehen vor allem darin, dass die Modelle aus der Translationswissenschaft einen starken Bezug zur Übersetzung als professionelle Dienstleistung aufweisen (vgl. *Kenntnis des Übersetzens* des PACTE-Modells oder die *Dienstleistungskompetenz* im EMT-Kompetenzrahmen). Ebenso findet man im EMT-Modell die Sektion *Technologie*, deren Ausweisung als eigener Bereich zweifellos den rasanten Entwicklungen in der Übersetzungstechnologie geschuldet ist.

Eine Abgrenzung scheint jedoch von beiden Disziplinen gesucht zu werden. Seitens der Translationswissenschaft wird gemeinhin zwar akzeptiert, dass mit dem Beherrschen zweier Sprachen eine gewisse Fähigkeit, zwischen diesen zu vermitteln, einhergeht, doch wird betont, dass für professionelle Translation eine spezifische Kompetenz oder Expertise erforderlich ist, die nur durch eine zielgerichtete Ausbildung erworben werden kann: „[B]ilingual competence, while a necessary condition, is not in itself sufficient to guarantee translation competence, at least not in the academic sense of the term“ (Presas 2000, S. 19). Noch kritischer äußert sich Lörcher (2012), der konstatiert, dass „bilinguals’ competence in two languages does not necessarily include competence in transferring meanings and/or forms“ (S. 5). Er vermutet bei zweisprachigen Menschen jedoch „a rudimentary ability to mediate information“ (2012, S. 6) und beschreibt diese als eine Sonderform von zwei angeborenen menschlichen Fähigkeiten, nämlich der Kategorisierung und des Vergleichs. Studien haben gezeigt, dass es signifikante Unterschiede zwischen Personen, die sich professionell oder in der Ausbildung dem Übersetzen widmen, und Personen mit hoher fremdsprachlicher Kompetenz, die sich jedoch nicht mit

Übersetzen beschäftigen, gibt. Beispielsweise ergaben Studien zur Entwicklung und Validierung des Modells zur Übersetzungskompetenz der PACTE-Gruppe (Hurtado Albir, 2017) Unterschiede in übersetzten Texten sowie dem Verhalten während des Übersetzens zwischen Fremdsprachenlehrenden und professionellen Übersetzern. Daraus schlossen die Autoren, dass Übersetzungskompetenz eine erlernte Kompetenz ist, die sich von zweisprachiger Kompetenz unterscheidet (Hurtado Albir, 2017, S. 281).

In der Sprachdidaktik wird eine Abgrenzung gemeinhin darin gesehen, dass professionelles Übersetzen und Dolmetschen „der Realität der alltäglichen kommunikativen Anforderungen geradezu diametral entgegengesetzt“ sei, denn „an die Stelle der detailgetreuen Wiedergabe des ganzen Textes tritt die situations- und adressatengetreue Wiedergabe der für ein bestimmtes Interesse wesentlichen Inhalte des Textes“ (Schöpp, 2013, S. 6). Ähnlich wird im GeR betont,

[i]t is also important to underline that the illustrative descriptors offered in this section are not intended to describe the competences of professional interpreters and translators. The descriptors focus on language competences, thinking of what a user/learner can do in this area in informal everyday situations. Translation and interpretation competences and strategies are an entirely different field. (Europarat, 2020, S. 92–93)

Im Lichte der skoposorientierten Translationspraxis (vgl. Nord, 2011), bei der Situations- und Adressatenadäquatheit wesentliche Gütekriterien sind, scheint dieses Kriterium jedoch ungeeignet, und nur auf bestimmte Textsorten zutreffend.

4.1. Kompetenzentwicklung

Laut gängigen Ansichten in der Translationswissenschaft handelt es sich bei Übersetzungskompetenz im professionellen Sinne um eine erworbene Kompetenz, für die eine spezielle Ausbildung erforderlich ist, in der einzelne Teilkompetenzen sowie Übersetzungskompetenz als komplexes Konstrukt durch zielgerichtete Aktivitäten entwickelt werden.

Im Hinblick auf interlinguale Sprachmittlung, wie sie in der Sprachdidaktik beschrieben wurde, bleibt jedoch offen, wann und wo jene Kompetenzen, die nicht unmittelbar mit der Kenntnis und Verwendung einer Sprache zusammenhängen, erworben werden. So stellt sich die Frage, ob bspw. die interaktionale, die sachlich-fachliche oder die instrumentelle Kompetenz im Fremdsprachenunterricht gelehrt werden, ob angenommen wird, dass diese Kompetenzen gleichzeitig mit der Sprachkompetenz entwickelt werden oder zu den allgemeinen menschlichen Fähigkeiten gehören.

Auch die Ausführungen des GeR zur Sprachmittlung werfen Fragen auf, die nicht hinreichend beantwortet werden. Diese beziehen sich hauptsächlich auf die folgenden drei Punkte. Erstens wird nicht zwischen intralingualer und interlingualer Sprachmittlung unterschieden, wodurch die Herausforderung des Transfers

zwischen zwei unterschiedlichen Sprachen nicht ausreichend thematisiert wird (für eine ausführliche Diskussion vgl. Stachl-Peier, 2020). Zweitens wird nicht zwischen Sprachniveau und Sprachmittlungsniveau unterschieden, weshalb der Eindruck entsteht, dass eine gewisse Sprachkompetenz automatisch die im selben Niveau aufgeführte Mittlungskompetenz miteinschließt. Es finden sich überhaupt nur zu wenigen Aufgaben Abstufungen zur Qualität der Mittlung in den einzelnen Deskriptoren, die jedoch erforderlich wären, um die Durchführung einer Aufgabe differenziert und adäquat beschreiben und bewerten zu können. Der dritte und letzte Kritikpunkt bezieht sich auf die Beschreibung von nicht-sprachlichen Kompetenzen, die für die Mittlertätigkeit erforderlich sind (vgl. auch den Absatz davor). Im GeR (Council of Europe, 2020, S. 91) ist diesbezüglich Folgendes zu lesen:

A person who engages in mediation activity needs to have a well-developed emotional intelligence, or an openness to develop it, in order to have sufficient empathy for the viewpoints and emotional states of other participants in the communicative situation. The term “mediation” is also used to describe a social and cultural process of creating conditions for communication and co-operation, facing and hopefully defusing any delicate situations and tensions that may arise. Cross-linguistic and cross-modal mediation, in particular, inevitably involve social and cultural competence as well as plurilingual competence.

Es ist hier von einer Reihe sozialer Kompetenzen die Rede, die zweifelsfrei essenziell für erfolgreiche Sprachmittlung sind, jedoch nicht bei allen Lernern allein aufgrund von vorhandenen Sprachkenntnissen vermutet werden können. Des Weiteren fühlt man sich bei der obigen Beschreibung an das Kommunaldolmetschen erinnert, das eine immer gewichtigere Rolle in der Ausbildung, der Dolmetschwissenschaft und der Dolmetschbranche einnimmt, und um dessen Professionalisierung sich die Translationswissenschaft schon seit Längerem bemüht. Auch Deskriptoren zu schriftlicher Sprachmittlung überschneiden sich stellenweise mit Lernergebnissen aus Kursen zum (Fach-) Übersetzen: „Can translate (into Language B) technical material outside their field of specialisation (written in Language A), provided subject matter accuracy is checked by a specialist in the field concerned.“ (Europarat, 2020, S. 103) Da bei *Language A* und *Language B* die Zuordnung zu Erst- und Fremdsprache frei gewählt werden kann, wird hier bei Sprachenlernern eine Kompetenz vermutet, die sich selbst erfahrene Übersetzer in manchen Fällen nicht zutrauen.

5. Fazit und Ausblick

In diesem Beitrag wurde dargestellt und analysiert, wie vermittelndes Sprachhandeln von den beiden genannten Disziplinen definiert und beschrieben wird. Es wurde dabei herausgearbeitet, dass die beiden Disziplinen diese Tätigkeit unterschiedlich konzeptualisieren. Das Interesse der Translationswissenschaft liegt in der Beschreibung von Übersetzungskompetenz als professionellem Expertenhandeln,

und zwar unabhängig von der Sprachkompetenz, die ja vorausgesetzt wird. Im Gegensatz dazu geht die Sprachdidaktik von Sprachniveaus aus und schreibt jedem Niveau eine gewisse Kompetenz in der sinngemäßen Sprachmittlung zu, die sich in Aufgaben mit unterschiedlichem Schwierigkeitsgrad niederschlägt. Trotz aller Unterschiede und Abgrenzungsversuche wird klar, dass eine trennscharfe Abgrenzung zwischen Translation und Sprachmittlung bzw. Mediation nicht möglich ist.

Als jemand, der sich in Forschung und Lehre mit beiden Disziplinen beschäftigt, finde ich es begrüßenswert, dass Sprachmittlung endgültig im Fremdsprachenunterricht angekommen ist, weil es sich um eine Kompetenz handelt, die viele Lernende in ihrem Leben häufig einsetzen. Da es sich dabei um eine relativ neue Entwicklung handelt, gibt es noch zahlreiche offene Fragen, die, wie zu hoffen bleibt, seitens der sprachdidaktischen Forschung aufgegriffen werden. Ebenso bleibt zu hoffen, dass durch die beschriebene Entwicklung das Interesse der beiden genannten Disziplinen an der jeweils anderen gestärkt wird und es zu einem fruchtbaren Dialog und einer stärkeren Vernetzung kommt, im Sinne einer Kommunikation über disziplinäre Grenzen hinweg.

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Intertextuelle Beziehungen in österreichischen Anklageschriften

Intertextual references in Austrian indictments

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Gegenstand dieses Beitrags sind intertextuelle Bezugnahmen in österreichischen Anklageschriften. Zuerst werden juristische und linguistische Funktionen der Textsorte *Anklageschrift* diskutiert. Darauf folgt eine konzise Darstellung der linguistischen Intertextualitätskonzepte. Zum Schluss werden österreichische Anklageschriften einer eingehenden, intertextuell orientierten Analyse unterzogen: zum einen im Hinblick auf die Erfüllung funktionaler und struktureller Vorgaben der österreichischen Strafprozessordnung (paradigmatische Relationen), zum anderen auf unterschiedliche Ausprägungen intertextueller Bezugnahmen auf andere Einzeltexte (syntagmatische Relationen). Damit entspricht der Beitrag einem der aktuellsten Schwerpunkte der gegenwärtigen Fachkommunikationsforschung.

SCHLÜSSELWÖRTER

Fachkommunikation; Intertextualität; Vernetzung von Fachtexten; Anklageschrift

ABSTRACT

The following paper focuses on intertextual references in Austrian indictments. Firstly, the legal and linguistic functions of indictments are discussed. Next, a concise presentation of linguistic approaches to intertextuality is provided. Finally, Austrian indictments are analyzed both with regard to the fulfilment of functional and structural requirements of the Austrian Code of Criminal Procedure (paradigmatic relations) and to different forms of intertextual references to other texts (syntagmatic relations). The paper thus corresponds to one of the key areas of focus in contemporary specialized communication research.

KEYWORDS

specialized communication; intertextuality; interrelationship between texts; indictment

1. Einleitung. Juristische und linguistische Funktionen der Anklageschrift

Die Anklageschrift stellt – neben dem Gerichtsurteil – eine zentrale Textsorte im strafprozessualen Bereich dar. Sie nimmt einen festen Platz in der Abfolge der durch die Strafprozessordnung exakt vorgegebenen Rechtshandlungen ein.

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Sofern die Ergebnisse der Ermittlungen einen hinreichenden Anlass zur Erhebung der öffentlichen Klage bieten, erhebt die Staatsanwaltschaft diese durch die Einreichung einer Anklageschrift bei dem zuständigen Gericht (vgl. § 170 Abs. 1 deutsche StPO, § 210 Abs. 1 österreichische StPO)¹. Die Anklageschrift enthält zugleich den Antrag auf die Eröffnung des Hauptverfahrens (vgl. § 199 Abs. 1 deutsche StPO, § 210 Abs. 2 österreichische StPO). Erscheint der Angeschuldigte² dem für die Hauptverhandlung zuständigen Gericht „einer Straftat hinreichend verdächtig“ (§ 203 StPO), so beschließt dieses das Hauptverfahren zu eröffnen. Da die Anklageerhebung die Eröffnung einer gerichtlichen Untersuchung bedingt und veranlasst (vgl. § 151 deutsche StPO, § 4 österreichische StPO), erfüllt die Anklageschrift eine initiiierende Funktion (vgl. Bielawski, 2022, S. 72–73; Roxin & Schönemann, 2017, S. 329). Juristisch betrachtet, kommen der Anklageschrift zwei weitere Funktionen zu. Die Anklageschrift erfüllt zunächst eine Umgrenzungsfunktion, da in ihr die dem Angeschuldigten zur Last gelegte Tat samt Zeit und Ort ihrer Begehung so genau und eindeutig definiert wird, dass sie sich von anderen gleichartigen Straftaten des Angeschuldigten unmissverständlich abgrenzen lässt (vgl. www.hrr-strafrecht.de/hrr/2/16/2-456-16.php). Damit wird der Verfahrensgegenstand, über den das Gericht zu entscheiden hat, sowohl in persönlicher als auch in sachlicher Hinsicht festgelegt. Darüber hinaus erfüllt die Anklageschrift eine Informations- bzw. Unterrichtungsfunktion. Diese zielt darauf ab, den Angeschuldigten über den gegen ihn erhobenen Tatvorwurf zu informieren und ihm damit eine angemessene Verteidigung zu ermöglichen (vgl. Bielawski, 2022, S. 73)

Abgesehen von ihrer juristischen Relevanz, stellen Anklageschriften in linguistischer Hinsicht ein höchst interessantes Untersuchungsobjekt dar. Nach Busse (2000, S. 671–672) ist die Anklageschrift – als eine Textsorte des gerichtlichen Verfahrens – den Textsorten der Rechtsfindung bzw. des Rechtsfindungsverfahrens zuzuordnen. Demnach seien Anklageschriften Texte „mit Innenwirkung“ (Busse, 2000, S. 671) bzw. „überwiegend institutionelle[r] Binnenwirkung“ (S. 672), denen „lediglich vorbereitende Funktion innerhalb des Rechtsfindungsverfahrens“ (S. 671) zukomme. In der funktionalen Textsortentypologie von Rolf (1993) wird die Anklageschrift in den Bereich der direktiven, nicht-bindenden Textsorten eingeordnet, bei denen ein besonderes Interesse auf Seiten des Textproduzenten als vorbereitende Bedingung vorhanden ist (S. 246). Diese Textsorten seien nach Ansicht von Rolf insofern nicht-bindend, als der Textproduzent zwar seinen Adressaten zur Durch- bzw. Ausführung einer bestimmten Handlung veranlassen

¹ Wenn aus den Ermittlungen kein ausreichender Grund für die Erhebung einer öffentlichen Klage ersichtlich ist, endet das Ermittlungsverfahren mit einer Einstellung (vgl. § 170 Abs. 2 StPO).

² Zur Verwendung der Bezeichnung *Angeschuldigter* und *Angeklagter* siehe § 157 deutsche StPO.

will, ihm jedoch jegliche Machtbefugnisse, Autorität und Mittel fehlen, um seinem Anliegen Nachdruck zu verleihen. Daher liegt es im Ermessen des Adressaten, ob er dem formulierten Anliegen Folge leisten wird (vgl. Rolf, 1993, S. 245). Das mit diesen Textsorten in Gang gesetzte Verfahren soll nach Rolf „in Form einer Klärung des wirklichen Rechtsverhältnisses – zu einer Bestätigung der Textproduzentenannahmen führen, um auf diese Weise eine Grundlage für das Verhalten oder die Verhältnisse zu schaffen, das bzw. die der Textproduzent für die Zukunft erwartet“ (S. 255).

Das Ziel des vorliegenden Beitrags ist es, Verweise auf andere Texte in der Textsorte *Anklageschrift* aufzuzeigen und zu analysieren. Dabei handelt es sich um den ersten Teil einer insgesamt zweiteiligen Gesamtanalyse. Zunächst wird kurz auf unterschiedliche Intertextualitätskonzepte eingegangen. Im Anschluss erfolgt eine Analyse intertextueller – sowohl paradigmatischer als auch syntagmatischer – Beziehungen in der Textsorte *Anklageschrift*, wobei der Untersuchungsgegenstand im vorliegenden Beitrag auf den Anklagesatz der österreichischen Anklageschriften eingegrenzt wird. Im weiteren, demnächst zu erscheinenden Teil sollen Vernetzungsphänomene in dem Begründungsteil der österreichischen Anklageschriften im Mittelpunkt der Betrachtung stehen.

2. Linguistische Intertextualitätsansätze

Das Verdienst, den Begriff der *Intertextualität* geprägt und Ende der 1960er Jahre in die Literaturwissenschaft eingeführt zu haben, gebührt bekanntlich Julia Kristeva. Ausgehend von Michael Bachtins Theorie der Dialogizität der Texte, entwickelte sie einen radikalen, texttheoretischen Ansatz, in dem sie ein neues Verständnis von Text und Intertextualität vorschlug³. In der Sprachwissenschaft war Intertextualität lange Zeit kein Gegenstand linguistischer Untersuchungen. Als einen möglichen Grund dafür führt Fix (2000, S. 451) die Weite und das „Schillernde“ des literaturwissenschaftlichen Intertextualitätsbegriffs an, mit dem die Sprachwissenschaft „nichts anfangen“ (S. 451) konnte. Erst zu Beginn der 1980er Jahre erscheinen erste Arbeiten, in denen linguistisch orientierte Überlegungen zur Intertextualität erkennbar sind. So erscheint Intertextualität erstmals bei de Beaugrande & Dressler (1981) als letztes von sieben Kriterien der Textualität (nach Kohäsion, Kohärenz, Intentionalität, Akzeptabilität, Informativität und Situationalität), über die jeder Text verfügen muss, um als kommunikativ gelten zu können⁴. Mit ihrem Konzept bahnten sie den Weg für weitere (text-)linguistisch orientierte Ansätze. Auf eine vollständige Schichtung der verschiedenen Intertextualitätskonzepte wird in diesem Aufsatz verzichtet. Ein kritischer Überblick findet sich u. a. bei Fix (2000), Jakobs (1999) und Opiłowski

³ Ausführlicher dazu vgl. Nycz (2016, S. 391–392).

⁴ Ausführlicher dazu Nycz (2016, S. 399–401).

(2006). Verwiesen sei an dieser Stelle nur auf ein einflussreiches und viel zitiertes Konzept von Holthuis (1993). Die Autorin widmet sich zwar in ihrer Arbeit „schwerpunktmäßig dem Phänomen der ästhetischen Intertextualität“ (Holthuis, 1993, S. 3), ihre Ergebnisse sind aber nach Ansicht von Fix (2000, S. 451) „von weitreichender, über ihr Untersuchungsfeld hinausgehender Bedeutung“. Holthuis setzt sich zum Ziel, ein rezeptionsorientiertes Konzept von Intertextualität vorzustellen, das – im Unterschied zu anderen Ansätzen – die Rolle des Rezipienten, seine intertextuelle Kompetenz bei der Erfassung und Verarbeitung intertextueller Beziehungen deutlich hervorhebt (vgl. Holthuis, 1993, S. 6). Sie definiert *Intertextualität* als eine Texten nicht inhärente Eigenschaft, die erst „in der Interaktion zwischen Text und Leser“, „im Kontinuum der Rezeption und nicht [...] im und durch den Text selbst“ (S. 31) konstituiert wird. Ihrer Auffassung nach sind zugleich im Text bestimmte Intertextualitätssignale vorhanden, die sog. „intertextuelle Disposition des Textes“ (S. 32), die „abhängig von entsprechenden Interpretationshypothesen und -zielsetzungen des Rezipienten sowie spezifischen intertextuellen Wissensbeständen, aktiviert werden können“ (S. 32) (vgl. auch Nycz, 2016, S. 404–406)⁵.

Im Anschluss an Holthuis sind immer wieder linguistische Ansätze (z. B. Androutsopoulos, 1997; Fix, 2000; Griffig, 2006; Jakobs, 1999; Raible, 1995; Steyer, 1997) entwickelt worden, in denen unterschiedliche Ausprägungen intertextueller Beziehungen beschrieben und neu klassifiziert werden. Doch im Wesentlichen handelt es sich um zwei bereits bekannte Globaltypen, die lediglich mit neuen Namen versehen werden. Die Beziehungen zwischen Textexemplar und Textmuster (Gattung/Textsorte) werden u. a. als allgemeine, generische, paradigmatische, typologische oder auch vertikale Intertextualität (Architextualität im Sinne Genettes, 1993) bezeichnet. Für das Verhältnis zwischen Einzeltexten werden u. a. Ausdrücke wie spezielle, syntagmatische oder horizontale Intertextualität (Inter-, Para-, Meta- und Hyperintertextualität bei Genette, 1993) verwendet⁶.

3. Inhaltliche und strukturelle Determiniertheit der deutschen und österreichischen Anklageschrift

Nach Adamzik gelten Textsorten im Allgemeinen als „kommunikative Routinen auf der Textebene“ (Adamzik, 2016, S. 333), als „historisch-gesellschaftlich

⁵ Zur Kritik des Ansatzes von Holthuis siehe u. a. Heinemann (1997) und Tegtmeyer (1997).

⁶ Eine wesentliche Neuerung in der Intertextualitätsdebatte stellt das Konzept der Vernetzung von Textsorten dar. Auf das Desiderat in der Erforschung dieser Relationen hat u. a. Adamzik (2000, S. 109) aufmerksam gemacht. Die aktuellste Publikation, in der sich die Autor*innen mit unterschiedlichen Aspekten der Vernetzung von (Fach-)Textsorten auseinandersetzen, stellt der 2019 von Kalverkämper & Baumann herausgebrachte Sammelband *Fachtextsorten-in-Vernetzung* (Verlag Frank & Timme) dar.

geprägte Muster kommunikativen Verhaltens“ (Adamzik, 2000, S. 101). Diese Feststellung trifft auf die Anklageschrift als eine ‚traditionelle‘ juristische Textsorte in besonderem Maße zu, denn der Routinecharakter dieser Textsorte und ihr zugleich hoher Standardisierungsgrad ergeben sich zum einen aus der Verankerung der Anklageschrift in den Vorschriften der jeweiligen nationalen Rechtsordnung. Zum anderen wird der Variationsspielraum bei der Textgestaltung durch kulturell bedingte örtliche Gepflogenheiten erheblich beschränkt (vgl. Heghmanns & Herrmann, 2017, S. 234). Diese werden dort eingesetzt, wo keine weiteren Vorschriften existieren, und machen die Eigenart der deutschen und österreichischen Anklageschrift aus⁷.

3.1. Inhalt und Struktur deutscher Anklageschriften

Sowohl die Abfolge der Textteile als auch der Inhalt der deutschen Anklageschrift sind durch die Vorschriften des § 200 der deutschen Strafprozessordnung (StPO) festgelegt. Gemäß § 200 StPO hat die Anklageschrift die folgenden notwendigen Teilmhalte zu enthalten:

- Personalien des Angeschuldigten,
- Bezeichnung der mutmaßlichen Tat, Tatzeit und Tatort,
- gesetzliche Merkmale der Straftat und
- anzuwendende Strafvorschriften.

Die vorstehenden Inhalte bilden den sog. Anklagesatz – einen formellen Abschnitt, in dem die spezifischen Handlungen bzw. Unterlassungen, die dem Angeschuldigten zur Last gelegt werden, sowie die rechtliche Grundlage für diese Vorwürfe detailliert dargelegt werden. Der Umgrenzungs- und Informationsfunktion der Anklageschrift entsprechend sollte der Anklagesatz präzise, klar und verständlich formuliert sein, um dem Angeschuldigten eine angemessene Verteidigung zu ermöglichen und dem Gericht eine Grundlage für die rechtliche Bewertung des Falls zu bieten (vgl. Roxin & Schünemann, 2017, S. 323).

Auf den Anklagesatz haben nach § 200 StPO Beweismittel, die Bezeichnung des Gerichts, vor dem die Hauptverhandlung stattfinden soll, sowie des Verteidigers zu folgen⁸. Anschließend wird in der Anklageschrift das wesentliche Ergebnis der Ermittlungen dargestellt sowie der Antrag auf die Eröffnung des Hauptverfahrens formuliert (vgl. § 199).

⁷ Zu Struktur und Inhalt norddeutscher Anklageschriften vgl. Bielawski (2022, S. 105–142), zu süddeutschen und baden-württembergischen Anklageschriften vgl. Bielawski (2022, S. 142–148).

⁸ Werden in der Anklageschrift Zeugen benannt, so ist nicht deren vollständige Anschrift, sondern nur deren Wohn- oder Aufenthaltsort anzugeben (vgl. § 200 StPO). Ferner wird auf Fälle des § 68 Absatz 1 Satz 3, Absatz 2 Satz 1 verwiesen, in denen lediglich der Name des Zeugen angegeben wird bzw. dessen Identität ganz oder teilweise geheim zu halten ist.

Die Vorgaben zu Form und Inhalt der deutschen Anklageschrift werden in den „Richtlinien für das Strafverfahren und das Bußgeldverfahren“ (RiStBV) Nr. 110 – 114 teils unter Bezug auf § 200 StPO wiederholt, teils konkretisiert.

3.2. Inhalt und Struktur österreichischer Anklageschriften

Form und Inhalt der österreichischen Anklageschrift müssen den im § 211 der österreichischen Strafprozessordnung (StPO) enthaltenen Anforderungen genügen. Demnach sind in der Anklageschrift folgende Inhalte anzugeben:

- Name(n) und weitere Angaben zur Person des Angeklagten⁹,
- Zeit, Ort und die näheren Umstände der Begehung der Tat, die dem Angeklagten zur Last gelegt wird,
- gesetzliche Bezeichnung der strafbaren Handlung, die durch die Tat verwirklicht wurde,
- die übrigen anzuwendenden Strafvorschriften.

In der Anklageschrift hat die Staatsanwaltschaft ferner ihre Anträge für das Hauptverfahren zu stellen, wobei sie insbesondere die Beweismittel anzuführen hat, die im Hauptverfahren aufgenommen werden sollen. Falls erforderlich, ist die Zuständigkeit des angerufenen Gerichts zu begründen. Abschließend ist der Sachverhalt nach den Ergebnissen des Ermittlungsverfahrens zusammenzufassen und zu bewerten (vgl. § 211 StPO).

Wie aus den vorstehenden Ausführungen ersichtlich wird, weisen deutsche und österreichische Anklageschriften, auch wenn sie in zwei unterschiedlichen Rechtssystemen verankert sind, eine ähnliche Form und einen vergleichbaren Inhalt auf. Unterschiede kommen erst in der Umsetzung der gesetzlich vorgeschriebenen Vorgaben unter Einbeziehung kulturell determinierter örtlicher Gebräuche zum Vorschein.

4. Intertextuelle Bezugnahmen in österreichischen Anklageschriften

4.1. Korpus und Methodologie

Umfassende Analysen unterschiedlicher Aspekte deutscher Anklageschriften lieferten u. a. Bielawski (2022), Reichmann & Aussenac-Kern (2019) und Reichmann (2016). Intertextuell orientierte Analysen österreichischer Anklageschriften liegen bislang nicht vor, weshalb der Untersuchungsgegenstand in diesem Aufsatz auf die österreichische Variante der Anklageschrift eingegrenzt wird.

Die Untersuchung und die sich daraus ergebenden Erkenntnisse und Verallgemeinerungen stützen sich auf ein Textkorpus, das sich aus insgesamt 32 Fachtexten aus dem Zeitraum von 2017 bis 2024 zusammensetzt. Es handelt

⁹ Zur Definition *Verdächtiger, Beschuldigter, Angeklagter* siehe § 48 Abs 1 Z 1, 2 und 3 österreichische StPO.

sich hierbei um authentische österreichische Anklageschriften, die im Laufe der langjährigen Tätigkeit des Textautors als Übersetzer gesammelt wurden.

Wie bereits angedeutet, stellt die Anklageschrift eine standardisierte Textsorte dar, die bestimmten gesetzlichen Anforderungen entsprechen muss, um im Rahmen des Strafverfahrens als gültig und wirksam gelten zu können. Die relativ feste Rahmenstruktur österreichischer Anklageschriften weist eine klar erkennbare Zweiteilung auf, die in jedem Textexemplar konsequent beibehalten wird. Der erste Teil der Anklageschrift umfasst neben der formalen Bezeichnung der Staatsanwaltschaft den sogenannten Anklagesatz und die Anträge der Staatsanwaltschaft an das zuständige Gericht. Dieser Teil bildet das Fundament der Anklage, da hier die gegen den Beschuldigten erhobenen Vorwürfe und die rechtlichen Forderungen dargelegt werden. Der zweite Teil der Anklageschrift ist die Begründung, in der die Beweise angeführt und die Ergebnisse des Ermittlungsverfahrens zusammengefasst werden. In der Begründung wird im Einzelnen dargelegt, auf welcher Grundlage die Anklage erhoben wird und auf welche Beweise sie sich stützt. Die beiden Teile der Anklageschrift können je nach Fall unterschiedlich umfangreich sein. Während der erste Teil in der Regel eine formale und prägnante Darstellung der Anklagepunkte und Anträge beinhaltet, kann der Begründungsteil erheblich umfangreicher sein, da hier die komplexen Einzelheiten des Ermittlungsverfahrens und die erhobenen Beweise ausführlich erläutert werden. Diese Struktur stellt sicher, dass sowohl die rechtliche Grundlage der Anklage als auch die faktische Beweisführung klar und nachvollziehbar dargestellt werden. Dabei ist zu beachten, dass österreichische Anklageschriften in der Textgestaltung durch kulturell bedingte örtliche Vertextungskonventionen weitestgehend determiniert sind.

Im vorliegenden Beitrag wird der Untersuchungsgegenstand auf den oben beschriebenen ersten Teil der österreichischen Anklageschriften beschränkt. Dabei werden zum einen paradigmatische Bezüge (im Sinne der typologischen Intertextualität von Holthuis, 1993) von konkreten Textexemplaren auf die im § 211 der österreichischen Strafprozessordnung knapp formulierten, inhaltlichen und formellen Vorgaben als prototypische Muster bzw. Eigenschaften, die für die Textsorte ‚Anklageschrift‘ charakteristisch sind, zum Gegenstand der Analyse. Zum anderen werden Formen syntagmatischer Bezugnahmen auf andere Einzeltexte (im Sinne der referentiellen Intertextualität von Holthuis, 1993), in aller Regel Paragraphen des österreichischen Strafgesetzbuches untersucht.

4.2. Analyse des Textmaterials

4.2.1. VORGABE: Namen und weitere Angaben zur Person des Angeklagten

BEISPIEL 1:

[Vornamen,
FAMILIENNAME]¹⁰ geboren am [Geburtsdatum] in [Geburtsort], Polen,
polnischer Staatsangehöriger, geschieden,
derzeit ohne Erwerbstätigkeit,
derzeit in dieser Strafsache in Untersuchungshaft in
der Justizanstalt Korneuburg

BEISPIEL 2:

[Vornamen,
FAMILIENNAME] geboren am [Geburtsdatum] in [Geburtsort], Polen,
polnischer Staatsangehöriger, verheiratet,
ohne Beschäftigung,
derzeit in Strafhaft in Polen in der Justizanstalt Nr. 2 in
Wrocław, ul. Fiolkowa 38,
zuletzt wohnhaft in [PLZ Ort, Straße]

Anhand der angeführten Beispiele lässt sich zunächst erkennen, dass die Angaben zur Person des Beschuldigten konsequent in einer festen Reihenfolge gemacht werden. Neben den Vornamen¹¹ und dem Familiennamen erscheinen hier insbesondere Geburtsdatum und -ort, Staatsbürgerschaft, Familienstand, Beruf, ggf. die Angabe zur Untersuchungshaft bzw. Justizanstalt sowie die Anschrift. Befindet sich der Beschuldigte bereits in Untersuchungshaft bzw. in einer Justizanstalt, wird entweder auf die Angabe der Anschrift verzichtet oder seine zuletzt bekannte Anschrift (mit dem Ausdruck *zuletzt wohnhaft in*, siehe BEISPIEL 2) angegeben.

Handelt es sich um mehrere Straftäter, so werden diese samt Personalien in österreichischen Anklageschriften mit arabischen Ziffern (z. B. *1.*, *01*), *1./*) durchnummeriert und üblicherweise in der Rangfolge ihrer Beteiligung an der strafbaren Handlung aufgeführt¹². Das bedeutet, dass der Hauptbeschuldigte, der mutmaßlich die führende Rolle in der Ausführung der Straftat innehat, normalerweise zuerst genannt wird. Anschließend folgen die anderen Beschuldigten

¹⁰ Sowohl Namen als auch andere personenbezogene Daten und Umstände, die Rückschlüsse auf die Identität der Beschuldigten oder anderer Dritter zulassen würden, wurden aus datenschutzrechtlichen Gründen gelöscht bzw. unkenntlich gemacht.

¹¹ In der Anklageschrift werden generell alle vorhandenen Vornamen des Beschuldigten angegeben. Dies umfasst in der Regel sowohl den ersten als auch den zweiten Vornamen, sofern dieser bekannt ist. Die Angabe beider Vornamen dient dazu, Verwechslungen mit anderen Personen gleichen Namens zu vermeiden und die Identifizierung des Beschuldigten zu erleichtern.

¹² Zur deutschen Anklageschrift siehe Bielawski (2022, S. 111).

in der Reihenfolge ihres mutmaßlichen Beitrags oder ihrer Tatbeteiligung (vgl. Heghmanns & Hermann, 2017, S. 233).

4.2.2. VORGABE: Darstellung der zur Last gelegten Straftat samt Zeit, Ort und den näheren Umständen ihrer Begehung

An die Personalien des Beschuldigten schließt sich die Beschreibung der ihm vorgeworfenen strafbaren Handlung(en) an. Die Überleitung zwischen diesen Teilen erfolgt mit einer Standardformulierung: *[Bezeichnung der Staatsanwaltschaft] legt [Personalien des Beschuldigten] zur Last: ...* Die Schilderung der Straftat(en) beginnt hierbei mit der Angabe der Tatzeiten und -orte. Diese werden in aller Regel möglichst genau bezeichnet, weil dies für die Eingrenzung des Umfangs des Verfahrens sowie für die Festlegung der örtlichen Zuständigkeit des Gerichts notwendig ist (vgl. Heghmanns & Herrmann 2017, S. 235; Bielawski, 2022, S. 113).

BEISPIEL 3:

Die Staatsanwaltschaft Korneuburg legt
[Vornamen FAMILIENNAME], [Personalien des Beschuldigten]
zur Last:
[Vornamen FAMILIENNAME] hat in der Nacht vom 02.05.2017 auf den
03.05.2017 in Moosbrunn ...

BEISPIEL 4:

DIE STAATSANWALTSCHAFT WIEN LEGT
[Vorname FAMILIENNAME], [Personalien des Beschuldigten]
ZUR LAST:
[Vorname FAMILIENNAME] hat in Wien
I./ am 12.7.2021 versucht, ...

Daraufhin folgt eine präzise und vollständige Darstellung des Vorwurfs. Dabei werden die gesetzlichen Merkmale der Straftat genannt und mit konkreten Vorgängen bzw. Zuständen belegt, um aufzuzeigen, wie die konkreten Handlungen des Beschuldigten die einzelnen Tatbestandsmerkmale erfüllen. Dies umfasst sowohl objektive als auch subjektive Merkmale. Die Formulierung der gesetzlichen Tatbestandsmerkmale samt Tatbeschreibung erfolgt hierbei in zweifacher Weise:

- A. durch die (meist) partielle und unveränderte Übernahme von Schlüsselbegriffen bzw. Segmenten unterschiedlichen Umfangs aus dem Referenztext, ohne dass diese durch Anführungszeichen kenntlich gemacht werden und die Referenzquelle angegeben wird; als Referenztexte

gelten in diesem Fall einschlägige Vorschriften des österreichischen Strafgesetzbuches:

BEISPIEL 5:

[Vorname FAMILIENNAME] hat in Wien

I./ am 12.7.2021 versucht, [Vornamen FAMILIENNAME des Geschädigten] zu töten, indem er diesem mit einer Glasflasche wiederholt wuchtige Schläge gegen den Kopf versetzte;

II./ [Vorname FAMILIENNAME des Geschädigten] und [Vornamen FAMILIENNAME der Geschädigten] gefährlich bedroht, um sie in Furcht und Unruhe zu versetzen, indem er ihnen durch die Zimmertüre: „Ich bringe dich um, ich steche euch ab!“ zurief und ihnen sodann: „ich steche euch ab!“ nachrief;

III./ eine fremde Sache beschädigt, und zwar eine Zimmertüre der Wohnung Nr. [Nummer] in [PLZ Ort, Straße, Haus-Nr.], indem er mehrmals mit der Faust gegen das Türblatt schlug und ein Stanleymesser durch das Türblatt rammte;

Allein mit den Verben [*hat*] *versucht* (...) *zu töten* in I./ wird auf die §§ 15 StGB Strafbarkeit des Versuches¹³ und 75 StGB Mord¹⁴ referiert. In II./ wird ein Segment partiell in nicht-modifizierter Form aus § 107 Abs. 1 StGB Gefährliche Drohung ohne Anführungszeichen angeführt.¹⁵ In III./ erfolgt ebenfalls eine partielle und nicht-modifizierte Übernahme verbalen Materials aus dem Referenztext, wobei in diesem Fall aus einem breiteren Spektrum an möglichen Tatbestandsmerkmalen, die in § 125 StGB Sachbeschädigung („Wer *eine fremde Sache* zerstört, *beschädigt*, *verunstaltet* oder *unbrauchbar* macht [...]“) aufgeführt werden, das zutreffende ausgewählt und in den referierenden Text unmarkiert eingebettet wird.

Die in Beispiel 5 II./ zum Vorschein kommenden Zitate stellen die klassischen, explizit nachweisbaren Formen der Text-Text-Beziehung dar. Ihr zentraler Zweck ist es, das abstrakt formulierte, mit den Worten des Gesetzes wiedergegebene Tatbestandsmerkmal zu konkretisieren, d. h. dessen Erfüllung zu verdeutlichen

¹³ „§ 15 StGB Strafbarkeit des Versuches

(...)(2) Die Tat ist *versucht*, sobald der Täter seinen Entschluß, sie auszuführen oder einen anderen dazu zu bestimmen (§ 12), durch eine der Ausführung unmittelbar vorangehende Handlung betätigt. (...)“ (www.jusline.at/gesetz/stgb/paragraf/15; Hervorhebung K. N.).

¹⁴ „75 StGB Mord

Wer einen anderen *tötet*, ist mit Freiheitsstrafe von zehn bis zu zwanzig Jahren oder mit lebenslanger Freiheitsstrafe zu bestrafen.“ (www.jusline.at/gesetz/stgb/paragraf/75; Hervorhebung K. N.).

¹⁵ „§ 107 Gefährliche Drohung

(1) Wer einen anderen *gefährlich bedroht, um ihn in Furcht und Unruhe zu versetzen*, ist mit Freiheitsstrafe bis zu einem Jahr oder mit Geldstrafe bis zu 720 Tagessätzen zu bestrafen. (...)“ (www.jusline.at/gesetz/stgb/paragraf/107; Hervorhebung K. N.).

und mit konkreten Belegen zu stützen. Wörtliche Zitate, obwohl interessant und faktenreich, kommen in den Anklageschriften eher selten vor.

- B. durch die (meist) partielle und modifizierte Übernahme von Schlüsselbegriffen bzw. Segmenten unterschiedlichen Umfangs aus dem Referenztext, wobei die Herstellung des Bezugs zum Referenztext entweder durch eine bloße Angabe des einschlägigen Paragraphen in Klammern (Beispiel 6) oder durch die explizite Bezeichnung der begangenen Straftat samt Paragraf (Beispiel 7) erfolgt;

BEISPIEL 6:

[Vornamen FAMILIENNAMEN der Täter] haben am 11.12.2023 im bewussten und gewollten Zusammenwirken *als Mittäter (§ 12 StGB)*¹⁶ zumindest aber als Täter durch sonstigen Tatbeitrag (...), *gewerbsmäßig (§ 70 Abs 1 Z 1 StGB)*¹⁷ und jeweils als Mitglied einer kriminellen Vereinigung (...), Nachgenannten *fremde bewegliche Sachen* in einem insgesamt EUR 50.000,-- übersteigenden Wert, (...) *mit dem Vorsatz, sich oder einen Dritten durch deren Zueignung unrechtmäßig zu bereichern, weggenommen bzw. wegzunehmen versucht*, indem (...)

BEISPIEL 7:

[Vorname FAMILIENNAME des Täters] hat am 09.10.2017 im bewussten und gewollten Zusammenwirken mit zwei noch auszuforschenden Mittätern (§ 12 StGB) *fremde bewegliche Sachen* Nachgenannten *mit dem Vorsatz weggenommen, sich durch deren Zueignung unrechtmäßig zu bereichern*, und zwar (...), wobei er den Diebstahl an Sachen, deren Wert EUR 5.000 übersteigt, *beging* (...) und darüber hinaus *den schweren Diebstahl nach § 128 Abs. 1 und den Diebstahl nach § 129 Abs. 1* gewerbsmäßig *beging*.

Wie den angeführten Textbeispielen 6 und 7 zu entnehmen ist, werden gelegentlich unterschiedliche Referenzstrategien miteinander kombiniert. In

¹⁶ „§ 12 StGB Behandlung aller Beteiligten als Täter

Nicht nur der unmittelbare Täter begeht die strafbare Handlung, sondern auch jeder, der einen anderen dazu bestimmt, sie auszuführen, oder *der sonst zu ihrer Ausführung beiträgt*.“ (www.jusline.at/gesetz/stgb/paragraf/12; Hervorhebung: K.N.)

¹⁷ „§ 70 StGB Gewerbsmäßige Begehung

⁽¹⁾ Gewerbsmäßig begeht eine Tat, wer sie in der Absicht ausführt, sich durch ihre wiederkehrende Begehung längere Zeit hindurch ein nicht bloß geringfügiges fortlaufendes Einkommen zu verschaffen, und

¹ unter Einsatz besonderer Fähigkeiten oder Mittel handelt, die eine wiederkehrende Begehung nahelegen, oder (...).“ (www.jusline.at/gesetz/stgb/paragraf/70)

beiden Beispielen wird über die bereits besprochenen Referenzen hinaus auf die Erfüllung der Tatbestandsmerkmale des Diebstahls hingewiesen, indem der Wortlaut von § 127 StGB Diebstahl leicht modifiziert, aber ohne jegliche Markierung wiedergegeben wird („Wer *eine fremde bewegliche Sache* einem anderen *mit dem Vorsatz wegnimmt, sich oder einen Dritten durch deren Zueignung unrechtmäßig zu bereichern*, ist mit Freiheitsstrafe [...]“). In Beispiel 8 wird zusätzlich der Tatvorwurf explizit mit dem Ausdruck „wobei er den *Diebstahl an Sachen* [...] beging“ formuliert.

4.2.3. VORGABE: Gesetzliche Bezeichnung der strafbaren Handlung und die anzuwendenden Strafvorschriften

An die Wiedergabe des Tatbestands und die Schilderung des Sachverhalts schließt sich die Auflistung der Strafvorschriften an, die durch die zuvor beschriebene(n) Straftat(en) verletzt wurden.

BEISPIEL 8:

[Vorname FAMILIENNAME des Täters] hat hierdurch¹⁸
zu I./ das Verbrechen des Mordes nach §§ 15, 75 StGB;
zu II./ das Vergehen der gefährlichen Drohung nach § 107 Abs 1 StGB;
zu III./ das Vergehen der Sachbeschädigung nach § 125 StGB
begangen und wird hierfür unter Anwendung des § 28 StGB nach § 75
StGB zu bestrafen sein.

BEISPIEL 9:

[Vornamen FAMILIENNAME des Täters] hat hiedurch das Verbrechen des schweren gewerbsmäßigen Diebstahls durch Einbruch im Rahmen einer kriminellen Vereinigung nach §§ 127, 128 Abs 1 Z 5, 129 Abs 1 Z 1, 130 Abs 1 erster und zweiter Fall, Abs 2 erster und zweiter Fall begangen und wird hierfür nach § 130 Abs 2 StGB zu bestrafen sein.

BEISPIEL 10:

[Vorname FAMILIENNAME des Täters] hat hiedurch
zu Punkt I. das Vergehen des schweren Diebstahls durch Einbruch nach §§ 127, 128 Abs 1 Z 5, 129 Abs 1 Z 1 StGB und
zu Punkt II. das Vergehen der Urkundenunterdrückung nach § 229 Abs 1 StGB
begangen und wird hierfür unter Anwendung des § 28 Abs 2 StGB unter
Bedachtnahme auf das Urteil des Gerichts Sąd Rejonowy w [Ort] vom
[Datum] nach § 128 Abs 1 StGB zu bestrafen sein.

¹⁸ In den meisten Schriftstücken werden die für den österreichischen Sprachgebrauch typischen Formen *hiedurch*, *hierfür* usw. verwendet (siehe Beispiele 9, 10).

Aus den Textbeispielen 8, 9, 10 geht eindeutig hervor, dass auf die relevanten Vorschriften des Strafgesetzbuches nach demselben Muster referiert wird. Die Aufzählung beginnt jeweils mit dem Hinweis, ob es sich um ein *Vergehen* oder ein *Verbrechen* handelt. Darauf folgt die gesetzliche Bezeichnung der durch die Tat verwirklichten strafbaren Handlung (z. B. Verbrechen *des Mordes*, Vergehen *der Urkundenunterdrückung*, Verbrechen *des schweren gewerbsmäßigen Diebstahls durch Einbruch* usw.) und zwar in der Form, wie sie in der Überschrift des betreffenden Paragraphen – soweit vorhanden – zum Vorschein kommt. Ferner wird auf die verletzten Vorschriften des Strafgesetzbuches detailliert Bezug genommen, indem nicht nur einschlägige Paragraphen, sondern auch konkrete Absätze, Punkte oder ggf. Fälle angegeben werden (vgl. Beispiel 10: §§ 127, 128 *Abs 1 Z 5*, 129 *Abs 1 Z 1*, 130 *Abs 1 erster und zweiter Fall*, *Abs 2 erster und zweiter Fall*). Daran schließt sich die explizite Bezeichnung der im jeweiligen Fall anwendbaren Vorschriften an, nach denen der Angeklagte zu bestrafen ist. Diese werden in österreichischen Anklageschriften üblicherweise mit der Standardformulierung ... *und wird/werden hiefür nach / unter Anwendung des / nach dem Strafsatz des § ... zu bestrafen sein* in den Text integriert.

Darüber hinaus wird in BEISPIEL 10 mit dem Ausdruck *unter Bedachtnahme auf das Urteil des Gerichts Sqd Rejonowy w ...* unmittelbar auf einen Urteilstext, und damit wohl auf eine einschlägige Verurteilung, Bezug genommen, auf die bei der Bemessung der Strafe Bedacht zu nehmen ist.

4.2.4. VORGABE: Anträge der Staatsanwaltschaft

An den Anklagesatz schließen sich gemäß den Vorgaben des § 211 Abs 2 StPO Anträge der Staatsanwaltschaft an. Beantragt wird typischerweise:

1. Durchführung der Hauptverhandlung vor dem örtlich und sachlich zuständigen Gericht;
2. Vorladung des Beschuldigten zur Hauptverhandlung als Angeklagten; befindet sich der Beschuldigte bereits in Untersuchungshaft bzw. in einer Justizanstalt, wird dessen Vorführung zur Hauptverhandlung beantragt;
3. Ladung des Verteidigers;
4. ggf. Beiziehung eines Dolmetschers;
5. Ladung der Zeugen;
6. Verlesung der kriminalpolizeilichen Erhebungsergebnisse, des Abschlussberichtes, der Strafregisterauskunft bzw. der ECRIS-Auskunft.

BEISPIEL 11:

Die Staatsanwaltschaft Korneuburg beantragt:

- 1.) Durchführung der Hauptverhandlung vor dem Landesgericht Korneuburg als Schöffengericht *gemäß § 31 Abs 3 Z 6a StPO*; (...)

In BEISPIEL 11 wird bei der Bezeichnung des zuständigen Gerichts unmittelbar auf § 31 Abs 3 Z 6a StPO referiert, in dem anhand taxativer Aufzählung die sachlichen Zuständigkeiten des Landesgerichts für das Hauptverfahren geregelt werden. Durch diesen Verweis wird sichergestellt, dass der Umfang des Verfahrens der sachlichen Zuständigkeit des Gerichts entspricht und dass damit das richtige Gericht für die Durchführung der Hauptverhandlung gewählt wurde.

Referenzen auf andere Texte finden sich ferner in der Auflistung der Zeugen:

BEISPIEL 12:

(...) 4. Ladung der Zeugen:
[Vorname FAMILIENNAME] (ON 2.3);

BEISPIEL 13:

(...) 4.) Ladung der Zeugen:
[Vorname FAMILIENNAME] (AS 2 in ON 2.6);

BEISPIEL 14:

(...) 4.) Ladung der Zeugen:
(...)
[Vorname FAMILIENNAME] (Faktum A./II./1./, ON 2.160)
(...)

Aus den Beispielen 12 bis 14 wird deutlich, dass die Bezugnahmen auf andere Texte, in den genannten Fällen auf bestimmte Schriftstücke im Gerichtsakt, jeweils durch Angabe der Ordnungsnummer (*ON*) erfolgen. Diese kann zusätzlich durch die Angabe der Aktenseite (*AS*) oder durch den Verweis auf einen im Gerichtsakt dargestellten Sachverhalt (*Faktum*) spezifiziert werden.

In Bezug auf den oben genannten Punkt 6 wird die Notwendigkeit der Verlesung der kriminalpolizeilichen Berichte, Erhebungen und der Strafregisterauskunft in aller Regel durch den Verweis auf die Bestimmungen des § 252 Abs 2 StPO gerechtfertigt. Dieser besagt, dass sämtliche Schriftstücke, die für die Sache von Bedeutung seien, vorgelesen werden müssen (vgl. www.jusline.at/gesetz/stpo/paragraf/252). Des Weiteren wird in einzelnen Fällen, insbesondere hinsichtlich der gegen den Beschuldigten zuvor ergangenen Strafurteile, deren Beschaffung beantragt:

BEISPIEL 15:

(...) 5.) gemäß § 252 Absatz 2 StPO: Verlesung der polizeilichen Ermittlungsergebnisse, der Abschlussberichte und der österreichischen und polnischen Strafregisterauskünfte, sowie Beischaffung des hg. Aktes des Landesgerichts für Strafsachen Wien, AZ [Geschäftszahl].

5. Abschließende Bemerkung

Die vorliegende empirisch orientierte Untersuchung der österreichischen Variante der Textsorte *Anklageschrift* ergab eine Bindung von bestimmten Textexemplaren an die Textproduktionsschemata des § 211 der österreichischen Strafprozessordnung. Aus den dort aufgeführten Vorgaben gehen teils strukturelle, teils inhaltliche Gestaltungsprinzipien für konkrete Textrealisationen unmissverständlich hervor. Diese Art intertextueller Referenzen auf kanonisierte, normativ festgelegte Systemtexte (vgl. Holthuis, 1993, S. 51) sind als Manifestationstyp paradigmatischer Intertextualität (vgl. Architextualität bei Genette, 1993; typologische Intertextualität bei Holthuis, 1993; Systemreferenz bei Broich & Pfister, 1985) zu deuten. Die vorstehend genannten gesetzlichen Vorgaben gelten dabei als invariante Merkmale normierter Texte, die in jedem Textexemplar aktualisiert werden¹⁹. Zugleich weisen Anklageschriften vielfältige Bezugnahmen auf andere Einzeltexte auf. Erwartungsgemäß sind es in erster Linie Referenzen auf einschlägige Vorschriften des österreichischen Strafgesetzbuches und relevante Aktenstücke. Diese Beziehungen sind Beispiele für syntagmatische Intertextualität im Sinne der referentiellen Intertextualität bei Holthuis (1993, S. 89-136 vgl. auch Einzeltextreferenz bei Broich & Pfister, 1985; Inter-, Para-, Meta- und Hyperintertextualität bei Genette, 1993). Einer weiteren Untersuchung bleibt es vorbehalten, sowohl paradigmatische als auch syntagmatische Referenzen im Begründungsteil österreichischer Anklageschriften empirisch zu analysieren.

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¹⁹ Die Analyse von Bielawski (2022) ist zwar der juristischen Phraseologie gewidmet. Den theoretischen Ausführungen ist allerdings zu entnehmen, dass zwischen den österreichischen und deutschen Anklageschriften gewisse inhaltlich-strukturelle Ähnlichkeiten bestehen. Im Fall der deutschen Anklageschriften wird deren Inhalt und Struktur durch die Vorgaben des § 200 der deutschen Strafprozessordnung weitestgehend beeinflusst. Auch hier ergeben sich etwaige Unterschiede im Textaufbau und -inhalt bzw. Besonderheiten in der sprachlichen Gestaltung aus den kulturell bedingten Traditionen bzw. Konventionen, die sich in der jeweiligen Rechtskultur etabliert haben (vgl. inhaltlich-strukturelle Formelhaftigkeit norddeutscher und süddeutscher Anklageschriften bei Bielawski, 2022, S. 105–148). Auf die Relevanz konventionsgebundener Elemente in Rechtstexten macht ebenfalls Reichmann (2016) aufmerksam, die die Makrostruktur der Textsorte *Anklageschrift* und ihrer brasilianischen Entsprechung *Denúncia* einer Analyse unterzieht. Nach Reichmann (2016, S. 346) stellen gesetzlich vorgeschriebene und konventionsgebundene Elemente „die sprachliche Realisierung des Fachwissens in diesem kulturell und institutionell geprägten Kommunikationsbereich“ dar. Zur Vernetzung der Textsorte *Anklageschrift* im deutschen und französischen Rechtssystem siehe Reichmann & Aussenac-Kern (2019).

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