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Contents

4 SAMUEL ALABA AKINWOTU
A pragma-rhetorical study of selected Pentecostal sermons in Nigeria

20 KLAUDIA GAJEWSKA
Why has phonodidactics become "the neglected orphan" of ESL/EFL pedagogy? Explaining methodology- and ELF-related motives behind a reluctance towards pronunciation teaching

39 MAŁGORZATA JARMOŁOWICZ-DZIEKOŃSKA
The picture bride phenomenon: A reflection on photography from a cultural perspective in Yoshiko Uchida's *Picture Bride*

67 LAURA SAKS
Is translating poems for children a child's play? A linguistic analysis of the English translations of "Lokomotywa" by Julian Tuwim

86 MAGDALENA ŻOCHOWSKA
Translating irony. Translation strategies and techniques used by Polish translators of *Pride and Prejudice*

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A pragma-rhetorical study of selected Pentecostal sermons in Nigeria

Abstract. This study examines persuasion and communicative intentions in Pentecostal sermons in Nigeria. Notwithstanding the high scholarly inputs in religious discourse, no single work has examined the devices employed to achieve persuasion and conviction as well as communicative intentions in Pentecostal sermons in Nigeria. This work examines twelve sermons of selected Pentecostal preachers in Nigeria by drawing insights from rhetoric and pragmatic act to account for persuasion and communicative intentions in the data. Findings reveal that preachers strategically deploy rhetorical question; direct address and direct command; metaphor; repetition and structural parallelism; and they develop convincing arguments through logic/reason. It is also revealed that preachers share experiences with their listeners and they assume divine role by speaking authoritatively to convince their listeners into accepting their propositions. Preachers perform pragmatic acts of asserting/stating, encouraging, assuring, directing, commanding, praising, etc. The study has further confirmed that Pentecostal sermons can be used for public mobilisation.

Keywords: communicative intention, Christian religious Pentecostal sermons, pragmeme, rhetoric, metaphor.

1 Introduction

The central place which religion occupies in religious societies like Nigeria makes it a matter of interest to virtually everybody in such societies. Probably, this is why Omotunde (2015: 85) writes that "Just like language, religion is an important aspect of culture found in every human society, no matter how remote". One of the various forms in which the Christian religious discourse is realised is sermon and it is considered as one of the most important areas of worship. Sermons belong to the persuasive genre and its role in information, education and instruction cannot be overstressed. As

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a form of religious discourse, it is a means of ideological persuasion, hence Adam (2017: 22) avers that religious texts "represent a type of persuasive discourse and, as such, both create and reflect ideology" and their goal is "to persuade the audience of the veracity of the Christian doctrine".

In religious cultures like Nigeria, the place of worship is not just a place for people to gather for spiritual events; it is a centre for economic, political and socially well-coordinated discourse events. The audience in this communicative action are mostly of the same society/culture with the preacher who is the active participant employing both linguistic and pragmatic resources to achieve effective communication. The way religion is structured gives preachers the power to exercise authority over their congregation. In this social context, sermons afford the preachers a measure of power over their hearers/readers who are most likely less informed/educated in matters of religion. In spite of this, however, the success of a sermon depends largely on the extent of its persuasiveness. To this end, persuasive strategies are necessarily adopted by preachers to ensure that crucial points, ideas, as well as arguments are presented in a manner to achieve conviction. This paper focuses on different ways in which persuasion is realised in Christian religious sermons. It attempts to identify and categorise the rhetorical strategies and linguistic realisations of persuasion in the texts under examination. The paper also examines how credibility and intentionality are achieved/maintained in Christian religious sermons.

1.1 Literature review

It is important to note that scholars have always shown interest in investigating religious discourse as seen in the volume of works in this domain. Existing studies include Donovan (1976) which examines the features and forms of language use in religious speeches. He points out that "religious language is affective because it affects people's feelings, enters into their imagination, influences their emotions and often gives the impression of conveying profound truth". Odebunmi (2006) examines the stylistics of religious electronic media adverts in Nigeria. He observes that religious adverts are characterised by lexico-semantic, morphological, syntactic and pragmatic features, marked peculiar religious connotations which have the tendency to deceive the listener and lure him/her to act to the benefit of the advertiser. Also, Olaniyan and Oyekola (2006) deploy stylistic tools to examine Muslim sermons in South-west Nigeria. They observe that Muslim sermons are preoccupied by themes such as fear of Allah, supremacy of Allah, immorality and so on projected through morphological, lexico-semantic, syntactic and rhetorical devices. Aladeyomi (2006) investigates the phonological features of electronic media sermons in Nigeria. Using the yardsticks of Standard Nigerian English, he observes that the preachers performed well but did not meet the requirement for acceptable international intelligibility. Taiwo (2006) accounts for tenor in

electronic media Christian discourse in Nigeria. It focuses on the analysis of the role structure into which participants in the discourse fit and how this determines how they make and interpret meaning in the discourse. Adeyanju (2008) is a stylo-semantic study of season's greetings from Pastor Adeboye. He observes that Pastor Adeboye "skilfully manipulated linguistic and rhetorical resources to preach a coherent and soul stirring sermon to the members of his church via the New Year greeting card". Bankole and Ayoola (2014) examine the nature of propositions and how interpersonal relationships are created in a Christian magazine.

Rajtar (2012) focuses on gender representation in the discursive practices of the Jehovah's witnesses in the former East Germany. The paper examines how the egalitarian stance of the official state ideologies influences the perspectives and practices of Jehovah's witnesses on gender related issues. Saddhono (2012) focuses on the structure and features of discourse, the topics, speech acts and the language form and functions in Friday sermon in Surakarta. Again, Abdel and Eldin (2014) investigate the language use in Amr Khalid's Islamic sermons to uncover the ideological devices in the sermons using critical discourse analysis (CDA) approach. Omotunde (2015) examines the rhetorical devices in the letter to the Hebrews in the Holy Bible. The study identifies appeal to pathos, logos, and ethos, and the deployment of rhetorical questions, repetition and parallelism as persuasive devices in the text. Kim (2016) interrogates a dominant ideological position that excludes women from pastoral position. The paper examines the text of a religious scholar that assigns sovereign values to the interpretations that tend to propagate and legitimise this patriarchal church's policy. The study observes that religious beliefs and doctrines often hinge on debatable and subjective interpretations of biblical texts based on the assumed mental models by presenting implicit presuppositions as unchanging and unchallengeable truths. Willy and Mbakop (2018) account for the pragmatic functions of 'Amen' as used in two different religious trends, namely, mainstream Protestant Churches and Pentecostal Churches. They observe that apart from its use in traditional conclusion and gospel truth, New-Born Churches also employ it to maintain interpersonal relations and as power marker.

Although the above has shown that a lot of works exist on religious texts, the pragmatic and rhetorical resources involved in effective communication of intentions have not been adequately explored in Christian religious Pentecostal sermons. Therefore, the significance of the present study lays in its focus on the identification and discussion of the persuasive elements and the strategies to achieve conviction in Pentecostal sermons with a view to accounting for communicative intentions and how balance and effectiveness are maintained in selected sermons.

1.2 Research questions

The research questions of the study are the following:

i. What are the linguistic and non-linguistic elements that make a piece of language persuasive?
ii. What do Pentecostal preachers do to make their sermons credible and potent enough to convince their addressees?
iii. What are the pragmatic functions of language use performed in Christian religious Pentecostal sermons?

2 Methodology

The data for this study were mainly drawn from selected sermons of three Pentecostal preachers in South-west Nigeria who are popular with wide audience from diverse linguistic, ethnic and social backgrounds which necessarily makes English to be the preferred language of their sermons. They are; Pastor E.A Adeboye, the General Overseer of the Redeemed Christian Church of God (RCCG); Pastor W.F. Kumuyi, the General Superintendent of the Deeper Christian Life Bible Church (DCLBC); and Bishop David Oyedepo, the President of the Living Faith Church (LFC). From over thirty sermons sampled, twelve (12) were selected (4 for each), based on their thematic focus. The list of the sermons is hereby provided under each preacher.

Pastor E.A. Adeboye

1. *Put your trust in God*
2. *Born to be a blessing*
3. *The Almighty*
4. *Prosperity*

Pastor W.F. Kumuyi

1. *The power of prayer and praise*
2. *Faith*
3. *Holiness in Christian daily living*
4. *Christian giving*

Bishop D. Oyedepo

1. *The greatest miracle*
2. *Seed time and harvest*
3. *The Exploits of faith*
4. *Covenant wealth*

Some of the sermons exist in electronic audio form while others are already published in books. The records containing the audios were bought from the media department of the churches while the books containing other sermons were bought from the book-shops. The researcher listened to the audios and transcribed them into the written mode. The books containing the sermons and the transcribed form were critically read and relevant aspects that reveal the discourse representations of persuasion, argumentation

and the communicative intentions of the preachers were culled from the data and subjected to analysis.

3 Theoretical orientation

Pentecostal sermon is a social process which involves a preacher and his/her listeners in a communicative interaction. Usually, it is a one-way communication in which the preacher/speaker is the only active participant. Listeners are not usually allowed to talk, save on rare occasions of emotional outbursts eliciting interjective responses, and when the preacher wants them to respond to a yes or no question eliciting a chorus answer and so on. Even though sermons are strictly one way communication, interaction progresses on the interplay of shared grounds between speakers and listeners. Sermons belong to persuasive discourse hence; preachers deploy pragmatic and rhetorical resources to achieve effectiveness in communication. Therefore, a detailed analysis of Pentecostal sermons would require both pragmatic and rhetorical investigation of the arguments of the preachers to be able to distil the fine details of the communication process. The pragma-rhetorical model as conceptualised in this study involves deploying a combination of Pragmatic Act Theory and Rhetoric to account for the communicative intentions and the strategies for maintaining balance and effectiveness in communication in the selected Christian religious Pentecostal sermons. Thus, the analysis involves the identification and description of the discoursal and rhetorical elements, the strategies for sustaining arguments and, the pragmatic functions of the language use in the data**.** Studies in persuasive discourse basically require an exploration of the art of rhetoric and argumentation. Again, a theory of action such as Mey's pragmeme which recognises the place of context in discourse interpretation is also required to account for intentions in the selected sermons. Thus, while rhetoric and argumentation will identify and evaluate persuasion and logic in the selected sermons, pragmeme will examine speakers' intentions in them.

As noted earlier, the engagement of the principles of rhetoric in persuading the audience to act or think in a particular way in religious communication is noteworthy. Aristotle (1954) cited in Roberts (2010) defines rhetoric as "the faculty of observing in any given case the available means of persuasion". Persuasion involves a writer or speaker in the act of influencing an audience or a reader to adopt a belief or follow a course of action. To achieve persuasion, speakers often make use of language to appeal to their listeners' emotion and sense of reason. According to Aristotle (1926/1959), there are three general means of persuasion or rhetorical appeal (ethos, pathos and logos). Thus, persuasion can be achieved by the personal character of the speaker (ethos; when the listener is made to believe that the speaker is credible), by putting the audience into a certain frame of mind (pathos; when the listener is made to feel emotionally elated by the speech) and by the proof provided by the words of the speech itself

(logos; when conclusions are reached through logical presentation of truths) (see also Roberts 2010: 8-9). To Aristotle, the success of an oration depends not only on how well it is able to arouse the emotions of the audience but also, on the argument itself; when it demonstrates or seems to be demonstrated that something is the case. Thus, an orator (e.g. a Pentecostal preacher) must be credible and he must possess the capacity not only to manipulate language to sway the minds and swell the heads of his/her listeners, but also to achieve conviction depending on the topic of the sermon.

Aristotle further points out three kinds of rhetorical speeches: deliberative, forensic and epideictic. In the deliberative kind of speech, the speaker either advises the audience to do something or warns against doing something. The forensic speech either accuses somebody or defends self or someone; while the epideictic speech praises or blames somebody, as it tries to describe things or deeds of the respective person as honourable or shameful (see Adegoju 2005). Preachers often deploy persuasive devices to influence the beliefs, attitudes and forms of behaviour of their audiences through a deliberate act of producing utterances that appeal to their emotions and their sense of reason. This means that effective persuasive endeavour involves some measure of argumentation. According to Van Eemeren and Grootendorst (2004: 1) argumentation is "a verbal, social, and rational activity aimed at convincing a reasonable critic of the acceptability of a standpoint by putting forward a constellation of propositions justifying or refuting the proposition expressed in the standpoint".

Persuasion involves a speaker in the presentation of arguments in a manner to achieve conviction. Thus, persuasive and argumentative capabilities of the speaker are essential to the success of any argumentative endeavour. Since the aim of rhetoric and argumentation is to achieve persuasion and meaning in communication, a fusion of insights from rhetoric and dialectics frameworks will be beneficial to the understanding of an ordinary argumentation (see van Eemeren & Houtlosser 2002; Eemeren & Grootendorst 1984).This is so because, as a social activity, the making of a discourse involves that the speaker should present his/her views and opinions in such a manner that the audience will be persuaded to accept them. While it is important for a speaker to be persuasive in his/her presentation, the argument must also be logical and rational in order to convince the listeners. To a large extent, the success of a communicative enterprise depends largely on the ability of the arguer to make his/her standpoint convincing and conclusive.

The second theory adopted for this study is Pragmatic Act Theory (PAT) or Pragmeme. PAT is a development on J.L Austin's (1962) Speech Act Theory. Mey's disagreement with Speech act is not only the idea of speech act verbs (SAVs) but on its abstract idealization of the intentional speaker and hearer and not on social reality. He contends that not all speech acts have corresponding SAV; sometimes, they may be represented by several verbal items. Pragmeme is different from speech act since it depends essentially, on the

circumstances that led to, and the situation in which the action takes place rather than the actual words being used. This implies that theory places premium on the socio-cultural and societal factors in the construction and interpretation of meaning. It views communication as a dynamic process in which an individual is not only limited or constrained by societal conditions but he/she is also shaped by them at the same time. This means that the overall pragmatic meaning of an act is jointly determined by a combination of features of the context or situation of utterance in agreement with the rules entailed by such a situation or context. Capone (2005: 1357) describes pragmeme as:

> a speech act -an utterance whose goal is to bring about effects that modify a situation and change the roles of the participants within it or to bring about other types of effect, such as exchanging/assessing information, producing social gratification or, otherwise, rights/obligations and social bonds.

As in the real world, situations are not permanent; they keep changing and bringing about other types of effects. This dynamic nature of the situation is a component of pragmeme which allows for modifications such as the changing or retention of the roles of participants to achieve variants of same act/effect or an entirely different one. Context and rules of language are essential features of pragmeme. By these, it is ensured that what is said and meant are within what the society allows (social constraints) in particular situations, subject to the rules of the language. Stressing the role of context, Mey (2001: 217) avers that, "no conversational contribution can be understood properly unless it is situated within the environment in which it was meant to be understood". Also, the rules of language provide the ground upon which what is said in context is systematically transformed into whatever is meant.

Pragmeme emphasises the societal and individual features in meaning construction and comprehension. Thus, an individual actor or participant operates within the affordances of his/her society and the rules of engagement of the language in use. According to Mey (2001: 219):

> The theory of pragmatic acts does not try to explain language use from the inside out, from words having their origin in a sovereign speaker and going out to an equally sovereign hearer (...). Rather, its explanatory movement is from the outside in: the focus is on the environment in which both speaker and hearer find their affordances, such that the entire situation is brought to bear on what can be said on the situation, as well as on what is actually being said.

In Mey's opinion, human activity is not the privilege of the individual. Rather the individual is situated in a social context, which determines his/her affordances.

This is a deterministic view that limits individual initiatives with respect to what an individual can say and what he cannot say. Mey explains further that no two situations in real life are ever the same, just as no two practs are ever the same with regard to the actual situation under which they are realised. At the same time, every pract is an ***allopract*** which is a variant of the same pract; a realisation of a particular pragmeme (Mey 2001: 221). Hence, Odebunmi (2008) submits that what determines a pract is solely participants' knowledge of interactional context. The relationship between a pract and an allopract can be likened to the relation of a general class and its sub-classes or types. In other words, a pract is the general class while an allopract is a type or variant of it. This is means that a pract includes all other variants (allopracts) of it. As a theory that emphasises the importance of participants' knowledge of interactional context in the understanding of meaning in any speech event, pragmeme is more appropriate for this study. This is especially so, because of its ability to harness the pragmatic resources to adequately account for the intentions of the preachers in the selected sermons.

4 Data presentation and analysis

Generally speaking, religious discourse is usually persuasive. As a type of public speech, it involves speakers in strategic presentation of their communicative intentions in a manner that will appeal to their listeners and as a result, accept their point of view. In this segment of the paper, the devices and/or strategies employed to achieve persuasion and conviction and the pragmatic functions of language use performed in the process are examined. The extracts below would serve the purpose of illustration and analysis

Extract (1) *Are you under satanic bondage? Are your enemies oppressing you? Are you under the bondage of sin? The Almighty God is able to save to the uttermost.* ***(Sermon 1)***

Extract (2) *Adultery destroys your soul. You must be a fool of the highest order to indulge in adultery. For, adulterers and fornicators are enemies of themselves and they will not enter the kingdom of God unless they repent. Jesus is coming back again for a bride without spot, blemish or wrinkle. Today is your day of salvation; do not let it pass you by.* ***(Sermon 1)***

Extract (3) *Whenever you pray and there is no answer, check your life. Sin is a barrier to answered prayers. You may hide your sins from your pastor but not from God. You cannot be living in sin and expect the grace of God to multiply in your life. Righteousness qualifies you for divine attention while sin disqualifies you. There is no rest for sinners. Repent today and enter into your rest.* ***(Sermon 12)***

Extract (4) *Who is like unto thee oh God of heavens and earth! Your works are marvellous. There is none on earth who can stop the sun in its circuit or the moon from*

rising except you. There is nothing impossible before you. You are mighty to save, mighty to bless, mighty to heal and mighty to deliver. You are worthy of our worship. Indeed you are very great! ***(Sermon 9)***

Extract (5) *We have enough reasons to thank our God. He is the eyes that watch us even in darkness, the ear that listens to our petitions, and the mercy that endures forever. Beloved, think of His love; think of His blessings; think of His miracles, signs and wonders in your life. You are alive today because He spares your life. He fights your battles for you and gives you victory. What more can you give Him. Go ahead and give Him praise!* ***(Sermon 3)***

Extract (6) *God commands us to praise him in all situations. When you have so much in your pocket,* ***praise him****; when you can hardly pay your bills,* ***praise him****; when you get a new job,* ***praise him****; when you have just received your sack letter,* ***praise him****. Thank him for food on your table, thank him for ability to eat it, thank him for sleeping and waking and thank him for everything.* ***(Sermon 5)***

Extract (7) *The word of God is powerful. It is your seed for a miracle.* ***When you plant*** *a seed,* ***you expect*** *it to bear fruits and* ***when you plant*** *the word* ***you expect*** *a miracle.* ***When you plant*** *the healing word* ***you reap*** *healing miracle. Therefore, begin to speak to your situation now* ***(Sermon 10)***

Extract (8) *Giving is getting.* ***The more you*** *give,* ***the more you*** *get.* ***The more you*** *invest in people through giving, and in the cause of God,* ***the more you*** *receive now and in eternity.* ***(Sermon 8)***

Extract (9) *God is the owner of the earth and the fullness by creation. It does not matter the nature of your problem, He is able to deliver you from it. Life is a battle; it is full of challenges but our God is a great deliverer. All you need to do is to put your faith in him. Power to safe and deliver belongs to him. He is exceedingly great.* ***(Sermon 6)***

Extract (10) *Do not put your trust in any man; such a man can travel or even die. God will never become tired. He will never fail you. He is the only friend who can go through the valley of the shadow of death with you. He is the only friend you can trust.* ***(Sermon 7)***

Extract (11) *When God commands, it happens. He commanded and there was light. Absolute power belongs to God. God is greater than the greatest doctor and His power can save and cure even supposedly incurable diseases* ***(Sermon 11)***

Extract (12) *Man was created by God to live forever; but death came into the life of man after the unfortunate incident in the Garden of Eden. Since then, man has to struggle in the midst of comfort, he became poor in the midst of abundance and finally, he must die for his sins. For, the wages of sin is death, but the gift of God is eternal life. Salvation is only possible through Jesus Christ. Give your life to Christ today and be saved.* ***(Sermon 7)***

Extract (13) *God is the sufficiency of all that trust Him. He is the present help to the helpless, the controller of the universe, the Everlasting One. When He opens the door, nobody can shut it.* ***(Sermon 4)***

4.1 Use of rhetorical question

One major persuasive element that is significant in the data for this study is rhetorical question. A rhetorical question is one that does not require the readers/listeners to answer/respond to it. Although it may sometimes, be framed in the nature or structure of a question, it is meant to be a statement. As revealed in the data, rhetorical questions are employed by preachers to make their listeners engage in self-reflection and by so doing, lead them into a premeditated conclusion. As can be seen in extract 1, the questions are covert means of stating the problem which is followed immediately by the solution/suggestion/advice. The rhetorical questions state the problems (satanic bondage, oppression by enemies and bondage of sin) in succession. It is assumed here that participants have the shared contextual apriori experience (SSK) of these problems from which the listener desires deliverance and to which the speaker offers a solution in the concluding sentence (*The Almighty God is able to save to the uttermost)*. This, perhaps, supports the choice of the present form of the verb 'to be' [**is**, (not **was**) able] which makes the statement free from time constraints. The statement that follows the rhetorical questions reveals the communicative intention of the preacher. This assertive statement is deployed to perform the pragmatic act of assuring. Through this, listeners are being encouraged to have faith in God and look up to Him for solution to, or deliverance from their problems.

4.2 Use of direct address and direct command

Pentecostal preachers often talk or address their listeners directly especially when they desire to establish close bond with them. This device comes in two distinct but sometimes interrelated forms, namely, direct address and direct command. Direct address and direct command involve the speaker in speaking directly to a listener in a manner that will attract his/her attention and to make him/her believe that the speaker cares or empathises with his/her situation. Even though direct address and direct command are usually engaged in face-to-face communication, they are also used in written communication, especially when the writer wants to persuade his/her listeners to accept a particular proposition. It should be noted however that, while direct address may serve the purpose of informing, advising or urging listeners to take a particular step or do something, a speaker may give an instruction, directive/command or make a request through direct command. As revealed in the data, direct address and direct command are achieved through some pronominal elements such as 'thee', 'you' and 'your' used to restrict the applicability of the statements to the addressees. For example,

the preachers in extracts 2 and 3 used the second person pronoun 'you' and 'your' to connect with their listeners directly as if they are in personal/one-on-one interactions. Thus, they personalise the propositions to establish emotional link (bonding) with their listeners and legitimise themselves as a leader or one who knows better than them. Operating as a leader in extract 1, the preacher asserts that "adultery destroys your soul" and warns his listeners collectively and individually, against the dangers of sin/adultery. He performs the pragmatic acts of asserting and warning. He also performs the pragmatic acts of advising/encouraging by commanding when he says "repent "today and enter into your rest". The last sentence in extract 5 and the phrase "praise him" repeated four times in extract 6 are direct commands and they also perform the pragmatic act of directing/instructing. Again in extract 4, the preacher addresses God directly using the pronouns *thee, you* and *your* to perform the pragmatic acts of praising, worshipping and adoring God while encouraging his listeners to do same.

4.3 Use of metaphor

Metaphor (MPH), which is a device for comparison, is employed to achieve persuasion in Pentecostal sermons as revealed in the data. In extracts 2 and 3 above, sin and righteousness are metaphorically and symbolically juxtaposed in a manner that establishes the logical connections between them. The lexical choices such as 'fool' and 'bride' are descriptive metaphor for sinners (*adulterer and fornicator*) and the righteous (without spot, blemish and wrinkle) respectively. While sin is presented metaphorically as a barrier and destroyer (*Sin is a barrier..., Adultery destroys...*), righteousness is symbolically presented as a "bride" [precious, favourable, priceless (Prov. 18:22 & Prov. 31: 10)] without "spot, blemish, and wrinkle". The preacher leverages on the Shared Religious Knowledge (SRK) that Jesus is coming back again (John 14:3, Acts 1:11) to examine these two opposing religious concepts to persuade his listeners to accept his position. He performs the pragmatic act of warning (against living in sin)as well as the pragmatic act of encouraging righteous living (Righteousness *qualifies* you for divine attention while sin *disqualifies* you).

Another example of metaphor is in extract 5, where the preacher compares God to some sensitive and highly important and useful parts of the human body to underscore the importance and role of God in the life of man. God is compared to the 'eyes' *that watch us even in darkness* (protects/secures) and 'ear' *that listens to our petitions* (listens/hears). The first and second sentences of extract 7 are noteworthy in performing the pragmatic act of encouraging. Here, the preacher uses the metaphor of farming/agriculture (planting and reaping/harvesting) to compare the process of receiving a miracle to harvesting/reaping in farming. He compares "the word of God" to the "seed" (plant/sow) while the "fruit" (harvest/reap) is the metaphor for a "miracle". This, perhaps, is to encourage the listeners that miracle is not a commonplace as may be perceived

by the righteous ones. As in farming, there is the time of sowing with the expectation of a harvest. The analogy is used to perform the pragmatic act of encouraging.

4.4 Use of repetition and structural parallelism

Repetition and structural parallelism are also significant persuasive devices employed in Pentecostal sermons. While repetition occurs when an element is either repeated (partly or wholly) for emphasis, structural parallelism involves a deliberate repetition of structures to express related issues in order to show the similarities or differences in them. Examples in the extracts above include "mighty to" (4 times) in extract 4; "think of" (3 times) in extract 5; "the more you" (4 times) in extract 8; "when you" (4 times) and "thank Him" (4 times) in extract 6. The devices are also used in extract 7 to systematically present an argument. The phrases, "when you plant…" and "you expect…" structurally interlinked to achieve emphasis and clarity. So also in extract 8,giving and getting and, investing and receiving are logically and structurally juxtaposed. The paradox of the phrase, "giving is getting", can be better explained inter-textually with some biblical references:

(a) Give, and it shall be given unto you; good measure, pressed down, and shaken together, and running over, shall men give into your bosom. For with the same measure that ye mete withal it shall be measured to you again. (Luke 6: 38 **KJV**)
(b) But this I say, He that soweth sparingly shall reap also sparingly; and he which soweth bountifully shall reap also bountifully. (2 Cor.9: 6 **KJV**)

The above biblical references establish the shared religious knowledge (SRK) of the principle of giving as a means to receiving supernatural abundance (the more you give/sow, the more you receive/reap) which the preacher activates to link the immediate situational experience (SSK) to perform the pragmatic act of inspiring and encouraging his listeners to give.

4.5 Use of logic or reason

Since the essence of persuasion is to achieve conviction, preachers usually make their argument logical and reasonable. They not only present their argument in a systematic order of input and output relation (logicality) but also provide the premise or basis for their goals/positions/perspectives. For example, the argument in extract 7 is logically connected through the sequential ordering of the phrases, when you plant" (input) and "you expect" (output).Also, in the first sentence of extract 2 (topic sentence), the preacher asserts that sin is destructive (*Adultery destroys your soul*). This assertion is strengthened by the sentences that follow where the preacher further reveals the consequences of adultery and fornication. Through tactical deployment of the rhetorical appeal

of logos, he initiates his argument by stating the consequences (sentence 1-3) of indulging in sin and concludes by condemning and warning his listeners against sin (*For, an adulterer and a fornicator is an enemy of himself and such will not enter the kingdom of God*). The preacher performs the pragmatic acts of stating/asserting (*Jesus is coming back again for a bride without spot, blemish or wrinkle*). He also performs the pragmatic act of encouraging and advising his listeners to forsake sin and avoid its consequences (*Today is your day of salvation; do not let it pass you by).*

In extract 11, the preacher develops an argument and provides a reason or evidence to convince his listeners of the truth in his proposition. The proposition (*When God commands, it happens*.), is supported by an evidence that God is powerful (*He commanded and there was light*) which he legitimises in the last two sentences (*God is greater than the greatest doctor and His power can save and cure even supposedly incurable diseases*). He performs the pragmatic act of encouraging/assuring.

Pentecostal preachers also achieve conviction by providing the premise or basis for their goals/positions/perspectives. For example, in extracts 10 and 13, the preachers tactically provide the premise/basis for their goals to encourage or assure their listeners of the unfailing presence, power and influence of God and his readiness to help in solving their problems. Speaking directly to his listeners in extract 10, the preacher activates listener's SRK that "God is our refuge, and strength, a very present help in trouble" (Psalm 46:1 **KJV**) and encourages them to have faith and trust in God. He performs the pragmatic act of advising (*Do not put your trust in any man*) through a logical argument in which he compares God (a friend who can be trusted because he can never be tired and he can never fail) with man (who cannot be trusted because he can fail, travel or die). In the same vein, the preacher in extract 13 activates the listener's SRK about God's ability to provide for all their needs (The earth is the Lord's, and the fullness thereof; the world, and they that dwell therein. Psalm 24:1 **KJV**). He performs the pragmatic acts of affirming/stating, inspiring and assuring. While arguing that sin and grace are diametrical opposites, he justifies his position that *sin is a barrier to answered prayers* such that whenever they pray and there is no answer, they should examine their lives.

6 Discussion and conclusions

This study has examined the rhetorical resources and communicative intentions in Christian religious Pentecostal sermons in Nigeria. It has identified and discussed the significant persuasive resources and the devices and/or strategies used to achieve conviction and maintain balance and reasonableness in Christian Pentecostal sermons. The study has also accounted for the pragmatic functions of language use in the selected data.

This study has revealed that Pentecostal preachers tactically employ persuasive appeal of logos to develop clear and convincing arguments. As observed by Adam

(2017: 20), appeal to rationality of the audience is a major means of achieving clarity which is at the heart of Aristotelian concept of logos and this can be facilitated by lexical means. In the data examined for this study, the preachers deploy lexical and rhetorical devices such as direct address, direct command, repetition, structural parallelism, rhetorical question and metaphor to facilitate the clarity of their message. To further achieve conviction, they present the basis/premise/reason for their proposition in the style of cause and effect or input and output relation. Also, the language of the preachers reveals shared experiences with their listeners. Quite often, Pentecostal preachers assume divine/institutional voice by speaking authoritatively on issues. This can be likened to what Bhatia (1999) and Hyland (2005) called 'credibility boosters'. In the case of our data, preachers employ this communicative mechanism to increase their credibility and to enhance the value of their message. In the course of preaching, they also make reference to specific passages or stories in the bible that are general/shared knowledge to their listeners and this helps in enhancing their status.

According to van Dijk (1998: 316-317), "discourse has a special function in the expression, implementation and especially the reproduction of ideologies, since it is only through language use, discourse or communication [...] that they can be explicitly formulated". Adam (2017) perhaps has this in mind when he claims that religious communication has the basic purpose of creating, mediating and reflecting ideology. One can therefore, glean from the above that apart from persuading the audience, Pentecostal preachers engage in teaching and they also use language to perform some actions or communicate their intentions. Some of the pragmatic functions of language use performed in the data include asserting/stating, encouraging, assuring, directing, commanding, praising, condemning, warning and disapproving to convince their listeners into accepting their propositions and act in a preconceived way.

In conclusion, it is evident from this study that persuasion is at the core of Pentecostal sermons which can be used for mobilising or demobilising listeners. To a large extent, Pentecostal preachers employ logical utterances embellished with quasi logical techniques of persuasion that are meant to achieve effectiveness in communication. They creatively use language to motivate and energise their audiences, and to earn their trust. The author believes that the findings of this paper will be of benefit to religious preachers in that it will help them to master the art effective religious communication. The findings will also be useful as pedagogical resources in language and communication. Further research can juxtapose the pragma-rhetorical resources in orthodox and Pentecostal movements within the Christian religion.

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Why has phonodidactics become "the neglected orphan" of ESL/EFL pedagogy? Explaining methodology- and ELF--related motives behind a reluctance towards pronunciation teaching

Abstract. The post-method reality of ESL/EFL education, in which LT is no longer perceived as a large-scale enterprise based on one universal method, has encouraged theoreticians and practitioners to search for more personalised ways of L2/FL teaching. This specifically applies to pronunciation instruction, whose models, priorities and teaching procedures ought to be considered in light of the tenets of the Post-Method Era. Even though there is no disputing the fact that the influences of methodology- and globalisation-driven transformations have been generally positive in the sense that they have individualised approaches to LT and facilitated international communication respectively, they have also lowered the status of phonodidactics, which, in effect, is disparagingly referred to as "the neglected orphan" of ESL/EFL pedagogy.

Keywords: ENL, ESL, EFL, ELF, phonodidactics, methodology, globalisation.

1 Rationale

Traditionally, pronunciation has been viewed as a subskill of the productive oral skill, speaking (e.g. Chastain 1971; Kreidler 1989; Morley 1991; Dalton & Seidlhofer 1994; Celce-Murcia (1996); Brown 2001; Thornbury 2005, 2006; Bygate 2009; Boonkit 2010; Nation 2011; Waniek-Klimczak 2011; Brown & Bown 2014). Nonetheless, despite a specific

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linguistic norm, or standard, established and accepted by the community (or nationality) to which the end product of oral language production, that is speech, conforms, pronunciation is a highly individual phenomenon affected by distinctive non-language-related factors, including, *inter alia*, speakers' place of residence, age, education and personal voice characteristics (Nurani & Rosyada 2015: 109). It is to be noted here that the aforementioned presentation of a pronunciation learning process concerns first language (L1) contexts in which phonology acquisition is determined mainly by speakers' unique features and their immediate socio-cultural environments.

If one considers second and foreign language (L2/FL) instructed settings, the issue of pronunciation learning becomes even more complicated not only under the influence of linguistic and non-linguistic **learner-related determinants**[2] (e.g. level of language proficiency, amount and type of L2/FL and pronunciation instruction, language experience, language aptitude, age of onset, personality, identity, willingness to communicate, communicative apprehension, self-constructs, degree of motivation, expectations and future plans, learning style, aesthetic sensitivity), but also because of **teacher-** (e.g. level of competence, ability to approximate sound system, qualifications and teaching expertise, teaching and learning materials, beliefs and attitudes towards oral language teaching, choice of actual pronunciation-oriented in-class practices, personality traits) and **context-related factors** (e.g. similarities and differences between L1 and L2/FL, role of the target language in the community, ethnolinguistic vitality, similarities and differences between L1 and L2/FL culture, national language policy, national core curriculum, language examinations and their influence on teaching, situational context of a speech act). Given a multidimensional character of L2/FL pronunciation learning, as reflected in its linguistic, socio-cultural and emotional underpinnings, instructors' attempts to involve learners in formal pronunciation instruction to improve the latter's oral language competence have proven to be frequently unsuccessful.

Thus, motivated by a high variability of an ESL/EFL pronunciation learning process, the field of phonodidactics has become strongly associated with nothing else than the extreme unpredictability of L2/FL pronunciation teaching classroom procedures. This, in turn, questioned its usefulness, leading to lively discussions held by theoreticians and practitioners on to what extent the pronunciation component, taking into consideration its frequent inefficiency in instilling appropriate oral language habits, ought to be included in ESL/EFL courses. This has certainly not failed to influence the attitudes

2 Pronunciation-influencing factors which have often been discussed by SLA specialists in the context of L2/FL phonology acquisition include learners' biological (age of onset), linguistic (significance of their native language, level of language proficiency, FL experience, language aptitude) and psychological/ emotional (WTC, anxiety, self-constructs, motivation) determinants (see e.g. Carroll 1971, 1990; Patkowski 1990, 1994; Flege & Fletcher 1992; Flege et al. 1995; Flege et al. 1997; Kruger & Dunning 1999; Scovel 2000; Munro & Mann 2005; Bundgaard-Nielsen et al. 2011).

towards L2/FL pronunciation practice, which have become increasingly hostile, not only effectively diminishing the role of pronunciation, but also putting it into the background of L2/FL instructed settings.

The question can be asked now whether an overwhelming number of pronunciation-influencing factors has been the only culprit responsible for provoking widespread reluctance towards phonodidactics. The answer is, as argued below, negative.

Once we have briefly considered some of the possible causes underlying the notoriety of phonodidactics on the ESL/EFL educational stage, we would like to continue the discussion by shifting its focus to less obvious, however equally, if not more significant reasons for the controversial and, hence, problematic nature of instructed pronunciation practice. Once we have carefully tracked the history of L2/FL methodology and the *lingua franca* role of English (ELF), it is possible to identify certain tendencies which, despite their vital importance in, *exempli gratia*, establishing the field of second language acquisition (SLA) and facilitating international communication in the sphere of commerce, politics, business and education, have more or less directly tended to weaken the position of phonodidactics.

In view of the above, the aim of the present paper is to investigate methodology- and ELF-related causes undermining the position of pronunciation teaching (see the term "the neglected orphan"[3] coined by Deng et al. 2009 qtd. in Ketabi & Saeb 2015). Following scholars from the relevant fields (e.g. Brown & Yule 1983; Kachru 1986; Morley 1991; Jenkins 2000; Field 2005; Kumaradivelu 2006; Cruttenden 2008; Szpyra-Kozłowska 2015, 2018), we would like to:

1. present selected methodology- and ELF-related problems underlying the continuing neglect of instructed pronunciation practice;
2. consider the potential impact of L2/FL methodology and a growing importance of English on the teaching of ESL/EFL pronunciation today.

The objectives of the article are twofold: (1) to broaden the view on ESL/EFL pronunciation teaching by offering methodological and historical insights from the fields of phonodidactics and L2/FL education and (2) to demonstrate the increased sensitivity of ESL/EFL pronunciation teaching to a constantly evolving position of English on the international stage.

3 Other revealing terms such as "the Cinderella area" and "the lost ring of the chain" coined by Kelly (1969) and Moghaddam et al. (2012) respectively were introduced to underline the inferiority of phonodidactics in L2/FL instructed settings.

2 Reasons behind the inferiority of ESL/EFL phonodidactics

The following sections present selected methodology- and ELF-related problems which, in our opinion, have put ESL/EFL phonodidactics in a vulnerable position.

2.1 Methodological marginalisation of ESL/EFL pronunciation teaching

A subordinate role of instructed pronunciation practice can be explained on the grounds that the study of written language used to foreshadow the analysis of speech production processes. Traditionally, in the **Pre-Method Era** a continuing preoccupation with written models resulted in an exhaustive investigation of the written language (Brown & Yule 1983). Triggering from the fact, until the nineteenth century instructed pronunciation practice had mostly been a forgotten activity. According to Kelly (1969), little is known about pronunciation instruction characteristic of the West up to Reform Movement[4] in view of the fact that the mechanisms underlying speech production remained a mystery to contemporary language instructors. Even though phonetic descriptions appeared before this time, they contained, as Kelly (1969) claims, mistakes whereas pronunciation teaching was limited to imitation and "approximation drawn from spelling" (Kelly 1969: 60). As far as the approach to the teaching of classical languages in the light of pronunciation practice is concerned, the instruction allowed only for the consideration of stress placement rules, which were judged significant for the process of verse composition whereas target language (TL) phonemes were replaced with the ones from learners' native language (L1). Even though some attempts to popularise a more welcoming attitude towards pronunciation instruction were made – for instance, different kinds of phonemic transcription and some rules based on spelling and etymology were put forward – they were so informal that, in fact, no teaching took place.

Such liberal attitudes continued in the consecutive period of language teaching (LT), the **Method Era**, in which phonodidactics generally evoked mixed feelings among language instructors (see Rodgers 2001). Amid the initial prominence of grammar and vocabulary in Classical and Grammar-Translation Methods, there appeared to be a manifest lack of attention paid to oral language production in language classrooms. The teaching of pronunciation gained prominence in the wake of World War II, leading to the introduction of production-oriented instruction which focused on individual segments, stress patterns and intonation (Brown & Yule 1983: 2). To be precise, interest

4 The history of pronunciation as a scientifically relevant field of study can be dated back to 1886 when the International Phonetic Association was established. The origins of the nineteenth century movement can, however, be traced back to India where one thousand years B.C. Sanskrit grammarians devised a phonological system which provided the basis for the European school of phonetics as late as in the nineteenth century (Kelly 1969).

in pronunciation aspects was revived in the period between the 1940s and 1960s with the introduction of American Audiolingualism and British Oral Approach. They put the importance of pronunciation in the centre of classroom instruction, focusing specifically on learners' accurate production of individual sounds, segments (Atli & Bergil 2012). With the arrival of Cognitive Code Learning and Designer Methods, however, formal pronunciation instruction was abandoned again on the premises that students can learn it through intuitive practices by following the rules of L1 phonology acquisition. Such an approach to the study of language changed with the introduction of controversial Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) which perceived language education as written and spoken communication. Even though the main goal of fluency-oriented communicative tasks was to develop speakers' ability to communicate in the TL, excessive focus on meaning most often prevented them from noticing the form of utterances (Seidlhofer 2004: 488). The CLT methodology was mocked by Sobkowiak (1996: 19) who points out that the method, having foreshadowed the role of accuracy, or formal correctness, changed the face of EFL competence, severely limiting it to the knowledge of some English tenses and strategies, including the use of gestures.

Table 1 below provides a brief summary of the key assumptions underlying pronunciation teaching in the selected methods from the Method Era.

Table 1. Presentation of selected methodological approaches to FLT in the context of the instructed pronunciation practice

Method / Approach	Period	Assumptions about pronunciation teaching
Classical Method/Grammar--Translation Method	up to 1800s	L1 used as a means of communication in the classroom no interest in oral language production in the TL FL linguistic competence limited to the knowledge of grammar and vocabulary written translations of texts from L1 to the TL (and vice versa)
Direct Method	1800s and early 1900s	an intuitive-imitative approach to pronunciation instruction naturalistic L2/FL pronunciation teaching: no explicit information given how to produce sounds an emphasis placed on the listening skill on the assumption that students exposed to oral input internalise the TL sound system on their own

Method / Approach	Period	Assumptions about pronunciation teaching
Reform Movement	early 1900s	International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) used to provide an exact representation of speech sounds phonetic training introduced to ensure good pronunciation instruction
Audiolingual Method/Oral Approach	1940s and 1950s	a decided advantage of accuracy over fluency development in formal pronunciation instruction a variety of exercises based on drills, dialogues and repetition the practice of overlearning to eliminate L1 influences decontextualised and isolated pronunciation practice minimal pairs introduced to highlight individual sounds
Cognitive Code Learning	1960s	rejection of the assumptions underlying Audiolingualism promotion of grammar and vocabulary teaching inductive teaching of language subsystems believed to exercise FL students' inherent creativity no place for explicit pronunciation instruction intuitive pronunciation learning
Designer Methods (e.g. Natural Approach, Total Physical Response, Suggestopedia)	1970s	L2/FL teaching resembles L1 acquisition emphasis on listening comprehension no formal pronunciation teaching
Communicative Language Teaching	1980s	pronunciation instruction viewed as an obstacle to communicative practice by early CLT phonodidactics conceptualised as a problematic component of LT which can decrease speaker's level of confidence (Binte Habib 2013: 21) departure from accuracy- to fluency-oriented language tasks no drills growing importance of pronunciation in communicative competence in more recent version of CLT

As evident above, "changing models of second language learning, changing foci in second language teaching, and changing models of linguistic description" (Morley 1991: 485) led to the fluctuating significance of phonodidactics in ESL/EFL instructed settings. The contradictory nature of pronunciation instruction, however, has not been the only problem.

2.2 Methodology-related challenges of ESL/EFL pronunciation teaching

The failure of traditional approaches (and their pronunciation-based activities) to develop learners' expertise in TL sounds and prosody dampened teachers' enthusiasm to practice the subskill. This in turn might have constituted a source of discord between the subordinate position of pronunciation in LT and its indispensability in learners' oral communication (see Levelt 1999; Burns & Claire 2003; Seidlhofer 2004; Demirezen & Kulaksiz 2015).

Ineffectiveness of phonodidactic classroom procedures, combined with scholars', as Brown (2002) puts it aptly, obsession with the concept of a method and their extensive, yet futile search for a set of universal assumptions which could work well with all groups of students from around the globe, encouraged researchers to stress the need for a novel kind of instruction and mark "the Death of Method".

Given the fact that one method cannot provide effective teaching in all educational contexts, Nunan (1991), Brown (1994, 2002) and Kumaravadivelu (2006) recommend language instructors to adjust their teaching to unique L2/FL instructed settings by following three concepts characteristic of the **Post-Method Era** (Kumaravadivelu 2006). They include the following:

1. particularity, which considers local, socio-cultural and political features of the educational context;
2. possibility, which explores learners' socio-cultural and socio-political backgrounds;
3. practicality, according to which FL instructors are expected to formulate their own theory of practice based on their students' individual needs and characteristics.

Following the tenets of the Post-Method Era, ESL/EFL instructors are expected to adopt a two-stage approach to pronunciation teaching. This has generated lively discussions on *what* aspects of the TL sound system to teach and *how* to do in the classroom. Following that line of reasoning, the decision on the what ought to logically precede any considerations of the how. Otherwise, as Brown (1991: 1) explains, one may end up teaching the wrong thing, that is an unsuitable model and aspect of pronunciation, using a very good methodology.

In light of the above, some of the most intense debates in the field of phonodidactics have surrounded such notions as the choice of an appropriate pronunciation teaching model and the selection of instructional goals.

At this point, it is to be noted that ESL/EFL teachers have had two paths to follow. They could work on their students' native-like mastery of the TL sound system in accordance with the nativeness principle. Nevertheless, such factors as the formulation of the Critical Period Hypothesis and the prominence of communicative methodology gave way to the intelligibility principle, according to which L2/FL instructors may concentrate on developing their learners' ability to produce intelligible and comprehensible speech. In the context of the principle in question, the isolation of pronunciation aspects which determine the intelligibility of non-native speakers' utterances is a priority. The issue, however, is contentious because it is not always evident to whom the utterance should be comprehensible. Traditionally, it was native speakers who were the target interlocutors that L2/FL speakers were preparing for having conversations with. Nowadays, with an increasing significance of ELF, this trend started to halt, with conversations with non-native speakers of English outnumbering those held with native speakers.

Even though the above-mentioned developments to SLA and LT are more than welcome, they have not strengthened the position of phonodidactics. Given increased workload involved in the processes of planning and implementation of instructed pronunciation practice, teachers' ardour to include the pronunciation component in their courses might have thoroughly been cooled down.

2.3 ELF-related problems with ESL/EFL pronunciation teaching

The rise of ELF and, *ergo*, the development of World Englishes, further accentuated a highly unrealistic character of the objective pursued by the nativeness principle. The problem is well accounted for by Ketabi & Saeb (2015), who explain that "in an age when English had adopted the role of the basic channel of international communication, native-like pronunciation seemed to be an unnecessary extravagance not every learner could afford" (p. 185). Given the changing character of communication in English, the transition from the nativeness to the intelligibility principle has initiated extensive research into what features of speech ought to be central in pronunciation instruction.

In light of the fact that communication between non-native speakers of English had quickly become a reality, the English language ceased to be exclusively the domain of its native users (ENL). The search for a universally applicable set of pronunciation teaching priorities for ELF learners began. One of the important contributors to the field who made an attempt to satisfy the needs of such a group of learners is Jenkins (2000). The researcher proposed the so-called lingua franca core (LFC), in which she isolated a set of core (e.g. aspiration of /p, t, k/, approximation of consonants, emphasis on vowel quantity, nuclear stress) and non-core (e.g. dental fricatives, rhythm, intonation, weak

forms) features of English. Despite a growing need to acknowledge ELF users, Jenkins' (2000) LFC attracted justifiable criticism. An emphasis on developing learners' basic intelligibility was one of the arguments which effectively discredited her proposal. Its unsound empirical basis, as successfully revealed by Szpyra-Kozłowska (2015), was another reason behind a questionable implementation of the core features into pronunciation instruction.

Since English is spoken in different parts of the world, discussions have also centred on how the institutional context translates into pronunciation teaching. Szpyra-Kozłowska (2018) isolated four major types of pronunciation teaching models, including native, nativised, non-native and multiple models.

Their classification, as a historically motivated phenomenon, is often discussed in the context of Kachru's (1986 after Szpyra-Kozłowska 2018) model of concentric circle. Having taken the role of English as the main criterion, Kachru (1986) divides the countries into three circles:

1. the inner circle (e.g. the UK, the US, Canada), in which English functions as a native language (ENL);
2. the outer circle (former British colonies, such as India and the countries in Africa and Asia), where English is an official language used in politics, administration and education (ESL);
3. the expanding circle countries (e.g. Poland, Germany, Spain), in which the role of English is limited to the status of a foreign language (EFL).

Kachru's (1986) model of three concentric circles has affected the type of pronunciation instruction found preferable in given educational settings. Accordingly, the inner circle adopts the native models of pronunciation whereas the outer circle opts for nativised pronunciation teaching models, with, for example, Indian English being adopted in India.

The introduction of nativised models of pronunciation in the outer circle countries carries fundamental implications. On the one hand, New Englishes, or as Szpyra-Kozłowska (2018: 238) explains, indigenised varieties of English, seem to be more appealing to ESL teachers given a number of linguistically, psychologically and culturally-related reasons. Local varieties of English are said to be easier to teach since they are deeply rooted in a given socio-cultural context, and, thus, frequently used. On the other hand, however, in contrast to standard models of pronunciation, they are simply local or regional varieties of English and, thus, they are known to a limited number of English speakers. Hence, their use in communication with the speakers of English from the outside of a given outer circle country may have far-reaching consequences with regard to the success of a communication process. Further, given a matter of prestige,

nativised models may evoke negative feelings among their users since they come across as inferior when compared with native models.

In the case of the expanding circle, the issue under discussion is usually far from being straightforward. The choice of a pronunciation teaching model usually depends on the country's geographical proximity to the inner circle countries as well as their political and economic relationship. Decisions have been therefore usually made between two most influential pronunciation models associated with the UK and the US, that is Received Pronunciation (RP) and General American (GA) respectively. Their introduction to FL instructed settings has not avoided criticism either. On the one hand, they have been most thoroughly described models, providing an extensively documented theoretical basis for the development of an array of teaching materials. On the other hand, they have been criticised for their unrealistic and unattainable character as well as a diminishing approach towards non-native speakers' identity (Szpyra-Kozłowska 2018).

A reasonable alternative to native models of pronunciation that has a potential in providing EFL learners with a comprehensible and intelligible yet non-native-accented English can be offered by non-native and multiple models.

As far as the former is concerned, or the non-native models, both non-native speakers of English who share their L1 with their learners as well as non-native speakers of English whose L1 differs from that of their students can be involved in pronunciation instruction. The situation in which the teacher as well as the learners have the same linguistic background is more favourable. As argued by Szpyra-Kozłowska (2018), "this variety of English is phonetically and culturally close to the learners who feel comfortable with it and allows them to express their L1 cultural, linguistic and national identity" (Szpyra-Kozłowska 2018: 239). Such an argument, however, can be easily refuted if one takes into account those students who intend to achieve near native-like oral proficiency and whose ESL/EFL instructor provides an L1-accented a pronunciation model. The process of pronunciation teaching can become even more problematic when EFL learners are exposed to a pronunciation model which is not only a non-native accented speech, but also contains traces of a language different from learners' L1. As presented by Szpyra-Kozłowska (2018), such language instructors are not only at risk of being looked down upon by learners owing to their accented speech, but are also not able to predict students' pronunciation difficulties given two distinct L1 sound systems.

The latter, or the multiple models, do not focus on one variety of English. Instead, they introduce, depending on the educational context as well as the instructor and learners, different native and non-native accents. While, on the one hand, such a practice is beneficial from the perspective of learners' oral language comprehension; on the other hand, it may be the source of their confusion and annoyance given the fact that "if learning one variety is an enormous challenge, then coping with several models might be too heavy a burden" (Szpyra-Kozłowska 2018: 240).

The information presented in Table 2 gives insights into three aforementioned types of pronunciation teaching models: native, non-native and multiple models.

Table 2. Overview of selected pronunciation teaching models (based on Cruttenden 2008; Kretzschmar 2008; Seidlhofer 2008; Collins & Mess 2013; Szpyra-Kozłowska 2015; Trudgill & Hannah 2013)

Pronunciation teaching model	Type	Approach to pronunciation
English as a Foreign Language (EFL)	native	emphasis on communication with native speakers adoption of a native model of pronunciation aiming at native- or near native-like proficiency exposure to and imitation of native pronunciation models references to TL society and culture
English as a Lingua Franca (ELF)	non-native	emphasis on communication with non-native speakers of English adoption of the Lingua Franca Core (LFC) aiming at basic intelligibility (preservation of L1 features under the condition that they do not impede on intelligibility) native linguistic rules and socio-cultural norms not important
Native English as a Lingua Franca (NELF)	multiple	emphasis on communication with native and non-native speakers adoption of a native model of pronunciation aiming at comfortable intelligibility references to both L1 and TL socio-cultural norms

3 Future directions

It is difficult not to agree that the stipulated "Death of the Method" have revolutionised theoretical approaches to pronunciation teaching. Socio-cultural, economic, political and technological globalisation-driven changes which contributed to the emergence of ELF have also significantly affected the position of the pronunciation component in English language teaching (ELT).

The ease with selecting grammatical and lexical items according to their complexity and learners' age, interests and educational needs (Cruttenden 2008) has over the years remained a proverbial pipe dream in the field of phonodidactics. As already stated, contemporary phonodidactics involves a number of decision-making processes connected with the *whats* and the *hows* of pronunciation teaching. This, consequently, places more and more burden on teachers who need to select pronunciation teaching models and priorities by taking into consideration, *inter alia*, their students' L1, age, expectations, level of proficiency as well as cultural, historical and political ties with the TL community.

Even though the above-mentioned information has been found crucial to successful planning of pronunciation instruction, we would like to express our concerns as to what extent teachers of English across the globe are familiar with the latest guidelines on phonodidactics of the new millennium and to what degree they can adhere to them in language classrooms. Our worry has been prompted by the current situation in the Polish educational context in which EFL teachers' classroom work has been driven primarily by the prospect of high-stake examinations. As far as Polish instructed settings are concerned, there has been little room for pronunciation practice, and, all the more, the identification of pronunciation teaching priorities in view of the examination reforms initiated in the late 1990s. The speaking *Matura* exam, the only oral FL examination in Poland, administered at the ISCED[5] level 3, not only assesses examinees' pronunciation very leniently, but it is also of little significance to Polish students in contrast to a written high-stake FL examination as demonstrated by Zawadowska-Kittel (2017) in her study conducted with secondary school students. Its impact on phonodidactics is more than obvious.

In the times of an increasing significance of English, the questions relating to what (and why) should be regarded as a pronunciation teaching priority have been giving researchers sleepless nights. There are, however, some other aspects which complicate the process of pronunciation teaching.

What is closely connected with the points made above is the concept of a standard which evolved differently in the context of a spoken and written language. It is to be noted that while the conventions concerning grammatical rules and vocabulary for the written language have generally been accepted by the majority of educated English speakers, the lively controversy has centred on the issue of spoken language. The latter has been diversified not only by different strata of the society, but also by various geographical regions (Cruttenden 2008).

Intelligibility, which describes the degree to which an utterance is understood by a TL user, is problematic since "just like with foreign accent, whether a given word/utterance

5 Eng. International Standard Classification of Education

is or is not recognizable will to a large extent depend on the listener, rather than on the objectively measurable features of the speaker's phonetic output" (Scheuer 2015: 140).

Even though it is possible for a foreign accented speech to be understood by other interlocutors, there is every likelihood that a poor quality of non-native speakers' pronunciation will have a negative effect on the latter's perception (Cunningham-Anderson 1993). Moreover, certain manners of pronunciation may be more irritating than others. As a result, "listeners sometimes exhibit prejudice against particular groups of L2 speakers or against non-native accents in general" (Munro & Derwing 1995: 290). The criterion of aesthetics and attitudes towards accented speech, since conditioned by listeners' likes and dislikes, is, thus, a personal issue.

Munro and Derwing (1995) point out that the sources of bias towards foreign accented speech can also be located within social, economic, historical and political features of a given nationality. Pennington and Rogerson-Revell (2019: 20) provide an example of Filipino English, which is disregarded by the citizens of Hong Kong due to the contrast between the Filipino, predominantly servants, and the English, a ruling class, communities.

What further complicates the issue is, as Dalton and Seidlhofer (1994) explain, the fact that some aspects of pronunciation teaching are easy to teach, whereas some "might better be left for learning (or not) without teacher intervention" (Dalton & Seidlhofer 1994: 72).

Apart from teachability- and learnability-centred considerations, the functional, or phonemic, load which stands for the contrasts between two, or more than two, sounds ought to be also taken into account. Accordingly, the higher the functional load a given sound carries, the more important it is in the context of oral communication and speech production (Cruttenden 2008: 315). In other words, the sounds which can be characterised by a high functional load constitute more minimal pairs and, therefore, their mispronunciation may result in frequent communication breakdowns, e.g. /i/ versus /i:/ as in *sit* and *seat*, *fit* and *feet*, *bid* and *bead*.

Last but not least, given the fact that each group of learners has its own unique characteristics, it has recently been advocated that a list of pronunciation priorities which are most suitable for a specific group of speakers should be compiled (Szpyra-Kozłowska 2015). Accordingly, segmental and suprasegmental components of the TL sound system ought to be analysed with reference to the so-called priority evaluation. It encompasses the following criteria:

1. their influence on the intelligibility of learners' utterances and the functional load;
2. their degree of tolerance as perceived by native speakers of the TL;
3. teachability and learnability dimensions in FL classrooms;
4. decisions made with regard to the aims of pronunciation instruction relating to basic versus comfortable intelligibility.

In her publication, Szpyra-Kozłowska (2015) carries out an evaluation for the voiceless dental fricative /θ/. She argues that the sound ranks low with regard to the intelligibility, functional load, teachability and learnability, at the same time being characterised by a high degree of tolerance on the part of native speakers. If, however, the comfortable intelligibility is the goal, then the sound ought to be taught.

4 Concluding remarks

The most frequent explanation put forward to account for the underprivileged position of pronunciation teaching has lain in a plethora of linguistic and non-linguistic learner-, teacher- and context-related pronunciation-learning determinants. Unsurprisingly, the concept of a pronunciation error, or any deviation from the norm, has been mostly overlooked to the advantage of grammar and vocabulary practice based on the rule: the easier something is, the sooner it is taught. Nonetheless, inherent problems with pronunciation teaching might have been further aggravated by a range of economic, political and socio-cultural developments that have been taking place irrespectively of classroom settings.

The emergence of ELF has started a heated debate over who enjoys the sole right to judge what can be regarded as correct pronunciation. A growing number of non-native speakers of English have put into question the nativeness principle. Since more and more communication nowadays takes place between non-native speakers of English, native models of pronunciation have been replaced with their indigenised, non-native and multiple counterparts, following Kachru's (1986) model of concentric circle, on the significance of English in different parts of the world.

In addition, a methodological revolution marked by the demise of a method has had far-reaching implications in institutional contexts. Apart from the selection of a pronunciation teaching model, L2/FL teachers have been strongly encouraged to carefully analyse their instructed settings in light of the Post-Method Era. They have been expected to make decisions with regard to what aspects of TL pronunciation to teach and how to do it most effectively. In view of the above, onerous burden has been imposed on language instructors who are obliged to:

1. firstly, be well acquainted with theoretical and practical phonetics in order to identify similarities and differences between their learners' L1 and TL systems;
2. secondly, consider students' English-related plans with a view to isolating pronunciation teaching priorities which ensure speakers' basic or comfortable intelligibility in contacts with native and/or non-native users of English;
3. thirdly, select pronunciation-based classroom activities bearing in mind ESL/EFL students' linguistic and cognitive abilities.

This, despite a great prominence and obvious usefulness of ESL/EFL oracy, proves the problematic nature of phonodidactics and provides yet another reason behind an increased unwillingness of teachers to introduce and practice aspects of the English language pronunciation in their classes.

Theoretical discussions and empirical research have been and definitely will be an integral part of phonodidactics. We are afraid, however, that the increasing diversity of learners of English may further exacerbate the problem of neglected pronunciation instruction. Pragmatically speaking, a question needs to be asked, firstly, to what extent teachers can remain theoretically informed about the recent phonodidactic developments and, secondly, if it is really possible to determine nowadays pronunciation teaching priorities. Assuming that this difficult task has been achieved, we need to remember that this is only one side of the coin. There is still great abundance of linguistic and non-linguistic pronunciation-influencing factors which relentlessly put to the test the effectiveness of the teaching process.

Certainly, the aforementioned overview cannot and, therefore, does not offer a complete account of the problem under discussion. Nevertheless, bearing in mind an immense complexity of the phenomenon of pronunciation teaching, our determined attempt was to discuss selected methodology- and ELF-related developments with a view to illustrating a high vulnerability of a pronunciation component to ongoing changes taking place not only in ESL/EFL methodology, but also in different spheres of human lives. They all have, as, hopefully, successfully explained above, played an important part in reducing L2/FL instructors' willingness to teach pronunciation by complicating the selection of phonodidactic priorities, or maybe making the whole action completely impracticable.

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The picture bride phenomenon: A reflection on photography from a cultural perspective in Yoshiko Uchida's *Picture Bride*

Abstract. Literature and photography have always encouraged critics to explore interactions between text and image. Within the scope of culture, they also show significant potential in terms of their scholarly application, since the photograph becomes a practical tool for studying literary works within the cultural matrix. The paper aims to use this means of visualisation in order to examine the picture bride phenomenon illustrated in Yoshiko Uchida's novel *Picture Bride* (1987), which reveals that behind the veil of apparently prosperous and lifelong marriages, there is a harsh matchmaking system which—solely on the basis of personal networking and Japanese marriage intermediaries—allows for shipping prospective wives from Japan to Japanese immigrants who settled in the United States a few decades earlier. Thus, the photograph constitutes a tool of analysis, which doubles as a tangible means of representation and a factual visualisation of metacognitive imagery.

Keywords: picture bride phenomenon, photography, Japanese-American literature.

As a growing field of inquiry, the relationship of literature to photography has always offered illuminating insights into conceptual patterns interweaving literary and photographic tissue. These " 'photo-textual' experiments," as François Brunet (2013: 12) calls

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them, have revealed an unexplored space of meaning, which calls for further conceptualisation with a perspective of bridging the two fields in terms of their theoretical capacity. Brunet, attempting "to complete the depiction of a process of hybridization" (12), simultaneously emphasises that such patterns, already present in the history of literary and photographic co-existence, concern "especially photography's relationship to reality, presence, and representation—particularly of the self. Still, this history is envisioned primarily as cultural, linking ideas and practices in an investigation of art in society" (12). Hence, photography has become an instrument that enables claiming agency with regard to the reflection of a particular reality and the construction of an identity corresponding to a pictorial image, which enhances the process of identification of the self. Because of the fact that photography "has become in itself a paradigm event and something of a literary genre" (31), its connections to literature have also undergone a considerable change in terms of their mutual reference. As Brunet delineates, with the advent of this invention the balance between the ocular and the textual fluctuated in the interstices of their reciprocal interaction: "On one side, photography was the end of 'literature' in the sense of vain textual speculation; on the other, 'literature' in the sense of record of the imagination was the image of photography" (22). Nevertheless, within the scope of criticism, photography has succeeded in carving out its own space and is regarded as an autonomous means of expression. The critic distinguishes its significance and an independent theoretical trajectory, which has earned its own conceptual field of recognition: "Even though a lot of its traditional social uses remain seemingly untouched, photography's historic alternative as a medium—to supplant literature, or to become a new literature—would seem to have been resolved in favour of the second term, especially given … literature's own marriage to photography" (110).

With an interdisciplinary lens applied to this phenomenon, critics could search for yet a deeper meaning bonding the two conceptualisations within the purview of their theoretical horizons. Although the photograph is commonly perceived as a strictly visual, speaking-for-itself conveyance of representation, it is capable of creating more textual reference than meets the eye as its figurative means of parlance can transfigure the potential vectors of interpretation. Thus, it constitutes a tool of analysis which doubles as a tangible means of representation and a factual visualisation of metacognitive imagery. Sean Ross Meehan (2008: 14) points out that in spite of the fact that photography is considered to be "a crucially metonymic medium," the process of representation and reproduction engage it in a dynamic interaction: "Photography is a communication medium because it is a means for representing an image (the photographic product or photograph) and a technology, by way of photo-chemical exposure and development, for reproducing that image (the photographic process). This dynamic relation between representation and reproduction marks the complex character of the medium." Furthermore, another reference needs to be made to the characteristics of the

photograph, namely the way in which it articulates itself through the process of perfect mimicry, producing a facsimile of a subject. As Stuart Burrows (2010: 205) explicates, imitative representation encapsulated in mimesis, attributable to painted subjects, differentiates a photograph from a painting mainly due to its flawless emulating capacity which renders an exact image of a photographed person or object: "Photographed subjects do not look like 'something' precisely because they *are* that thing. Whereas a painting opens up a gap between the thing and its representation—the gap that … is crucial to the existence of mimesis, which operates via a model of original and copy—photography conflates the two, rendering the thing and its image consubstantial." Analysing distinctive qualities of the photograph, Susan Sontag (1973: 12) additionally expounds that the act of photographing transgresses a passive act of observation, since it requires an active involvement on the part of the non-inert photographer: "Even if incompatible with intervention in a physical sense, using a camera is still a form of participation. Although the camera is an observation station, the act of photographing is more than passive observing." All the aforementioned properties of photography make it a unique vehicle of representation, which allows for a substantial extension of interpretative measures in comparison with other media of articulation.

The noetic reading of photography with its hues of subjective understanding relating to inner wisdom—*noēsis*, as its Greek etymology indicates—opens up a new space for parenthetical analysis which may extend beyond the realms of common interpretative measures. W. J. T. Mitchell (1994: 2-3) emphasises the necessity of examining bipolar vectors of representation with reference to their historical frameworks: "What we need is a critique of visual culture that is alert to the power of images for good and evil and is capable of discriminating the variety and historical specificity of their uses." However, not only historical contexts should pave the way for heterogeneous perspectives pertaining to the conceptualisation of photography theory. In fact, Pierre Taminiaux (2009:11) voices "the need for an aesthetic perspective on photography that goes *beyond* a time-delineated cultural approach." Such a view capacitates applying a more unconventional visualisation to the entire concept, which is provided within an interdisciplinary scope. David Cunningham *et al.* (2008: 1) state that while the "field of interdisciplinary critical practice remains problematic, it also promises much of value and interest." Hence, as the critics continue, it is necessary to focus on

> a critical encounter between different approaches to such problems in order to enable the possibilities of research on literature and photography to be more effectively conceived and pursued. Its aim is not simply to question photography's idea of literature, nor literature's idea of photography. Rather, it seeks to trace the *heterogeneity* of conceptions of the intersections between the literary and the photographic from a variety of critical and historical perspectives. (1-2)

The medium of photography may erode the transparency of the text and become a repository of multi-dimensional interpretations through translating the rhetoric of image and text into spatial and time experiences within cultural and historical frameworks, thus assuming different roles of representation. According to Brunet (2013: 114), "the large-scale reshuffling of cultural functions between literature and photography" has already been observed, which necessitates further investigation and searching for new means of critical examination. On the part of the critic, this requires a particular sensitivity to certain cultural planes of reference. As every society has developed a set of cultural codes, according to which they function and fit into reality, a considerable disparity between occidental and oriental customs and practices can often be immediately noticed by foreigners of distinct origin, let alone cultural nuances among the inhabitants of various regions of the same country. Therefore, different conceptual tools need to be applied with regard to such idiosyncratic specificities. Japanese-American literary works need to be read from a perspective that takes into account their cultural and historical heritage in order not to be misinterpreted through far-fetched fallacies or incongruities—not uncommon for postcolonial criticism, whose weaknesses have been pointed out by Edward Said and other critics. Expanding the discourse with this aim in mind, there is another extension that requires to be outlined with reference to the conceptualisation of self-representation. It draws from a cultural background and focuses on deploying a photograph not for the sake of aesthetic contemplation but with the purpose of constructing an informative means of intercultural communication, which will be discussed further.

The established position of photography in creating cultural memory has been recognised for centuries. Since, according to Barbara Misztal (2003:13), "cultural memory refers to people's memories constructed from the cultural forms and to cultural forms available for use," the photograph forges a tangible connection with the past, which grants this medium a status of autonomous representation by the means of various cultural forms. As the author continues, "[t]hese cultural forms are distributed across social institutions and cultural artefacts such as films, monuments, statues, souvenirs and so on. Cultural memory is also embodied in regularly repeated practices, commemorations, ceremonies, festivals and rites" (13). For a long time, the photograph has served as an arbitrary and unmediated means of expression which, due to its ocular-centric properties, has been granted a putative role of transparency. Linda Haverty Rugg (1997: 134) emphasises that photography immediately became the *lingua franca* of visual representation: "One of photography's roles as an invention, in fact, was to invent internationalism. It is the popular assumption that images, unlike language, do not require translation, and photographs, infinitely and inexpensively reproducible shortly after the medium's invention, could reach across both national boundaries and classes, speaking to the literate and illiterate alike." However, it soon transpired

that the purported neutrality of the photograph is illusive and one cannot ascribe to this means a universal framework of interpretation, as the ignorance of such factors as historical or socio-cultural contexts may distort its overall meaning and intended purpose of communication.

Another aspect worth pointing out relates to the conspicuous entanglement of the photograph with time, which constitutes a fundamental plane of critical reference. Time fluctuations reflected in the events caught in the camera's eye during one's lifetime are capable of rendering the exact trajectory of the subject's life and hence, as Sontag (1973: 15) explicates, a set of photographs may become a reflection of one's internalised values and experiences, reminiscent of human impermanence and irrevocable demise: "All photographs are *memento mori*. To take a photograph is to participate in another person's (or thing's) mortality, vulnerability, mutability. Precisely by slicing out this moment and freezing it, all photographs testify to time's relentless melt." The photograph has always been recognised as an instant vehicle of memory that enables travelling back in time, especially for family gatherings. Sontag delineates that "[m]emorializing the achievements of individuals considered as members of families (as well as of other groups) is the earliest popular use of photography. For at least a century, the wedding photograph has been as much a part of the ceremony as the prescribed verbal formulas. Cameras go with family life" (8). However, not only such ceremonial occasions gave an opportunity for taking photographs. The medium of photography immediately entered the world of bureaucracy and in an instant became an indispensable part of human identity, which—according to Sontag—renders it a staple tool for confirmation of one's existence in the contemporary world:

> The industrialization of photography permitted its rapid absorption into rational—that is, bureaucratic—ways of running society. No longer toy images, photographs became part of the general furniture of the environment—touch-stones and confirmations of that reductive approach to reality which is considered realistic. Photographs were enrolled in the service of important institutions of control, notably the family and the police, as symbolic objects and as pieces of information. Thus, in the bureaucratic cataloguing of the world, many important documents are not valid unless they have, affixed to them, a photograph-token of the citizen's face. … Photographs are valued because they give information. (21-22)

At this point it is worth mentioning that apart from its informative properties, the photograph gained the status of a visual matchmaker and, due to its illustrative value, became an unofficial means of identification in an Asian cultural background. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the Japanese developed a customary practice of marriage arrangement which became known as the picture bride phenomenon.

Portrait photographs of would-be-spouses were exchanged before the couple got married. Although face recognition was a primary objective behind this concept, the photograph did not act as a token of artistic representation but relied heavily on introducing a prospective personal bond with a previously unknown person. Thus, the first step to forging and cultivating an intimate relationship led in the contrary direction to the commonly held practices—through familiarizing with a future spouse in the photograph and then meeting him or her in person after a long-haul journey from Japan to the United States.

The life of a Japanese picture bride, Hana Omija, depicted by Yoshiko Uchida in the novel *Picture Bride*, reveals a potent point of convergence between the past and the present, constituting an informative framework which helps to familiarise with the cultural code based on "picture brides who went with nothing more than an exchange of photographs to bind them to a strange man" (Uchida 1997: 3). Figuratively speaking, the whole conceptualisation is enclosed in a photograph, since only this medium serves as a tool of agency and, at the same time, constitutes a remnant of the past. Rugg (1997: 156) gives prominence to the fact that photographs, acting as fragmented pieces in bodily form, present specific moments which are taken out of the time frame and translated into infinity: "Like allegorical objects, photographs function as 'fragments' in that they are moments blasted from the continuum of time, rendered spatial and shrunk to miniatures." The title of the novel encapsulates the picture bride phenomenon in the same way, which makes it the core trajectory of Hana's story. The Japanese-American author delves into her ancestral—albeit fictitious—past, dedicating the work to all the unvanquished female souls who a century earlier embarked on the ship to the United States to seek a better future. An epigraph at the beginning of the novel may simultaneously double as an epitaph on a memorial monument: "In memory of those brave women from Japan who travelled far, who endured, and who prevailed." In fact, an image of a picture bride, an unidentified woman from the early 1900s, speaks to the reader from the front cover of the book. Thus, the black-and-white photograph becomes a leading trope and a catalyst of the story as the novel gradually unfolds.

The phenomenon would not have gained such a resonance among the Japanese if it had not been for the American governmental immigration policy based on racist and discriminatory principles. According to Lauren Kessler (1994: 13), the beginning of the twentieth century saw the greatest wave of emigration from Japan: "From 1901 to 1907 almost 110,000 Japanese—most of them young, male, literate, rural and from the respectable farming class—ventured to America." What needs to be taken into account is the fact the majority of the Japanese who arrived in the United States between 1885 and 1907 were single men in their youth who wanted to earn enough money and return to their motherland. As Kessler continues, "they saw themselves as *dekaseginin*, or temporary sojourners. Their plan was simple: work hard for three to five years, saving

every penny they could; then return triumphantly to Japan, to either rebuy the land they lost to taxes or expand their holdings and fund new ventures. The sacrifices would be great, but the rewards greater" (10). What is more, they were conscientiously selected citizens who, with their thorough education, were supposed to form a group of proper representatives. Elaine H. Kim (1982: 122-123) pinpoints the fact that due to such a broadly crafted campaign, the *issei*—first-generation Japanese immigrants—were relatively high-spirited and eager to head for America:

> They had had opportunities to become familiar with the currents of Western thought and modern Western life; in the cities especially, information about important social, political, economic, and cultural world trends was readily available. ... Moreover, the Japanese government not only screened immigrants carefully to make sure that they would properly represent their motherland abroad but also gave an official briefing for each immigrant, during which he could become acquainted with some of the rudiments of American life. For the most part, the *issei* had a highly positive attitude towards America when they left Japan.

Over time, their optimism for a bright future often turned into disappointment as they encountered many obstacles which prevented them from achieving their goals. Poverty and a lack of family in an alien country precluded their further development, which resulted in the occurrence of the so-called picture bride phenomenon. It was created out of necessity to help the Japanese settle down and raise their economic and social status. Indeed, the demand for Asian wives was so significant that bringing in Japanese women became a widely accepted and frequently noticed practice. Helen Zia (2001: 5-6) attributes such a turn of events to laws which were highly unpropitious for Asians: "Finding marriageable suitors was not a problem for women from Asia. For more than half a century before World War II, several racially discriminatory laws prohibited Asian men from becoming U.S. citizens or marrying outside their race. The United States also barred women from China, India, and the Philippines from immigrating. The combined impact of these prohibitions created generations of lonely Asian bachelor societies in America." The law appeared to be more lenient for the Japanese as from 1907 it enabled them to ship into the United States their wives, or—in many cases—wives-to-be (which, in fact, was exercised as a loophole):

> According to the Gentlemen's Agreement of 1907, Japanese immigrants were able to bring in wives as non-laborers and to establish families in America as their Chinese predecessors were unable to do, but Japanese laborers were excluded from immigration. By 1924, when all Japanese immigration was finally halted by law, over 14,000 Japanese women had come, mostly as 'picture brides,' to join husbands they had seen only in

> photographs. … the arrival of the picture brides helped encourage Japanese men to set down roots in American society, and the presence of women and, later, children allowed them to consider family-operated farms and small enterprises. (Kim 1982: 124)

The picture-bride system, called *shashin kekkon* (denoting 'photo-marriage'), relied on arranged marriages, which has constituted a staple of Japanese cultural tradition for centuries. Since marriage was a matter of not only personal but also, and predominantly, familial and community significance, it involved employing a go-between in order to select the best match for a spouse-to-be. Ester Mikyung Ghymn (1995: 74) observes that "[a] professional matchmaker usually worked as an agent. Working on commission, he or she made marriages in the manner of modern real estate transactions. The matchmaker sometimes exaggerated the qualities of the prospective mates, hoping to close a successful deal." This practice propelled a series of mishaps which eventually led to a gruesome predicament, where love and romance did not have a voice. As Kessler (1994: 36) emphasises, "romance was not, at least initially, a part of any pairing. Marital matches were arranged by outside intermediaries who might take many factors into consideration, but generally not the personal feelings of those they would be uniting. … Women … were supposed to sit back and wait for their families to arrange their futures." Ghymn indicates that the magnitude of the problem was significant as the prospects of a fabulous future transfigured into the greatest disillusionment of their lives: "The brides frequently became victims of false advertising. In many instances, marriage was not a state of emotional fulfilment but one of business. Marriage customs were rigid and cruel, rigid in adherence to society and superstition, cruel to the individual spirit" (1995: 74). Thus, many young women who fell prey to such intermediaries had to carry the burden of their contrivance for the rest of their lives.

Hana, the daughter of one of the last samurai, is among those females who become attracted to such an arrangement. She finds out from her uncle, serving as a matchmaker, about "the lonely man who ha[s] gone to America to make his fortune in Oakland, in California" (Uchida 1997: 2), and is seeking a wife from overseas. Bearing in mind the fact that she "was twenty-one, finding a proper husband for her had taken on an urgency that produced an embarrassing secretive air over the entire matter" (2). Her uncle pictures the man in bright colours, drawing a portrait of Taro Takeda as "a conscientious, hard-working man who has been in the United States for almost ten years. He is thirty-one, operates a small shop and rents some rooms above the shop where he lives. … He could provide well for a wife" (2). The thought of gaining independence speaks to Hana instantly as she "felt a faint fluttering in her heart. Perhaps this lonely man in America was her means of escaping both the village and the encirclement of her family" (4). The Japanese women, accustomed to various manifestations of male supremacy, frequently did not and could not recognise their individuality as autonomous entities.

As Kessler (1994: 37-38) expounds, the life of a Japanese wife was miserable enough and hardly bearable: "Isolated from her own friends and family, she lived to serve and procreate. If she was fortunate enough to bear a male heir, her status improved somewhat, but she would have little control over the household in which she lived—or, for that matter, over her own life." For Hana, a well-educated woman, in contrast to the majority of Japanese female society, the prospects of remaining in Japan seem to be not only a harbinger of a mundane future but, most of all, a major hindrance to her own development and creativity. Her point of view finds confirmation in the attitude of her sister's husband, who notices her individuality and firmness soon enough to give it proper condemnation. As the head of the family in a patriarchal society, he cannot bear female autonomy, even if it finds its reflection only in her words: "Although he never said so, Hana guessed he would be pleased to be rid of her, the spirited younger sister who stirred up his placid life with what he considered radical ideals about life and the role of women. He often claimed that Hana had too much schooling for a girl. She had graduated from Women's High School in Kyoto, which gave her five more years of schooling than her older sister" (Uchida 1997: 4). He believes that education "has addled her brain" (4) but, in fact, it is a statement of his insecurity towards a well-read woman, who might have much broader knowledge about the world than himself.

Undoubtedly, such a journey required a substantial courage on the part of a female and, as Kim (1982: 249) reasons, "Asian women who chose to immigrate to the United States as wives and picture brides were probably more adventuresome than average. Some, perhaps, were eager to escape from a shadowy past. Others undoubtedly wished to escape the social strictures of their village lives." The aforementioned individual freedom must have been a great enticement as well, but their attitudes apparently also reflected a pressing sense of frustration and constituted the last resort to change their unfavourable course of life. According to Paul Spickard (2009: 36), a promise of a more manageable future was for the picture brides the most appealing factor: "For their part, migration to America was attractive to some Japanese women, even if they had to marry to make the trip. It was an adventure. Living standards were higher in North America. Sex roles were less hierarchical. Responsibilities to extended kin were less onerous. In the more fluid social situation of a migrant community, a woman had a greater chance than in Japan of carving out a degree of autonomy for herself." Indeed, Hana's spirit longs for independence, since she believes that only the wings of uncurbed freedom will make her a self-fulfilled woman, and she is eager to follow the wind of fate that could bring her to this destination. The sacrifice of coming to another continent seems to fade in the distance, as the reward may bring the desired fruit of satisfaction. Uchida (1997: 3) offers a conscientious study of a self-aware woman who seeks a space for herself where her free will would not be subjected to constant abuse and distortion:

> Hana knew she wanted more for herself than her sisters had in their proper, arranged and loveless marriages. She wanted to escape the smothering strictures of life in her village. She certainly was not going to marry a farmer and spend her life working beside him planting, weeding and harvesting in the rice paddies until her back became bent from too many years of stooping and her skin turned to brown leather by the sun and wind. Neither did she particularly relish the idea of marrying a merchant in a big city as her two sisters had done. Since her mother objected to her going to Tokyo to seek employment as a teacher, perhaps she would consent to a flight to America for what seemed a proper and respectable marriage.

The only obstacle she has to overcome is the final decision of the family, as a mutual consent on the part of both families might give her a preliminary passport to a brighter future. In response, the relatives "all nodded, each of them picturing this merchant in varying degrees of success and affluence" (3). It does not need to be overtly stressed that in such a patriarchal arrangement it was the male who supervised the major decisions and directed the flow of the family life according to his will. Ghymn (1995: 85) notes that this came as no surprise to the majority of Japanese women, since they "were taught that they were inferior to men. As children their brothers were always favoured, and as wives they were told to obey their husbands. It was considered a woman's duty and honour to obey her father and husband at all times." Thus, Hana's mother, after discussing the matter mostly with the male members of the family and the village priest—since "[a] man's word carried much weight for Hana's mother" (Uchida 1997: 4)—finally agrees to the further development of events: "an exchange of family histories and an investigation was begun into Taro Takeda's family, his education and his health, so they would be assured that there was no insanity or tuberculosis or police records concealed in his family's past. Soon Hana's uncle was devoting his energies entirely to serving as a go-between for Hana's mother and Taro Takeda's father" (4).

In the subsequent period, Hana and Taro begin exchanging their letters and photographs. It was supposed to be the most convenient way of bringing the matter to a successful end as it saved time and the cost of travel. According to Spickard (2009: 36), another relevant reason on the part of a male might pertain to the fact that he wanted "to avoid exposing himself to the Japanese military draft by going home". The exchanges between the couple are rather laconic accounts of their personal lives, without a hue of intimacy or a romantic tinge: "When at last an agreement to the marriage was almost reached, Taro wrote his first letter to Hana. It was brief and proper and gave no more clue to his character than the stiff formal portrait taken at his graduation from Middle School. Hana's uncle had given her the picture with apologies from his parents because it was the only photo they had of him, and it was not a flattering likeness" (Uchida 1997: 4). Over time, the relationship does not become tighter, as neither of them is willing to

confide their innermost thoughts to the mute person in the portrait. In this case, the photograph does not assume the role of a remainder of an affectionate relationship from the past, since the person depicted in it remains a mysterious figure of non-reference—without a voice, familiar gestures or other sensory sensations. Thus, instead of evoking memories to cherish every time one looks at it, the picture reveals an air of a transient sensation, which cannot form into a common sign of representation. It can be treated in terms of corporeal art, as its visual properties are the only informative clues one may acquire at the first examination. Despite several consequent letters which Hana receives in the meantime, the mutual emotional distance between the future spouses does not shrink: "By the time he sent her money for her steamship tickets, she had received ten more letters, but none revealed much more of the man than the first. In none did he disclose his loneliness or his need, but Hana understood this. In fact, she would have recoiled from a man who bared his intimate thoughts to her so soon. After all, they would have a lifetime together to get to know one another" (5).

The picture bride arrangement was focused mainly on achieving a final goal of marital union and less—if at all—on the means by which it was reached. The fact that the pair met through photographs, which rendered only physical features of a person, was one of the sufficient determinants for accepting each other and the first step towards a new life together. The future spouses, who were treated by their families like mere commodities, gazed from the photographs like lifeless mannequins on display in a store. The portrait of Hana becomes a token of her only apparent freedom because she is going to pass from the hands of her family to her future husband. At least she can live with a hope of forthcoming salvation and marrying a man who will meet her expectations. According to further proceedings, after a long-distance marriage proposal had been accepted, a bride married an absent groom in a Japanese ceremony in order to qualify for a passport:

> If the families agreed to the marriage, a mock wedding took place in the home village with a stand-in for the groom, and the woman's name was transferred to the man's family register. Then, making use of the loophole in the gentlemen's agreement, the new wife or 'picture bride' could secure a passport and journey to America to see her husband for the first time. Between 1909 and 1920, when the so-called Ladies' Agreement halted the immigration of picture brides, almost forty-five thousand Japanese women came to America. Most, like the men who preceded them, were young southern Japanese from respectable farming families (Kessler 1994: 39).

However, this was not always the case, as in further years, American state governments ceased to recognise proxy wedding ceremonies. Spickard (2009: 37) explains that the ramifications of such actions altered the course of the proceedings: "As a

result, some husbands married their wives at dockside, or in religious or civil ceremonies a few days later. Some wives, feeling defrauded, insisted on returning home. Some swapped husbands on the dock; others were swapped by the men who had paid their passage. But most women and men honoured the commitment they had made and quietly settled down to their new lives." Although the photographs often turned out to be outdated or fake, the majority of the picture brides humbly assumed their responsibilities and embarked on a new life. As Zia (2001: 30) states, "[i]n 1900, there were about one thousand Japanese women in the United States, but that number increased until 39 percent of Japanese immigrants were female. ... The U.S. government refused to recognize the legality of the Japanese picture bride marriages, and the public derided Japanese women as immoral, even though photo matchmaking was common and tolerated among European immigrants." As a matter of fact, the photograph became a useful tool of transnational migration, since it served as a medium of transition and doubled as a mute intermediary. The camera assumed the role of a typewriter which produced a pictorial letter. However, photography treated as a source of information did not turn out to be an inerrant vehicle of representation. The elusiveness of this mode of representation was articulated in its apparent flawlessness in terms of image rendering. The picture, reconfiguring temporality, usually presented a silhouette of a fine young gentleman in his prime. Blurring the boundary between the present and the past, the photograph—taken decades ago—often did not depict the actual image of the man and, in reality, the picture bride had to face a tarnished shadow of his past. In the voiceless photograph, the male image spoke for itself—ultimately triggering bitter disappointment, since the woman felt as if she was experiencing an illusion. Although she could verify the portrayed man's identity and recognise him, his aged appearance and a sense of deception placed the whole matter in a very unfavourable light. Thus, the incongruity between the past and present appearance revealed that the couple had been separated not only by a spatial but also temporal distance.

There is one more aspect that needs to be given attention with reference to the photograph as a means of representation. The picture gives its subjects a sense of eternal existence, which creates a timeless space of belonging. Taken out of the time framework, the photographed people seem to linger in an interval between two periods of time. Furthermore, Sontag (1973: 11) suggests that every event captured in time is instantly rendered immortal: "After the event has ended, the picture will still exist, conferring on the event a kind of immortality (and importance) it would never otherwise have enjoyed. While real people are out there killing themselves or other real people, the photographer stays behind his or her camera, creating a tiny element of another world: the image-world that bids to outlast us all." Assuming the air of immortality, the prospective husbands presented themselves in the form of out-dated portraits, hoping that time had not worked to their disadvantage. This percept is also intriguing

from another vantage point. According to Sontag, "[a] photograph is both a pseudo-presence and a token of absence" and "[t]he sense of the unattainable that can be evoked by photographs" (16) is here of particular significance. The past images of the prospective grooms turn into pseudo-present points of reference, since their existence did not find a truthful reflection in reality. Thus, they became tokens of absence due to the fact that they lost touch with the present and could not be anchored in actuality.

During her journey to the United States, Hana is overcome with excitement and apprehensive thoughts at the same time. Now her economic future is going to be totally dependent on her husband's income, since—as she hopes—only he will be the main provider of the family: "Hana wondered about the flat above the shop. Perhaps it would be luxuriously furnished with the finest of brocades and lacquers, and perhaps there would be a servant, although he had not mentioned it. She worried whether she would be able to manage on the meagre English she had learned at Women's High School. The overwhelming anxiety for the day to come and the violent rolling of the ship were more than Hana could bear" (Uchida 1997: 5). As it transpires, the path to her dream life is paved with more obstacles than she could think of. Before entering San Francisco, not only is she enclosed indoors and questioned for two days, but also undergoes rigorous medical tests to qualify for permission to enter the mainland:

> When she set foot on American soil at last, it was not in the city of San Francisco as she had expected, but on Angel Island, where all third-class passengers were taken. She spent two miserable days and nights waiting as the immigrants were questioned by officials, examined for trachoma and tuberculosis and tested for hookworm by a woman who collected their stools on tin pie plates. Hana was relieved she could produce her own, not having to borrow a little from someone else, as some of the women had to do. It was a bewildering, degrading beginning, and Hana was sick with anxiety, wondering if she would ever be released. (6)

Finally, she is able to depart and look for her future spouse. Exhausted and with growing fearful anticipation, she is repeatedly overcome with more and more apprehension: "The early morning mist had become a light chilling rain … making the task of recognition even harder. Hana searched desperately for a face that resembled the photo she had studied so long and hard. Suppose he hadn't come. What would she do then?" (6). The scene that follows is a common one among many picture brides who encountered their picture grooms for the first time. Hana, staggered by the fact that Taro's appearance is far from his actual looks, seems overtly disillusioned. This is the next hindrance she must face and—most of all— accept if she wants to spend the rest of her life with the gentleman in front of her: "Hana caught her breath. 'You are Takeda San?' she asked. He removed his hat and Hana was further startled to see that he was already

turning bald. 'You are Takeda San?' she asked again. He looked older than thirty-one. 'I am afraid I no longer resemble the early photo my parents gave you. I am sorry'" (7). The moment appears to be awkward for both of them. It seems as if the photograph of the groom-to-be has not fulfilled its task and its apparent objectivity in rendering someone's image flawlessly is irrevocably distorted by time, since the photograph she has been given speaks for the past, not the present. The capability of constructing memory by photography exposes limits of photographic authenticity. The identity of Taro is lost in the past and that is why it is almost impossible to be deciphered from the photograph. Hana, taken back in time with the outdated image of the man, learns that this is a false representation of her future spouse. Hence, his photo-image triggers a sense of betrayal of the fundamental principles of honesty and trust. Squeezed between two images, she hardly manages to come to terms with this 'misrepresentation,' which is instantly noticeable for Taro: " 'Mr. and Mrs. Toda are expecting you in Oakland. You will be staying with them until …' He couldn't bring himself to mention the marriage just yet and Hana was grateful he hadn't" (7). Although she is familiar with the fact that the Japanese men who want to attract young women to become their wives often resort to 'ambiguous' measures of persuasion, she did not expect on her arrival that the whole matter would be so far from the truth. Kiku, who becomes her lifelong friend through good and bad times, reveals much more disappointing circumstances:

> Hana's anxieties still haunted her, bringing back her own first days in America. She knew what it was to travel so far to marry a strange man. She knew too that, more often than not, the first meeting was a disappointment rather than a hope fulfilled, for no man was so foolish as to tell the whole truth about himself before marriage. He sent only the best photograph of himself, and a rosy view of the future based more on hope than on actual fact. Kiku knew more than one woman who had been led to believe her life in America would be one of comfort and prosperity. But often the landowner she had come expecting to marry turned out to be a poor dirt farmer who leased his land, and the car beside which he had posed for his photograph belonged not to him, but to his boss. The first months for many Japanese women were a cruel and bitter disappointment. (21-22)

Hope turned into mirage for a significant number of picture brides who experienced the first pang of regret after disembarking the ship. Kessler (1994: 43) points out that frequently they "were so distraught at seeing their new spouses—many of whom were twenty or more years older than the photographs they had sent to Japan—that they pleaded (unsuccessfully) to be let back on the ship and returned home." However, for the majority of the women, it was a one-way journey and the previously acquired consent to marriage simultaneously acted as a disclaimer. Finding a common ground between the couple was often marred by a lack of mutual understanding, since forging

a relationship of trust, after having been deceived from the very beginning, verged on the impossible. For that reason, as Kessler emphasises, "[t]he relationships that grew from these blind unions between young girls, who felt they had been tricked, and desperate middle-aged men, who lied about themselves and their prospects to attract a mate, were often uneasy, unhappy ones" (43). Although it used to be a common pattern of relationship that was cultivated in the aftermath, there occurred some more optimistic instances which did not support such a generalisation. Ghymn (1995: 76) notes that not all the married couples were doomed to a hopeless and grim future: "Love was not always a part of the bargain. In fact, it was often the exception. … This is not to say that all marriages were miserable, but to point out that love in these marriages was not a given but a luxury."

It seems that Hana has never been granted such a luxury, as she has to face the subsequent obstacles that come pouring into her life in significant numbers. The image of an omnipresent freedom and an idealistic life visualised by the woman becomes tarnished again when she finds out that her dream of being maintained and provided for only by her husband is another misconception. When it clashes with the reality, she has to construct her vision of the future from scratch:

> Until that moment it had never occurred to Hana that she might go to work when she came to America. She intended, of course, to help Taro at his shop occasionally, but as the wife of the proprietor, she pictured herself sitting at the back of the shop knitting or crocheting in a comfortable chair. She had never once thought that she would go to the home of a white woman and do her housework for her. Taro was supposed to be a successful shopkeeper, and she had come to America to be a lady, not a servant. (Uchida 1997: 10)

The fact that Asian immigrants had to work hard and for minimum wages to maintain their families was a novelty to Hana. This was another disillusionment to be digested in a short space of time. The prosperity of the family often depended on frugality and a sparing use of resources. According to Spickard (2009: 39), "[t]he couples had to establish a common bond of duty, love, or resignation very quickly, for pressures were intense and resources were few. In America, as in Japan, the Issei had to work very hard to make even a meagre living. Women found themselves working for wages outside the home or working alongside their husbands on farms or in businesses." When Hana realises this, she knows that assistance with running Taro's store will become her duty as well.

Hana has been haunted by doubts about her future since the beginning of her stay in an alien land. She is overcome with reservations and filled with inner regret: "but suppose all was not as it had seemed. What could she do then? She had no money with which to return to Japan, and besides, she had promised to become Taro's wife" (Uchida 1997: 10). Quickly enough does she understand that any uniting bond will not be one

of love. Being torn apart between the past and the present becomes a torment she is hardly able to sustain:

> A mass of troubled thoughts tumbled about in her head as she prepared for bed. Perhaps she had made a terrible mistake in coming to America. In her anxiety to escape the drabness of Oka Village, perhaps she had leaped too far and severed too many roots. Now, like a tree transported beyond its native soil, she must grope for life and sustenance in an alien land, to be cherished by a stranger whose love she feared and whose life must, in the end, become her own. (26)

The story gets more complex when Hana falls in love with Taro's best friend, Kiyoshi Yamaka. Even though she is not married yet, she is not capable of claiming her own right to love and resists her feelings for Kiyoshi. Requited love is harder to abandon as they both realise that it feels as if they have known each other forever. The sole preliminary marriage agreement makes Hana keep her promise irrevocable. She would rather fall into an unhappy and loveless marriage than lose her face and dignity by breaking her word. She seems disposed to bleed for the rest of her life rather than hurt Taro and make him suffer instead. Moreover, any rash action would also influence their families in Japan, and that was too heavy a burden to be carried on woman's shoulders. The predicament appears to be unsolvable, as—according to her reasoning—no matter which direction she chooses, each solution will have dire consequences. Hence, Hana's pondering whether she could withdraw herself before the wedding ceremony does not bring any sound resolution and she still lingers at the same starting point:

> She must give herself more time before making judgements, but she couldn't help wondering if she could face the life that seemed to lie ahead. Yet what were the alternatives? She could beg Taro's forgiveness and break her engagement to him. She could wait a decent interval and perhaps marry someone else. Hana didn't dare let herself think who that might be. It was clearly impossible to renege on her promise, not only for Taro's sake, but for her uncle's. He would suffer a complete loss of face after having worked so hard to convince Taro's parents that she would be a good wife. (25)

Hana's final decision to be faithful to her future husband stems from her cultural background and is a direct fruit of a Japanese upbringing. Her personal sacrifice seems to be natural, since she could not think of any other conceivable twist of events on her part. Female servitude to men does not seem to play a more significant role than adherence to traditional Japanese values, which are the cornerstone of every social relationship in Japan. Stan Yogi (1997:132) distinguishes a few "overarching values among Japanese Americans: sensitivity and obligation. These values are seen in various

cultural phenomena such as *giri* (indebtedness), *on* (obligation), and *enryo* (reserve, constraint), which are based in empathy and interdependence." The aforementioned set of values passed on to offspring for centuries constitutes the rudiments of Japanese spiritual wisdom and is the major point of reference for the subsequent generations. An attitude of obligation which requires loyalty and obedience makes Hana stick firmly to her decision. Within the scope of indebtedness, she is also bound by a number of incurred obligations, which—for a person unfamiliar with Japanese culture—might seem quite incomprehensible. As Kessler (1994: ix) remarks, "[i]n Japan you are born owing ancestral debts that can never be repaid, and as you make your way in the world you accumulate new obligations, kindness and favours owed to family, friends, colleagues, neighbours, even strangers. This web of obligation connects people in ways that both include and transcend kinship and friendship." The entire way of reasoning is deeply rooted in an ancestral tradition since historically it derived from "a culture that stressed group identity over individualism, that emphasized, above all else, a sense of duty and responsibility to others. … The society was threaded together by *osewa* (aid, help or indebtedness), a meshwork that connected people to one another across families and across generations. That is how Japan functioned" (54). From this vantage point, Hana's mindset is completely compatible with the expectations of her Japanese community in her native land, and she does not seem willing to challenge the contemporary social construct, regardless of her personal inclinations towards individuality.

Before the wedding ceremony, hope blends with anxiety as the couple prepares to embark on their lifelong journey. Standing in front of the altar before taking vows, each of them realises how difficult it will be to make a successful living, not only in emotional but also economic terms:

> Now here was Hana, who also had sailed far from home, trusting and full of hope, to become his wife. She was like a child coming to be led by a blind man. He felt anxious and fearful for them both, but was determined not to disappoint Hana. He would work hard and try to give her a good life. Perhaps one day they would have a family, and he would have enough money to rent a house on a proper street. He would see to it that Hana never regretted coming to America. He owed her at least that much. (Uchida 1997: 28)

Hana's thrust into Taro's arms in a childlike manner is not indicative of an infantile attitude but represents a token of total confidence that a wife should evince towards her husband. Ghymn (1995: 87) argues that "[b]eing childlike doesn't imply stupidity; rather it represents the feminine way of behaving for Japanese women. This master/servant relationship for husband and wife has always been the custom in Japan. The traditional wife usually obeys the husband in all matters." Again, the Japanese way of thinking shapes their mutual attitudes towards the future, which finds its reflection in

female obedience and male primacy. Transferring the Japanese cultural matrix onto the American soil is supposed to provide them a stable and, hopefully, prosperous living. According to Ghymn, only such an arrangement was regarded to be a preliminary step to fulfilment for the issei: "A woman's loyalty to her husband has been considered one of her highest virtues. … Raised on Confucian standards of patience and endurance, the first-generation women were not ill-equipped to face the harsh realities of early twentieth-century America. Persevering, determined to succeed, trained in discipline, the early wives started new communities" (76-77). After all, these were the virtues which for many Japanese women made it possible to withstand and resist the biting winds of an uncertain future.

One of the major obstacles to overcome for the newcomers was racial and ethnic discrimination. Hana soon finds out from Kiku that no matter how hard they try, the Japanese will always be placed at the lowest rung of the social ladder, as they are offered only menial jobs and do not have any prospects for improving their position in American society. Such a rejection engenders numerous reverberations which adversely affect their everyday lives:

> She turned Hana's face toward her and said gravely, 'You are going to have to realize something important, Hana. We are foreigners in this country, and there are many white people who resent our presence here. They welcome us only as cooks or houseboys or maids. Why, even if Taro's store was twice as big and it was on the best corner in downtown Oakland, still his only customers would be the Japanese and the men on Seventh Street. Don't forget, we are aliens here. We don't really belong. (Uchida 1997: 25)

Their plight made them one of the most vulnerable members of American society. Despite their constant struggles to maintain their interests and identity, the Japanese or other Asians, and later, Asian Americans, were prevented from speaking in their own voice. In consequence, as David Leiwei Li (1998: 24) underlines, all Asian Americans at the time were resigned to accepting their desperate predicament: "Since historically Asian Americans were denied access to the political and cultural production of the nation, and heavily restricted in finding alternative means of propagating ethnic consciousness, they were forced in to a sorry state of dependency on the dominant definition of themselves." Due to their oriental origin and exotic looks, Asian Americans were deprived of equal rights for citizenship—freely granted to Europeans—which rendered them social outcasts regardless of their assets. American history was caught in a vicious circle, which proved that, irrespective of an American past tarnished with slavery, skin colour still mattered. As Kessler (1994: 19-20) argues, a set of external features was the only factor that made Asians distinguishable from a white society. All other outstanding markers, such as language or customs, were malleable to change.

Thus, their distinctive Asian appearance became an indelible mark of their identity, which—in the society that despised dissimilarity—turned into a lifelong burden and stigma that condemned them to a deep-rooted sense of inferiority:

> Welcomed by the Statue of Liberty, the Europeans could shed the ways of the Old World. They could change their speech, their customs, their citizenship, even their names. In time, they could be, if they wanted to be—as so many first-generation immigrants did—indistinguishable from others who had been in the country for generations. But the Statue of Liberty showed her back to the Orient, and this was more than a symbolic gesture of exclusion. Although arrivals from Asia were sometimes welcomed as cheap labor, regardless of how long they lived in America and how Westernized they became, their faces would forever mark them as foreigners.

Speaking in photographic terms, their origin thrust Asians out of focus, which excluded them entirely from the American national scrapbook and rendered them invisible for the rest of American society. Because of their disparity, they were out of frame, which rendered them invisible for the rest of American society. Always in the margin and at the bottom of society, the immigrants were prevented from prospective development. All these determinants contributed to a growing sense of frustration, which has bred a desperate need for a change lasting to the present day, however in altered and less conspicuous circumstances. Sau-ling Cynthia Wong (1993: 91) voices concern that "Asian Americans are forever marked by some untransformable alien element. Thus an identity that has been formed like a chemical compound, in that complex, irreversible process called living, is forcibly broken apart, treated as if it were a physical mixture with readily sorted-out ingredients." Torn between an oriental and occidental world, Asian-American identities have transformed into hybrids in a constant struggle, unable to determine whether the Asian or American part of themselves is prevalent.

The Japanese immigrants at the beginning of the twentieth century were inclined to enter the flow of the American cultural mainstream as soon as possible. A number of the issei Japanese tried to blend in and emulate Americans in every possible way, which reflected their immediate urgency for assimilation. They comprehended that this was the only reasonable way to make them succeed in a new world. What is more, conforming to American rules often did not seem to bring much difficulty for the newcomers. Although they knew that they would never be treated on a par with European immigrants, the Japanese strove to achieve at least the appearance of conformity. According to Kim (1982: 125), changing the way of life was not an overrated price for the reward of being accepted as equals, which—after all—did not happen at all:

> One of the attitudes that set early Japanese immigrants apart from the Chinese was their

> active interest in adopting the clothing, mannerisms, and customs of Anglo-Americans. The early Chinese, required under penalty of death to maintain their queues as signs of their obeisance to Manchu rule and concerned with eventual return to their villages in China, did not generally adopt Western-style clothing. The Japanese, on the other hand, had their hair cut in modern European styles and attempted to dress like Americans as much as possible. Japanese picture brides told of being whisked from the ships by their new husbands directly to the dressmaker's, where they would be outfitted in Western clothing, including hats, corsets, high-necked ruffled blouses, long skirts with bustles, high-laced shoes, and, for the first time in their lives, brassieres and hip pads. Some Japanese immigrants converted to Christianity and tried to learn English.

The aforementioned practices are also vividly depicted in Uchida's novel. Hana, after disembarking the ship, starts to feel the first pangs of acute reality. While travelling with Taro by street car, she becomes "more and more aware of her conspicuous Japanese clothing" (Uchida 1997: 8), which makes her vulnerable to the transfixing stares of the people around: "'My clothes are not right,' she murmured, tucking her feet with their white *tabi* and *zori* as far beneath the bench as she could. She held her *furoshiki* bundle close to her chest, but there was no hiding it or her clothes, and the curious stares of the people who sat opposite her were cold and unfriendly. 'I feel very much out of place,' she whispered" (8). Taro's reaction was swift and comforting, he "nodded and understood. 'Mrs. Toda will help you get some American clothing,' he assured her." As far as Christian faith is concerned, Taro has already converted to Christianity and expects Hana to take the same measure. What is more, his idea of the wedding ceremony is also accomplished and ready to be realised, without a need to consult the future wife: "Taro had said he wanted to have a fine, American-style Christian wedding. He wanted none of the stiff formality of a Japanese wedding with a doll-like bride, bewigged and so heavily encrusted with powder that the groom scarcely recognized her. Nor did he want any of the ritual of the Shinto ceremony" (22). His instructions do not leave any free space for creativity even in terms of the bride's clothing: " 'I want Hana to wear a long white dress with a veil and carry a proper bouquet,' he instructed. 'I expect she will need white shoes too, and all the things that go beneath the dress' " (22). After a short period of time, Hana is baptized as a Christian, also at Taro's request. It is worth mentioning that her conversion is not the result of her personal beliefs. In fact, it is made in compliance with her husband's will, for the sake of marital obedience on the female part: "Hana agreed mainly because she felt it her duty to do so" (64). Indeed, a strong sense of isolation felt by the issei generated an overwhelming social pressure within the community, which could be eased by adopting the same cultural customs or religious practices as those of the white community. As Kessler (1994: 18) points out, according to some issei—adopting such measures shrank the distance between the two nations:

"While the vast majority of *issei* laborers kept the faith of their homeland, a number of the most successful Japanese immigrants were leaving Buddhism behind. Their acceptance of a Western faith seemed to make them more 'palatable,' or at least somewhat more comprehensible, to white society. It took the edge of their foreignness and gave them something in common with the dominant society in which they had to function." As a matter of fact, the nisei—constituting the second generation of the Japanese immigrants—were characterised by a much stronger inclination towards American culture, its language and customs. The process of identification with the United States occurred naturally, since it was their birthplace and a surrounding cultural background. When her daughter reaches the age of a prospective bride, Hana realises that she no longer belongs to Japanese culture. The only child of the Takedas, Mary Yukari, whose double name of American and Japanese origin also indicates a double identity, testifies to the fact that her mental attitude is completely disparate from her parents' expectations and she no longer resembles an image of a Japanese subservient female:

> She looked at her daughter and wondered what would happen if they went back to Japan now. Would it be too late to make a Japanese woman of Mary? She pictured her kneeling gracefully in a silk kimono, preparing ceremonial tea or arranging flowers. She saw her dressed in the finery of a Japanese bride, her face made up with thick white paste. But even in her imagining, Mary slithered quickly out of the stiff strictures of Japanese clothing, and Hana knew that her daughter was already too free and self-willed to become a submissive Japanese wife. She already possessed the same independent spirit that had caused Hana herself to leave her home so many years ago. (Uchida 1997: 128)

Undoubtedly, the Japanese set of values based on mental stamina and sacrifice has helped Hana survive the most arduous hardships of her life. Even her stay at two internment camps during World War II, first at the Tanforan Assembly Center in California and then at the Topaz Relocation Center in Utah, and the death of Taro, accidentally shot by a guard on the camp premises, do not scar her endurance and a strong will to prevail. Uchida, through the words of Reverend Nishima, reaffirms that the two former picture brides, Hana and Kiku, despite their advanced age, still possess the same energy and forcefulness that enabled them to travel to an unknown country a few decades earlier: "They're strong, … both of them. They each crossed an ocean alone to come to this country, and they are going to survive the future with the same strength and spirit" (216). After 1924, the arrival of picture brides into the United States was eventually halted. Even then the harshest restrictions turned out to be targeted at the immigrants of Asian origin, who were still refused to be granted the right for citizenship. Kessler (1994: 78-79) remarks that the annual quotas for immigrants from European countries

were in stark contrast to the ones provided for the Japanese, which resulted in a significant decline of immigration from the Asian continent:

> In 1924 Congress passed an immigration quota bill, the National Origins Act, the purpose of which was to restrict immigrants from 'undesirable' areas while encouraging 'good' immigrants. The bill set annual quotas from various countries. From Ireland (in 'good' northwestern Europe), 17, 853 immigrants would be allowed; but from Poland (in less desirable eastern Europe), the limit was 6,524. The annual allowable quota from Japan: 0. Wives of Japanese citizens already in America were no longer permitted to enter (as they had been through a 'loophole' in the 1907 Gentlemen's Agreement). Even U.S. citizens could not bring into the country their Asian spouses, who were classified as 'aliens ineligible for citizenship.'

The picture bride arrangement has been amply explored in Asian American literature. It constitutes a significant and recurrent theme of Asian American prose and poetry. Uchida's novel which has been chosen to portray the character and specificity of this phenomenon, was followed by a number of other works. Over the subsequent decades, it has received much publicity and engendered numerous publications—to name just a few: *Passage of a Picture Bride* (1990) by Won Kil Yoon, *Picture Brides: Japanese Women in Canada* (1995) by Tomoko Makabe, *Korean Picture Brides* (2002) by Sonia Shinn Sunoo, *Picture Bride* (2014) by C. Fong Hsiung, *Picture Bride* (2016) by Mike Malaghan and *Picture Bride Stories* (2016) by Barbara F. Kawakami—which present the life stories of the Asian picture brides of various descent who at the turn of the twentieth century arrive in the United States or Canada to challenge their poignant destiny. In their works, the authors strike a similar chord of disillusionment with the depictions of numerous hardships awaiting the newly arrived females. More importantly, they unveil the innermost feelings of the Asian women who, after confronting the harsh reality of their new lives, are able to endure and prevail despite adverse circumstances.

The aforementioned subject matter is also present in Asian-American novels which do not deal with the picture bride system predominantly but interweave it into Japanese-American discourse about the history of the Japanese in America. Thus, one cannot get rid of the impression that this practice constitutes an indispensable and inseparable part of the Japanese cultural heritage. Among the novels reflecting the experiences of the contemporary Japanese picture brides, *The Buddha in the Attic* by Julie Otsuka draws immediate attention with its specific depiction of the inherent feelings and attitudes of the Japanese females. Assuming a plural voice (plural in its form and unity—instead of an individual 'I'), the women speak unanimously about the difficulties they have been suffering, which—with an array of emotive references—makes their emotional vocalisation

even more impactful and reverberating. Their journey from Japan starts with the moments of apprehension and uncertainty interspersed with occasional rays of hope:

> What would become of us, we wondered, in such an alien land? … Would we be laughed at? Spat on? Or, worse yet, would we not be taken seriously at all? But even the most reluctant of us had to admit that it was better to marry a stranger in America than grow old with a farmer from the village. Because in America the women did not have to work in the fields and there was plenty of rice and firewood for all. And wherever you went the men held open the doors and tipped their hats and called out, "Ladies first" and "After you." (Otsuka 2011:7)

The vision of abundance in every respect, as opposed to the poverty-stricken regions of Japan, and noticeably different male attitudes towards women provoke widespread interest among the young Japanese females. However, already on their arrival, the picture brides are stricken with an increasing number of disappointing events, which eventually makes them sink into despair, since all they encounter seems to surpass their intellective and emotional capacity. The outdated photographs and letters, the latter of which actually do not reflect the personalities of their husbands, due to the fact that they have been written by skilful matchmakers, place the women in front of complete strangers and trigger the first wave of disillusionment in the new land:

> On the boat we could not have known that when we first saw our husbands we would have no idea who they were. That the crowd of men in knit caps and shabby black coats waiting for us down below on the dock would bear no resemblance to the handsome young men in the photographs. That the photographs we had been sent were twenty years old. That the letters we had been written had been written to us by people other than our husbands, professional people with beautiful handwriting whose job it was to tell lies and win hearts. (18)

Otsuka's novel discloses more details about the factual state of matters when the Japanese wives are faced with the necessity to work, as the level of potential affluence of their husbands often transpires to be so low that they are on the verge of destitution. What is more, their place of habitation can hardly be called a proper home, which makes the couple struggle to earn a living for each day of their existence: "Because if our husbands had told us the truth in their letters—they were not silk traders, they were fruit pickers, they did not live in large, many-roomed houses, they lived in tents and in barns and out of doors, in the fields, beneath the sun and the stars—we never would have come to America to do the work that no self-respecting American would do" (28-29). Hence, they end up doing the menial housework in American houses, which seems to be

the only path to career advancement for Asians: "We never talked back or complained. We never asked for a raise. For most of us were simple girls from the country who did not speak any English and in America we knew we had no choice but to scrub sinks and wash floors" (44). Hard labour in the fields constitutes another way of providing financial support for the household by the women: "Some of us worked quickly because our husbands had warned us that if we did not they would send us home on the very next boat. *I asked for a wife who was able and strong*" (28). Nevertheless, all the hardships that the Japanese wives have to endure do not trigger as much resentment as the attitudes of their spouses towards them. Their apparent 'translucence' is, in fact, a reflection of their passivity and social inertness, which incurs their husbands' ignorance and emotional negligence: "Sometimes he looked right through us without seeing us at all, and that was always the worst. *Does anyone even know I am here?*" (30). All in all, the purport of the potent plural vocalisation in the novel becomes an anthem of female strength and coalescence, which resolves into a persuasive image of human endurance and evidence that even Japanese women can speak their own voice.

Among poetic works, *Picture Bride* (1983) by Cathy Song,[2] a poem from a collection under the same title, stands out with its sensual sensitivity and attempts to capture this phenomenon into empirical parentheses. Song's grandmother, a Korean picture bride herself married to a Chinese labourer, provided first-hand experience and background information concerning the practice. The author, projecting herself into her grandmother's emotions, employs her curiosity to ask questions about her ancestor's past 'predicament.' Song's incomprehensibility borders on incredulity, as getting married at the age of twenty-three to a complete stranger, thirteen years her senior, seems to be beyond her comprehension. As Seiwoong Oh (2007: 243) notes, the corporeal subject matter constitutes the focal point of the author's analysis: "A poet who highly stresses visual body imagery in her works, Cathy Song deals with the mapping of identity by exploring the relationship of body to body and presents such imagery explicitly and symbolically." The most nagging question that lingers in the end refers to the most intimate plane of human existence where the author wonders whether her grandmother wilfully and immediately engaged not only in an emotional, but also physical relationship with her newly-met husband. A matchmaking practice became a custom of the time where 'mail order' brides functioned within the framework of the objectified body and this is accentuated at the end of the poem. In the view of Joseph Jonghyun Jeon (2012: 116), the grandmother's image evokes alienation which does not translate into a tangible token of representation:

> The final image of the grandmother's dress billowing in the smoke-filled winds from the

2 Song, Cathy. 1983. *Picture Bride.* New Heaven and London: Yale University Press.

> cane fields marks an arrested moment that cannot be completed and doubles the picture of her as viewed by the grandfather. In both cases, the relationship to the image is not just estranged, it is irreparably so, and the grandmother comes to function not unlike the face of the other … but a more abstract representation of alterity in general—not a particular other but Otherness writ large. In short, "Picture Bride" bespeaks the limits of the picture.

Another poetic work which draws immediate attention with its poignant reference to the picture bride system is enclosed within eleven lines of a personal account. The poem *Daughter* (1989) in the collection *Air Pocket* by Kimiko Hahn,[3] an American author of Japanese and German descent, refers directly to a generational gap and a problem of translational nature between the present and the past. Through the semantic illustration of the picture bride arrangement and the use of ekphrasis in the portrayal of still life, the author reflects her incapacity to aptly render the crux of this phenomenon. She does not feel competent to translate the events which she has not witnessed herself. From the vantage point of a granddaughter, the author is incapable of a flawless and truthful representation. According to Traise Yamamoto (1999: 241), "Hahn directly associates translation with historicity, exploring the problematics and possibilities of translation understood as a mode of cultural transmission. The poem implicitly relies on an understanding of a specific history to ground its central tension between representation and translation." The generational gap between the grandchild and her grandmother obliges them to speak different languages as they have distinct points of reference in their lives. This lack of convergence in time creates a possibility of misrepresentation, which—as Yamamoto points out—contributes to a failure in a cultural translation of the whole concept. Such an attempt is doomed from the start, as—similarly to a still life—it does not reflect the complexity of the matter and does not retain its multidimensionality:

> Hahn thus calls into question the nature of representation: like the marriage photographs that gave no hint of the subject behind the image, a carefully arranged still life is flat—a unidimensional rendering of its subject. In both cases, the fixity of the picture fails to articulate complexity; its convention of artifice only alludes to representational authenticity by assuming a fixed object. In a similar way, translating the grandmother's language to satisfy the expectation of a seamless transmission of culture presupposes culture as inert. The translating subject herself then becomes, like a still life, a flat representation that elides subjectivity. (242)

3 Hahn, Kimiko. 1989. *Air Pocket.* Brooklyn: Hanging Loose Press.

What is more, still life, as its name indicates, is lifeless and devoid of emotional content unless it evokes definable emotions in the observer. Thus, the plane of reference is transferred onto the viewer who reacts to the visual stimuli in an individual way. Similarly, an alien world full of antagonistic attitudes towards the Japanese projected onto the picture bride a set of adverse emotions which made her feel socially isolated and abandoned. As Ghymn (1995: 75) elaborates, this constituted a common course of events, since the female was often left to herself and all she experienced was the initial thrill of hope which subsequently turned into disillusionment: "The discrimination and loneliness that awaited her were not foreseen. The picture bride knew almost nothing of the emotional isolation, the racial prejudice, and the harsh realities to come. The brides came with a great deal of hope only to be met by disappointment. … There was no turning back after they came here, however; they had no choice but to survive and endure."

A still life can also be viewed from another angle as far as female (non-)responsiveness is concerned. The motionless composition it depicts could be translated as female powerlessness, her passivity and inability to take action, which was characteristic of the picture brides. The Japanese woman, like an inanimate object, accepted a social locus to which she was directed by the male. Her place of belonging could only be compatible with that of her husband or another male member of the family. And again, according to Ghymn's reasoning, the women's weak social position triggered severe reverberations in their lives: "Social reality has meant for centuries male power and female powerlessness. In America these women met discrimination and hardship. … They also faced prejudice because all quite often the public thought that all Asian women were prostitutes. … Soon, the women usually had big families and nowhere to turn if they did not get along with their husbands. Alienation, loneliness, rejection—the picture brides were effectively imprisoned" (75-76). Their imprisonment was similar to still life objects enclosed within one framework of perception, notably—the one of the painter or the photographer. The picture brides, fitted into the frames of personal obedience, acquiesced to this imposed passivity. In this case, the role of the imperious demiurge belonged to the Japanese male who arranged the further life of his wife according to his own perception.

Juxtaposed with the conceptualisation of the "philosopher of the photograph" (Brunet 2013: 8), Roland Barthes, who delineated a "cultural matrix for which photography remained something of a novelty, and an intruder of sorts in the older and more serene realm of literature" (8), a conclusion that can be derived from the picture bride phenomenon leads to the conjectural overlapping of literature and photography, which reveals their significant potentials deeply enmeshed in written and printed culture. Not seldom is the former the face of the latter, since each one speaks for the other in an idiosyncratic language characteristic of its particular nature. Thus, reversing the angle of perception enables these two means of expression to influence each other in order to obtain a

'bilingual' plane of communication permeated with a double (but not interchangeable) layer of significance, which facilitates adjusting the lens of interpretation. To recapitulate, photographic criticism lends to literary criticism a (non-)obvious tinge of signification as the photograph becomes a stylus with which the author may give a favourable, and—most importantly—meaningful, touch to his or her subject matter.

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Is translating poems for children a child's play? A linguistic analysis of the English translations of "Lokomotywa" by Julian Tuwim

Abstract. The aim of the present article is to demonstrate the challenges connected with the translation of children's poetry, and to offer a qualitative analysis of different translation strategies employed in two English translations of the Polish poem for children "Lokomotywa" by Julian Tuwim. The translation analysis is based on the translation strategies proposed by Lawrence Venuti and Peter Newmark. It focuses on the linguistic and cultural differences between Polish and English, and examines the choices of the translation strategies made by the translators, and the impact they may have had on the reception of the poem in the target language. The comparison shows that although there may be some limitations in terms of the target language and culture, the translators are able to find suitable and effective solutions and simultaneously convey the source text's form and content. The conclusions placed at the end of the paper summarise the features of both translations and emphasise those strategies employed by the translators which are effective and thanks to which the translations are likely to live up to children's expectations.

Keywords: poetry translation, translation strategies, translator, poetry, comparative analysis, source text, target text.

1 Introduction

Translation of poetry is thought to be one of the most demanding as well as rewarding challenges faced by a translator. It seems impossible to convey all elements of the form, and every feature of the original, whilst simultaneously adapting the language to the target tradition and culture. Translators are often expected to approximate the rhythm, syntax, form, and content. According to Newmark (1987: 70), "The translation

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of poetry is the field where most emphasis is normally put on the creation of a new independent poem, and where literal translation is usually condemned". Although every poem should be treated individually and requires skilfulness as well as creativity on the part of translators, there has been an urge to propose strategies which would make poetry translation as successful as possible. Furthermore, various approaches to translation raise translators' awareness regarding the most common translation problems and make the effectiveness of concrete techniques evident.

The present article offers a linguistic analysis of two English language translations of "Lokomotywa" by the Polish poet Julian Tuwim, based on the strategies proposed by Lawrence Venuti and Peter Newmark. Both translations constitute an interesting material to study since they were published in different centuries. The first presented translation dates back to 1939 and is ascribed to Bernard Gutteridge and William J. Peace (Julian Tuwim most probably was in charge of the rhymes; Tuwim 2013). Marcel Weyland is responsible for the most recent translation published in 2013. Seventy-four years divides both texts, which seems significant from the linguistic point of view as translation studies and strategies developed in the second half of the 20th century. Moreover, both translations illustrate diverse techniques applied by its authors; which make the analysis even more informative. Throughout the study cultural-specific items, rhythm and rhymes, literary devices especially onomatopoeia are analysed because they play a key role when it comes to the reception of "Lokomotywa". Furthermore, these elements may cause numerous translation difficulties and force translators to find optimal solutions which usually mean sacrificing one aspect for the sake of another.

2 Theoretical background

2.1 Translation strategies by Lawrence Venuti

Domesticating and foreignizing – these terms were coined by Lawrence Venuti. Nonetheless, the latter is usually ascribed to Friedrich Schleiermacher, the 18th century theologian and philosopher. The former concept was already known in ancient Rome when "translation was a form of conquest" and Latin poets translated Greek texts "into the Roman present: they had no time for all those very personal things and names" (Nietzsche 1974: 137). Domesticating strategies have found their advocates among English and French translators especially since the 15th century. Such conformity to cultural aspects present in the target language was particularly visible during the Early modern period. Domesticating is meant as adherence to literary standards, as well as contemporary situations both cultural and political. This strategy considerably contributed to the enormous success of some translations, which have become even better known than the originals (Baker 1998: 324).

The foreignizing strategy was developed in German culture during the periods of classicism and Romanticism. Schleiermacher defined it as a translation strategy which aims to preserve cultural and more importantly literal differences; whilst simultaneously trying to reject domestic values. The German philosopher was more in favour of foreignizing strategy which allowed the reader to notice linguistic and cultural differences of the source text. That is why a translator, as postulated by the proponents of foreignization, should be an erudite in order to import foreign cultural forms to make the target language more heterogenic (Schleiermacher 2012: 49).

2.2 Eight methods of translation by Peter Newmark

Since the two above-mentioned strategies seem too general when it comes to the specificity of literary texts, another linguist, Peter Newmark, decided to approach this issue from a more in-depth perspective. He proposed eight methods of translation, including **word-for-word** translation. As the name suggests, the SL word order of the text is preserved and the translator tries to find the most common meanings of TL words, simultaneously not taking grammar into account, out of context (Newmark 1988: 45). **Literal translation** is another popular method, in which the grammatical constructions of the original are imported to their TL equivalents, however, the lexical words are translated one by one and the context does not matter. Literal translations are often used for pre-translation process (Newmark 1988: 46). **Faithful translation** "attempts to reproduce the precise contextual meaning of the original within the constraints of the TL grammatical structures. It 'transfers' cultural words and preserves the degree of grammatical and lexical 'abnormality'" (Newmark 1988: 46). **Semantic translation** seems to be slightly different from the **faithful translation** because it pays more attention to the aesthetic value of the SL text, namely natural and beautiful sounds, "compromising on 'meaning' where appropriate so that no assonance, word-play or repetition jars in the finished version" (Newmark 1988: 46). The translator does not focus on seeking cultural equivalents, instead he applies some culturally neutral words or functional terms and in the same time he does not urge to naturalize as much as possible. The function of **communicative translation** can be described as an attempt "to render the exact contextual meaning of the original in such a way that both content and language are readily acceptable and comprehensible to the readership" (Newmark 1988: 47). Communicative translation is certainly freer than semantic translation; it "gives priority to the effectiveness of the message to be communicated and focuses on factors such as readability and naturalness". **Idiomatic translation** tends to reproduce the "message" of the text and is characterized by usage of colloquialisms as well as idioms which cannot be found in the original. This method provides the reader with a natural translation (Newmark 1988: 47). **Free translation** "reproduces the matter without the manner, or the content without the form of the original". The last type of translation is called **adaptation**, in

other words: the 'freest' form of translation, which is mainly used for plays and poetry. It preserves plots, characters and themes. When it comes to cultural-specific items of the SL language, they are converted to the TL culture (Newmark 1988: 46).

2.3 Poetry translation

Poetry translation will always entail challenges connected with an elaborate use of language which seems to be rather connotational than denotational. It means that behind the literal meaning of words, an emotional or cultural message is hidden. Moreover, content and form constitute a coherent whole. As observed by Raffel (1991: 95), a 'musical mode' of poetry is important. Baker (1998) notes that poetry has its:

> inner rhythm, regardless of whether there is any formal metre or rhyming pattern, which is one of the most elusive yet essential characteristics of the work that the translator is called upon to translate. And in addition to the difficulties involved in accounting for content and form, sounds and associations, the translator of poetry is also expected to produce a text that will function as a poem in the TL (Baker 1998: 171).

Another crucial aspect of poetry translation is the ability to preserve the *intrinsic* poetic value of the original translated into the target language.

André Lefevere (1975) made an important contribution to the theory of poetry translation, particularly pertaining to the development of the idea of translation as a form of rewriting which takes into account society "which comprises categories and norms which influence the translation process with the intention of influencing the audience according to the ideology and poetics of that society" (Aksoy 2001). Lefevere (1975) quotes Theodore Savory's (1957: 50) various expectations concerning translation which reflect many contradictions with regard to the true nature of translation. The list is as follows:

1. A translation must give the words of the original.
2. A translation must give the ideas of the original.
3. A translation should read like an original work.
4. A translation should read like a translation.
5. A translation should reflect the style of the original.
6. A translation should possess the style of the translator.
7. A translation should read as a contemporary of the original.
8. A translation should read as a contemporary of the translator.
9. A translation may add to, or omit from the original.
10. A translation may never add to, or omit from the original.
11. A translation of verse should be in prose.
12. A translation of verse should be in verse.

The above-presented points allowed Lefevere to distinguish seven types of translations. Moreover, the aforementioned list allowed for a discerning of the difficulties of the translation process but also drew attention to the problems a poetry translator is confronted with.

One must not forget that the process of translation involves the specificity of languages. An ordinary poem consists of various levels among which every seems important during the process of translation. Sound is of great importance for translator which the following saying confirms: "When it's impossible to preserve both meaning and sound, go with the sound" (Landers 2001: 100). When it comes to cultural aspects of translation, it is a disputable issue whether to find an equivalent in the target language or leave the element unchanged in order to highlight the so-called *otherness* of the text. It is obvious that "a text produced in another language and culture makes reference to persons, objects, and institutions not readily understood by another culture" (Landers 2001: 79).

2.4 Translating children's literature

Translating children's literature is recognised as one of the most challenging tasks translators may face. Taking into account their readership – children, the translators concentrate particularly on adapting the stylistic devices, register, and cultural as well as the linguistic aspects of the text. Additionally, the translator plays the role of a storyteller, who attempts to communicate with children but at the same time wants to appeal to adults. One has to remember that language addressed to children should be distinguished by simplicity and clarity. It has been also proved that fluency and dynamics found in translations appeal to child readers. Furthermore, uncomplicated and natural constructions will certainly not confuse young readers, whereas monotonous regularity and predictability may seem boring.

One of the most difficult issues which should be thoroughly considered by the translator are the cultural aspects of the source text. It is impossible to omit them, that is why, domestication or foreignization strategies ought to be applied. According to Venuti, "linguistic and cultural differences are domesticated" (2008: 29), which does not have to be effective in the case of children's literature since foreignizing may play an educational role and raise children's awareness in regards to various cultures. Undeniably, translations have a great impact on how young readers perceive people from different cultural backgrounds. Nonetheless, the target text should be primarily comprehensible and accessible in terms of content. Cultural adaptations still remain a disputable issue; however, it has been generally agreed that translators try to find cultural equivalences in the target language.

2.5 Strategies for translating children's poetry

"Since children of all ages often 'hear' stories rather than read them, translators have a particular responsibility to produce texts that read aloud well" (Lathey 2016: 38). Sound and rhythm are key stylistic devices which allow children to discover the diverse world of language. Children eagerly imitate sounds what contributes considerably to their development as they learn naturally. While translating sounds, a translator has to bear in mind that for young listeners a great differentiation of sounds and phrases is attractive as they resemble everyday children's speech. "Repetition, rhyme, onomatopoeia, wordplay [...] are all common features of children's texts and require a high degree of linguistic creativity on the part of the translator" (Lathey 2016: 43-44).

In order to find an appropriate rhythm in the target language and check what impact its sound has, it is advisable to read translation passages out loud or act them out. Reading aloud enables the translator to make a constructive criticism when it comes to disharmonies. The same thing applies to onomatopoeia as the sounds in languages often differ. One option is to find the respective sound in the target language and the other veers towards foreignization whose advocates claim that it "is likely to spark interest in sound and language and enhance children's interest in and awareness of different languages" (Lathey 2016: 93).

Translating poetic form, rhyme, and metre poses a serious challenge when a translator attempts not to alter the semantic content of the text. "In some instances metre may have to be sacrificed in the interests of the poetic message. In verse for younger children, however, the replication of musicality, sound and form are often the translator's primary concern" (Lathey 2016: 93). It is also highly advisable to decide how important it is for the poem and what relationship between rhyme and semantic content exists. In addition to this, a translator is forced to make a choice concerning sacrificing elements of meaning to find the most suitable rhymes in terms of musicality.

Other researchers, such as Tiina Puurtinen (1994: 84), claim that translators of children's literature may or even should manipulate the source text in order to come up with the recipient's literary expectations present in the target country. Children, unlike adults, are unable to cope with numerous foreign phrases. Moreover, Puurtinen believes that translating books for children belongs to the most difficult ones as the translator is expected to adjust language and form of the source text not only to the young readers but also to parents as well as publishers.

3 The author of "Lokomotywa"

3.1 Julian Tuwim and his contribution to children's literature

Julian Tuwim, born in 1894 in a Polish family of Jewish origin, was one of the most prominent Polish authors of the 20th century. He is mainly associated with a poetic group

called "Skamander", whose main idea concerned vitality and youthfulness (Tuwim 1977). After the outbreak of WW2 he left Poland and settled down in New York, but after the war he came back to his homeland (Miłkowski & Termer 2005: 1000). Tuwim is famous for numerous translations from Polish into Russian, and satirical poems which aimed to criticize political situation in Poland (Karolczuk-Kędzierska 2004: 1317). He is also associated with poems for children such as: "Słoń Trąbalski" / "Trąbalski the Elephant", "Zosia Samosia" and, finally, the most recognized work of his – "Lokomotywa" / "The Locomotive" (Janusz-Lorkowska 2019: 6). These works, written before the outbreak of World War II, are still popular among both children and adults. The most popular of his poems for children, which demonstrates a diverse usage of language, is "Lokomotywa", released in *Wiadomości literackie* (1936) – a social-cultural weekly, which indicates an adult-oriented character of the work. It should be noted that this poem became famous and iconic only two years after its publication and has conquered many children's heart till this day (Janusz-Lorkowska 2019: 6). Zbigniew Lisowski (1988: 33-43) analysed "Lokomotywa" and stated that literary devices by means of which Tuwim described heavy, powerful locomotive decided on its success. The author's fascination is conveyed by vivid descriptions of the locomotive as well as by picturesque language. "Lokomotywa" is a poem known not only by children in Poland but also all over the world, but it is an integral icon of Polish literature and culture which shapes young generations (Gliński 2013). Although translating the poem was not an easy challenge, "Lokomotywa" can be read in many languages all over the world. Translators eagerly approach the problem of rendering "Lokomotywa", which can turn out to be a major challenge because of the combination of lyricism and humour as well as the usage of diverse qualities of language, namely stylistic devices e.g.: numerous onomatopoeia and personifications.

Writing a poem for children does not seemingly pose a problem according to many readers. However, the author of child poems aims to use an available and understandable language for the young readers as well as piquing adults' interest. The key role is played by the literary devices used by the poet which conjure up a powerful image. One of the most vital components is the rhythm, which creates the so-called melody of the work. The rhymed syllables make it more dynamic and its message is in effect more stressed. Moreover, rhythmical patterns sound pleasant for the listener (like a music effect), aiming to draw children's attention (Tarnawska & Spólnik 2019: 81).

Hyperbola is another literary device eagerly used by Tuwim. This kind of metaphor concentrates on exaggerating the qualities of some object what allows evoking more emotions and consequently highlights the word meaning. Poems for children often comprise unusual means of expression which influence all senses. One of them is onomatopoeia, namely such a use of words which aims to imitate the sounds referring to an object or an action. Thanks to this literary device a reader can not only easily imagine the situation presented in the poem but they can also "hear" all the noises

appearing in the text and practice language skills by pronouncing letter blends and consonant clusters (Tarnawska & Spólnik 2019: 83).

Personification seems equally important, and it is defined as follows: "the attribution of human nature or character to animals, inanimate objects, or abstract notions, especially as a rhetorical figure" (Keane 2004: 37). The above-mentioned attribution enables the reader to bring usual things to life as they widen our imagination and give a deeper meaning (Tarnawska & Spólnik 2019: 81). Epithet is a no less important literary device on which the majority of poems rely. Its role lays simply in such a describing a person or thing that they are vividly distinguished between each other. Prose becomes more vibrant and images can be expressed by e.g. only word. All these literary devices make the reading of Tuwim's poems a unique an unforgettable experience because the creative process depended upon the poet's ability to create verse in such a way that the 'word' may reflect even the most-difficult-to-express phenomenon with colours and smells (Tarnawska & Spólnik 2019: 81).

4 Comparative analysis

4.1 The structure of the original

"Lokomotywa" by Julian Tuwim is one of most recognisable texts in Poland, not only among children but also among adults, who find this poem entertaining. There are some reasons for this. First of all, the poem is rich in stylistic devices, the use of which constitutes evidence for the author's great sense of humour and skill at depicting scenes which appeal to children.

The poem consists of sixty six verses, which is quite unusual for children's literature in which short, rhymed poems can be generally found. The phenomenon of "Lokomotywa" lies thus in its dynamics. Metre is irregular, but the key to this text is the pair rhyme scheme: AABBCC. Rhymes sound natural and create an illusion to the reader that the poem is shorter than it really is. The punctuation marks also play a vital role in the reception of the poem. In the original there occur exclamations as well as question marks which put a greater emphasis on the content, highlight the dynamics, and more importantly prove to be the best tool in evoking children's imagination. Repetitions and countless numerations fulfil a similar function which enrich child reader's knowledge and provide him with an unforgettable adventure as well as entertainment. A young recipient cannot fail to respond to the onomatopoeia which appear very often in "Lokomotywa" and are so diverse that give an excellent example of how the sound influences the success of the text. The poet does not hesitate to use a number of epithets which make the poem more attractive in terms of sound and language.

4.2 Comparison of the original and its translations using Venuti's strategies

The first translation comes from the book entitled: *Lokomotywa – Locomotive; Rzepka – The Turnip; Ptasie Radio – The Bird Broadcast* by Julian Tuwim. The publisher, Wydawnictwo LTW, informs the reader that the translation into English originally appeared in 1939. It is highly probable that this version was adapted into Polish by Bernard Gutteridge and William J. Peace, while Tuwim took responsibility for the rhymes. Such a thesis may be confirmed by numerous both Internet (e.g. Culture.pl) and paper sources such as *English Translations of Korczak's Children's Fiction: A Linguistic Perspective*. As far as the translators are concerned, Bernard Gutteridge was an English novelist and poet primarily famous for war verses. He also translated Julian Tuwim's poem for children "Lokomotywa" (Scannell 1976: 149). Little is unfortunately known about the second translator, namely William J. Peace.

The second translation comes from the book entitled: *Lokomotywa – The Locomotive – Die Lokomotive* published in 2013 by Universitas, which includes the original text as well as English and German translation. Marcel Weyland is responsible for the English translation. He was born in Poland. When he was 12 years old, his family had to flee ahead of the Germans at the onset of the Second World War. They reached Lithuania, where they received a visa, thanks to which they could go to Japan and China. Finally, they decided to settle down in Australia where he studied law and architecture. He began translating Polish literature, which resulted in the publication of *The Word: 200 Years of Polish Poetry* – a collection of Polish poems translated into English, including "Locomotive". His Polish background and being well versed in Polish as well as English were of great benefit to the quality of translation.

The first step to be taken by a translator of children's literature is to take into account the young reader's needs. They are not as complicated as it may seem, namely: fun, simple language but at the same time attractive stylistic devices. The background of the recipient is another essential issue as the text must be comprehensible and adjusted to all cultural and linguistic factors according to the *domestication* method attributed to Venuti. The analysis focuses on those fragments of the translations which most clearly illustrate Venuti's methods.

Table 1. Comparison of a fragment of "Lokomotywa" with the translation from 1939

Lokomotywa	***Locomotive* (1939)**
Lecz choćby przyszło tysiące atletów	They are so heavy that a thousand men,
I każdy zjadłby tysiące kotletów,	As huge and strong as tall Big Ben,
I każdy nie wiem jak się wytężał,	If each one ate a thousand joints,
To nie udźwignąˌ taki to ciężar.	Could never push them off the points.

Big Ben found in the 1939 translation represents *domestication* method. It confirms the translator's awareness of the audience, which is an English-speaking one, among which children constitute the majority. Undoubtedly, Big Ben – the great clock tower in London is known worldwide as well as being a symbol of the United Kingdom eagerly used especially by the media. The clock tower is also recognised as the symbol of strength and grandness.

Table 2. Comparison of a fragment of "Lokomotywa" with the translation from 2013

Lokomotywa	***Locomotive* (2013)**
W dziesiątym - kufry, paki i skrzynie.	And in the tenth are crates with crates with TV's,
	And of these wagons there's forty all told,
A tych wagonów jest ze czterdzieści,	I can't tell myself what they can all hold.
Sam nie wiem, co się w nich jeszcze mieści.	If there came a thousand Olympic athletes,
Lecz choćby przyszło tysiąc atletów	And each had a thousand veal cutlets to eat,
I każdy zjadłby tysiąc kotletów,	And these tried to move it, no matter what,
I każdy nie wiem jak się wytężał,	They could not budge it, weighs such a lot!
To nie udźwignąą, taki to ciężar.	

It is important to enumerate a few differences connected with cultural-specific items in both texts. Some food terminology can be found "Lokomotywa", for instance: "kiełbasy", "kotlety". The translator probably reached the conclusion that the English audience would better understand "salamis" and "cutlets". Weyland adapted the words to the target language and replaced it with a popular one in the English-speaking countries so he used the *foregnizing* method. "Kotlety" have several equivalents in English: "chop", "cake", "cutlet", "escalope" but the translator decided to choose a word which is the most similar to "kotlet" in terms of sound, namely "cutlet". However, the general rule applied by translators is as follows: "Cultural markers do not have to be translated. A translator may decide to retain words or expressions denoting foodstuffs, cultural practices or phrases of greeting in the source language, in line with Venuti's advocacy of the '*foreignization*' of the translated text" (Lathey 2016: 41). The translator of "Lokomotywa", however, replaced the culture-specific item with a carefully researched one, which allows him to make a similar impression on the recipient. The use of the word *TV* in the translation also highlights its contemporariness as the first TVs in Poland were mass-produced in the 1950s, much later than the poem was published. Instead of this term, Tuwim describes the tenth wagon and mentions that there are: "kufry, paki i skrzynie" ('trunks, parcels, chests'). Once again the *domestication* method has been used. Besides, the technique used in these sentences serves as an example of *adaptation* (Newmark), which is thought to be the freest form of translation; as the SL culture is imported to the

TL culture. This example is an introduction to next subchapter which is devoted to other translation techniques proposed by Newmark.

4.3 Comparative analysis of the original and its translations using Peter Newmark's strategies

Newmark's strategies serve in this comparison mainly as indicators of the differences in stylistic devices between "Lokomotywa" and its translations. When it comes to the anonymous translation from 1939, the reader may be slightly surprised while comparing the original with the English translation. The title contains a synonym of the word "locomotive", namely, "engine". Furthermore, the word order as well as the content of the translation in comparison with the original are completely different. The rhythms and dynamism are, however, preserved and provide the young reader with pleasant sound effects. The freedom of the translator's choices concerning language, stylistic devices as well as punctuation are visible at every stage of reading, for instance:

Table 3. Comparison of a fragment of "Lokomotywa" with the translation from 1939

Lokomotywa	Locomotive (1939)
I koła turkocą, i puka, i stuka to:	And still the wheels sing with their clashing rhyme,
Tak to to, tak to to, tak to to, tak to to...!	I've got to be there in time, in time, I've got to be there in time!

The message of the source text was preserved, but the reader may get lost comparing both passages as the lines slightly differ in terms of length and number. The method which dominates in the poem is called *adaptation*; it gives freedom to the translator who rather rewrites the text in translation than wants to preserve the characteristics of the original. The main feature of this technique is the conversion of the SL culture into the TL culture. The issue of stylistic devices is also worth mentioning as "Lokomotywa" abounds in: epithets, repetitions, onomatopoeia and exclamation marks. All of these aim not only to overemphasize the whole situation depicted in the poem but also to improve the dynamics. The use of these elements should be thoroughly considered because sound and rhythm help children discover the beauty of language and narrative. In addition to this, poems addressed to children usually have a didactic function in terms of not only moral values but also the imitation of sound-systems and the acquisition of words. These fragments may prove whether the translation is successful in terms of choice of stylistic devices:

Table 4. Comparison of a fragment of "Lokomotywa" with the translation from 1939

Lokomotywa	***Locomotive* (1939)**
Najpierw – powoli – jak żółw – ociężale,	There goes the whistle with its sudden scream,
	And now the engine gets up steam
Ruszyła – maszyna – po szynach – ospale,	As the wheels turn and the axels creak
Szarpnęła wagony i ciągnie z mozołem,	With a slow, thin, grinding shriek.
I kręci się, kręci się koło za kołem,	

At first glance, it is hard to believe that the fragment on the right is a translation of the one on the left. The author of the adaptation changed the order of the events presented in the poem. Major differences can be found between the content of the translation and the original. Imitating sound effects demands creativity on the part of the translator. That is why, although some differences can be noted between the above-quoted fragments, the message of the poem and stylistic devices are preserved, which constitutes a confirmation that it is an adaptation.

Cultural-specific items, which appear in the original, can pose some problems for the translator. It is also worth reminding ourselves that the translation discussed in this chapter comes from 1939. Some of the words occurring in it could be presumably better understood in the early 20th century, nonetheless, it is not tantamount to incomprehension of this text by native speakers nowadays. For the English language learners, words indicating various kinds of movements may be unclear as they rarely belong to the vocabulary widely used in an everyday speech. More to the point, discussing cultural-specific aspects found in the translation cannot be omitted:

Table 5. Comparison of a fragment of "Lokomotywa" with the translation from 1939

Lokomotywa	***Locomotive* (1939)**
A w trzecim siedzą same grubasy,	Look at this trio! Each one a glutton,
Siedzą i jedzą tłuste kiełbasy,	Eating sausages of partridge and mutton!
Lecz choćby przyszło tysiące atletów	They are so heavy that a thousand men,
I każdy zjadłby tysiące kotletów,	As huge and strong as tall Big Ben,
I każdy nie wiem jak się wytężał,	If each one ate a thousand joints,
To nie udźwignąą, taki to ciężar.	Could never push them off the points.

These examples of the use of the *adaptation* technique prove the skilfulness of the translator as the fragments adapted into the English language are as funny, melodic and rich in stylistic devices as the original. When it comes to the cultural items, the augmentative form found in the original, namely, "grubasy" conveys the same linguistic effect

by use of "glutton", which in Polish is "żarłok", "pożeracz". In subsequent verses, there appear "kiełbasy" and its English equivalent "sausages". In order to highlight the fact that they are fat, the translator informs the reader of their "partridge and mutton" origin.

When it comes to Weyland's translation from 2013, it is worth concentrating on the dominant stylistic elements appearing in each one of three texts. As far as the dynamics and sound effects of Weyland's translation are concerned, it resembles the original. The rhymes are also preserved, although the English language is quite poor in this respect. One may notice that feminine rhymes in the original are replaced with masculine ones in Weyland's translation. Nonetheless, such a convention cannot be found in every fragment of the target text. In order to build similar rhymes, the author was forced to change the content as presented in the following example:

Table 6. Comparison of a fragment of "Lokomotywa" with the translation from 2013

Lokomotywa	***Locomotive* (2013)**
Stoi na stacji lokomotywa,	A big locomotive stands at a station
Ciężka, ogromna i pot z niej spływa:	Looming, and gleaming with hot perspiration
Tłusta oliwa.	Greasy and wheezing.
Stoi i sapie, dyszy i dmucha,	It's huffing and puffing and oozing and swelling.
Żar z rozgrzanego jej brzucha bucha.	Heat's bursting from its immense smelly belly.

This fragment shows in a clear way the differences between the words chosen by Tuwim and Weyland. Verses in the first text are short in comparison to those in the second. Undoubtedly, the message and content of the original can be found in the translation, however, it was achieved by different means, namely, the translator used longer sentences and fancy verbs which reflect the sounds of the machine. This fragment is an example of *semantic translation,* which focuses on the aesthetic features of the source language as well as rendering expressive elements literally. Furthermore, the translator does not look for cultural equivalents which may be seen in further paragraphs. In addition to this, Weyland put a lot of effort into finding words which suit the poem in terms of sound and meaning and it shows what aspects of the poem seemed the most crucial according to the translator. It is also noticeable that these words are characterised by their liltingness thanks to double letters for instance: "huffing", "puffing", "oozing", "swelling", "smelly", "belly". The reception of such a text is certainly much more pleasant. Some differences between the SL text and the TL one can also be observed while taking into consideration onomatopoeia – a stylistic device which is dominant in the poem. Illustrative examples are presented in Table 7.

Table 7. Comparison of a fragment of "Lokomotywa" with the translation from 2013

Lokomotywa	***Locomotive* (2013)**
Buch – jak gorąco! Uch – jak gorąco! Puff – jak gorąco! Uff – jak gorąco!	Oof – how hot is it! Poof – how hot is it! Oof – how hot is it!

In this case the reader can easily notice that the structure of the stiches and exclamation marks are nearly the same. Nevertheless, when it comes to onomatopoeias, the translator had to find the equivalents for the Polish: "buch", "uch", "puff", "uff". As it can be seen, Tuwim was fond of experimenting with the usage of stylistic devices. The main aim of onomatopoeia is to phonetically imitate or at least resemble the sound which is described. The translator must not omit these elements as omission results in unsuccessful translation. Close rendering of stylistic devices is also characteristic of *semantic translation.* Weyland tried to find similar onomatopoeia in English which give the same sound result. Although he limited his translation only to *oof* and *poof,* his translation is successful. "Poof" is "used to convey the suddenness with which someone or something disappears", while "oof" "is a sound" mimicking "the loss of air, as if someone's solar plexus had just been struck" (Oxford English Dictionary). In the original, more elaborate versions of onomatopoeia were used. This stylistic device can be applied in various ways:

- in a form of neologism by using words which reflect sounds,
- by means of words which roots constitute onomatopoeia,
- by the use of phrase or rhythmic patterns.

The above-mentioned division gives a greater freedom when it comes to the diversity of onomatopoeia, which the given example illustrates:

Table 8. Comparison of a fragment of "Lokomotywa" with the translation from 2013

Lokomotywa	***Locomotive* (2013)**
Nagle – gwizd! Nagle – świst! Para – buch! Koła – w ruch!	Suddenly – woosh! Suddenly push! Steam – poof! Wheels – move!

Undoubtedly, both fragments are likely to convince even the most demanding reader, whose senses the poem wishes to appeal to. Monosyllabic words play a key role in the translation of poems of this kind. Moreover, particular onomatopoeia such as "woosh"

and "poof", which give the effect of the sound. Another interesting solution to translating onomatopoeia is presented in the fragment quoted in Table 9.

Table 9. Comparison of a fragment of "Lokomotywa" with the translation from 2013

Lokomotywa	Locomotive (2013)
A skądże to, jakże to, czemu tak gna?	And wherefrom, and whereto, and why does it rush?
A co to to, co to to, kto to tak pcha,	What gives it, what gives it, what gives it the plush?
Że pędzi, że wali, że bucha buch, buch? [...]	That is huffs, and it puffs, and it whistles hiss-hiss? [...]
I koła turkocą, i puka, i stuka to:	Wheels chatter and clatter on, quicker than quick,
Tak to to, tak to to, tak to to, tak to to...!	Clickety, clickety, clickety, click

The last verse of the poem is evidence of the author's linguistic awareness and knowledge. Words such as "huff", "puff", "clickety-click", "hiss-hiss" are not often used in everyday situations. However, they sound very well and may pique child's curiosity. Taking into consideration rhythms in the translation, they are not always compatible with the original as presented below:

Table 10. Comparison of a fragment of "Lokomotywa" with the translation from 2013

Lokomotywa	Locomotive (2013)
Już ledwo sapie, już ledwo zipie, A jeszcze palacz węgiel w nią sypie.	It's hardly breathing, wheezing so heavily And still the stoker more coal is shovelling
Wagony do niej podoczepiali Wielkie i ciężkie, z żelaza, stali,	Dozens of wagons are noisily coupled Heavy, enormous, of all kinds of metal,

These fragments make the differences concerning rhyming evident. Probably, Weyland sacrificed the regular structure of the poem, namely the rhythms in order to preserve the content and general message of these verses, which can signalise the usage of *communicative translation.* Nonetheless, it is worth remembering that Newmark himself claimed that there is a fine line between *semantic* and *communicative translation*, as they overlap.

5 Conclusions

The most important aspects of the original were retained in Weyland's translation (published in 2013), which makes its success evident. The dynamics, rhythm, stylistic devices, and more importantly, the content of the whole poem were preserved. There are some differences in length and regularity of the verses as well as cultural aspects which, nonetheless, do not seem to have a significant impact on the reception of the poem. It is also noticeable that the needs of the target audience were thoroughly considered by the translator. Moreover, this comparative analysis proved that the time when the translations were published (1939 and 2013) have a great impact on the way of rendering the original.

The translation from 1939 in all respects is an example of *adaptation,* the freest form of rendering "Lokomotywa". In my opinion, the translators mainly focused on sound effects, which does not mean that they did not preserve the essence. The authors of the translation preserved the form of the original, namely, they used all necessary stylistic devices which purpose is to convince young readership. Moreover, thanks to this technique, the translator does not have to feel limited when it comes to paraphrasing fragments. Freedom given to him with this method is invaluable. I suppose that this translation process provides entertainment both to the readers (children) and the translator.

The comparison of the original and its English translations was conducted using the strategies proposed by Venuti and Newmark. The analysis demonstrates that the strategies proposed by Venuti, namely, *foreignization* and *domestication,* prove to be useful by taking account of cultural-specific items of the original and its translations. With reference to these methods, it is possible to identify the general approach that the translators adopted. In the case of English translations, one published in 1939, the other in 2013, the reader can notice that both authors decided to choose different strategies. The authors of the older translation concentrated on the audience's language – English and culture. They intentionally mentioned Big Ben – the most recognisable building and simultaneously symbol of the UK. In order to gain child reader's trust and approximate their level of general knowledge, they used *domestication.* However, Weyland, the author of the second translation applied *foreignization* by tackling the problem of food terminology. This technique is understandable as in accordance with the general rule concerning the translation of food items, they should remain in an unchanged form, if possible. Introducing the term "TV" into the translation by Weyland can also evoke some controversies as this appliance was not popular when "Lokomotywa" was written. To sum up, the author did not take this aspect into account and probably his text was supposed to sound modern, so it is an example of domestication. The analysis proved that the date of translation as well as the cultural and technological development have a significant impact on the reception of the poem.

When it comes to strategies included in Newmark's *A Textbook of Translation*, they are applicable in terms of an analysis of stylistic devices. It turned out that Weyland chose particularly *semantic* and *communicative* translations which overlap because of similar traits. Both methods attempt to render the text in the most natural as well as comprehensible way to the audience. Additionally, they aim not only at preserving the aesthetic value of the poem but they also give freedom to the translator, to whose main priorities belong the effectiveness of the message and convincing the readers – children, attempting to please their senses, understand their world perception, and come up to their needs.

The translators responsible for the 1939 text accorded with one of Newmark's translation techniques, namely, *adaptation*. This form of translation is characterised by freedom of choice in terms of language and cultural-specific items on the part of translator. Some fragments of the original were omitted, the other translated in a totally different way from the original Polish poem. In conclusion, the translator has only one goal, i.e. to gain popularity among children, who want to be provided with unusual sound as well as linguistic effects, which will make this text their favourite. Finally, the young readers of these poems will not compare the original and its translation. The most important thing is to make an impression on children as well as surprise them with both the form and the content.

It is worth highlighting that there is no single key strategy using which a poem for children can be translated. The reasons for this phenomenon are obvious. Firstly, the translator is inclined toward sacrificing the structure of the text in favour of the message. The discrepancy between the urge to preserve all the stylistic devices and to simultaneously concentrate on the message, seems insolvable. Everyone should bear in mind that the translation process entails making numerous decisions which influences the quality of the target text.

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Translating irony. Translation strategies and techniques used by Polish translators of *Pride and Prejudice*

Abstract. This article presents the results of a comparative analysis of two Polish translations of *Pride and Prejudice* by Jane Austen. The authors of the translations are Anna Przedpełska-Trzeciakowska and Magdalena Gawlik-Małkowska. Attention is given to rendering irony, which is the novel's characteristic feature. The analysed excerpts illustrate the main translation strategies and techniques used in the Polish translations. A comparative analysis shows that techniques applicable to rendering humour and culture-bound elements can be used to translate irony as well. The Polish translations convey irony, but there are differences caused by the translators' interpretations and by their choice of strategies and techniques. Przedpełska-Trzeciakowska often uses the strategy of foreignization, but she tries to guide the reader so that they can perceive the implicature. Gawlik-Małkowska's translation is more literal and more modern, and its irony is more covert.

Keywords: Jane Austen, translation, translation strategy, translation technique, literary irony.

1 Introduction

Many scholars dealing with translation studies agree that full equivalence between the source text (ST) and the target text (TT) can never be achieved (Munday 2010: 37, 43). The concept of equivalence appeared in the work of Vinay and Darbelnet, 'Stylistique Comparée du Français et de L'Anglais' (1958); equivalence was enumerated as one of the procedures used in translation (Vinay & Darbelnet 1958: 8). The term was then described by Roman Jakobson (1959: 139) who wrote about the equivalence of words and meaning, and by many other scholars. For example, Baker (1992) identified various kinds of equivalence occurring on different levels: grammar, pragmatics, etc. The notion of

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equivalence is important while conducting a comparative analysis of translations. TT should be faithful to the original on each level and preserve its style and message. When the meaning is implicit, as in the case of irony, the task becomes more complicated.

Perceiving literary irony requires more attention from the reader than noticing the irony in someone's speech, when additional signs can be noticed, suggesting the right interpretation (tone of voice, facial expression, various gestures) (Wilson & Sperber 2012: 123). Noticing irony in Jane Austen's novel poses additional problem: the text and its humour is dated. *Pride and Prejudice* was first published in 1813 and contains many caustic and bitter remarks aimed at mocking the society of the Regency era. Certain customs and situations which are ironical can be unclear for the contemporary reader from both the United Kingdom and Poland. Therefore, reading such a novel requires some specific knowledge not only from the translator, but also from the readers. Translator has to choose between bringing the text closer to the contemporary foreign reader or relying on their knowledge of the famous author and her culture.

The aim of this paper is to analyse Jane Austen's use of irony and its rendering by two Polish translators: Anna Przedpełska-Trzeciakowska and Magdalena Gawlik-Małkowska, in order to show how particular strategies and techniques can be used to render the implied ironical message and whether they make irony more or less overt. Some of the techniques analysed were found useful by Vallès (2014) in rendering humour. Hejwowski's (2006) techniques for translating cultural aspects are also considered since irony is culture-bound. The differences found in the approaches adopted by the translators answer the question whether these strategies and techniques, used by the translators, can be successfully adopted and whether they preserve the ironical as well as the literal meaning of Jane Austen's text. Irony is the prevailing attitude adopted by the narrator of *Pride and Prejudice,* hence its importance.

Anna Przedpełska-Trzeciakowska is the author of the first Polish translation of *Pride and Prejudice,* the first edition of which appeared in 1957, published by Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy. The translations by Magdalena Gawlik-Małkowska were published by Prószyński Media (earlier: Prószyński i S-ka). The third Polish translator of the book is Katarzyna Surówka. Her version is omitted here, as it is the least popular, published only two times by Zielona Sowa[2].

2 Irony as a literary device

In the broader sense, irony refers to the variety of verbal expressions, as well as to the situations expressed in ways different than verbal (Østergaard 2014: 449). One of the first definitions of this phenomenon was formulated by the ancient Greek philosopher

2 Data presented in the paragraph are taken from the online Catalogues of National Library (Katalog Biblioteki Narodowej, access: 15.08.2020).

Aristotle (384–322 BC), and described as a person's attitude (an "understatement"); it was adopted for example by Socrates, who used irony while convincing others to his beliefs (Allemann 1986: 228).

Nowadays, scholars look at the phenomenon of irony from different perspectives. Oxford Dictionary distinguishes between a linguistic definition: expressing one's meaning with the use of the words meaning the opposite; figurative meaning: "a state of affairs" contrary to what is expected, which evokes an amused feeling; and a "literary technique" used originally in ancient Greece, when the significance of the character's actions was known to the audience, but not to the character himself (Oxford Dictionary: irony). Irony can be dependent on the speaker performing a certain speech act or on the external factors, so called "fate".

Irony can also be defined simply as "a contrast between reality and appearance" (Khalaf 2017: 70). When the spoken and the written word is concerned, this phenomenon is "an insincere statement, where the speaker intends the listener to perceive it as insincere and where the statement constitutes a misfit with some aspects of the context" (Østergaard 2014: 449). This definition contains one of the main features of irony, namely, insincerity.

Irony is often seen as "the subtlest comic form" (Chowdhury 2007: 9). It is confused with sarcasm and satire; the first being a more obvious, exaggerated (Chowdhury 2007: 9) and aggressive form of irony (Attardo 2000: 795); the second attempting to ridicule human weakness to advocate reform (Chowdhury 2007: 10). The main features of irony are: ambiguity, lack of hurtful aim and lack of moralistic attitude (Chowdhury 2007: 8; Chakhachiro 2009: 33). Irony is also often associated with humour, although it co-exists with tragedy, as well (Chowdhury 2007: 24).

Irony carries emotional values (Attardo 2000: 794). Therefore, it can be positive or negative, although in both cases it is critical since one can pretend to criticise while implicating praise or, more often, pretending to praise while criticising. It is witty, intelligent and always contains a feeling, judgement or attitude of a disapproving kind (Garmendia 2010: 401). Still, it can be jovial (Kaufer 1986:319), as is Jane Austen's irony. As an ironist, she presents a disillusioned albeit sympathetic outlook on human nature and society (Chowdhury 2007: 171-172). In the words of her character Elizabeth she presents her view on that issue:

> I hope I never ridicule what is wise or good. Follies and nonsense, whims and inconsistencies, do divert me, I own, and I laugh at them whenever I can (Austen 2004: 57)

Furthermore, the aesthetic value of the ironists' witty remarks is for them of a great importance. When analysing irony as an interpretive form, a significant aesthetic role can be attributed to binary oppositions, which are pairs of mutually-exclusive terms or concepts (Kaufer 1986: 321). In *Pride and Prejudice* these are, for example, knowledge

and truth, intentions and expectations, self-perception and the way others see us (Chowdhury 2007: 4-5).

Irony in *Pride and Prejudice* is humorous, gentle, ridiculing the society, but with no intention of reforming it (Chowdhury 2007: 11, 24, 27, 29). It is implicated in the narrative, but also revealed in the characters' words (Chowdhury 2007: 11, 41). The proper characterization of Austen's use of irony is important in order to preserve its original style in translation.

3 Translating literary irony

While translating irony, the key issue is to render the implied ironical message and the narrator's attitude to the world. As Skorov observes:

> If an entire book is pervaded by irony, then irony itself is the book's most important message. As a consequence, it is irony that must be, above all, conveyed in the translation of such a book – at the expense, sometimes, of literal accuracy (Skorov 2009: 102).

It can be difficult because the cultural differences occur also on the level of employing and understanding humour and irony (Chakhachiro 2009: 32-33). In Muir's opinion, English humour is "a variety of irony", connected with English free and individualistic culture (see Chakhachiro 2009: 33).

Translating irony requires implication of more strategies than those typically used for translation. The first task is to perceive irony. Grice's conversational maxims can serve as a useful reference here. Grice identifies four maxims that illustrate the assumptions made by listeners, or here: by readers. Irony is often perceived as a violation of the first maxim of quality (Chakhachiro 2009: 43), which states that a speaker should not say what they believe is not true (Grice 1991: 27). Perceiving this violation should make a translator aware that he or she should search for an implicature. An interpretation, however, should be made along with the exploration of the context in which a violation occurs (Chakhachiro 2009: 43-44).

Chakhachiro (2009) claims that translating irony is highly dependent on the translator's interpretation and reformulation. He proposes to consider Nida's notions of formal and dynamic equivalence and Newmark's semantic and communicative translations, for the purpose of translating irony (Chakhachiro 2009: 32). Hutcheon's markers of irony, e.g. questions, understatements, echoic mentions, misrepresentation, pretended advice, euphemism also can be helpful while identifying irony in the text (Hutcheon 1995: 153). It is important to remember that the product of the translation should enable readers to perceive the ambiguity of the original ironical message, that means, literal meaning should be accessible as well as the non-literal one, as according to the indirect negation view theory, irony requires the existence of both literal and implied meanings (Attardo

2000: 799). Producing a text that lacks the ambiguity of the original can be considered a mistake. Mistakes can occur as a consequence of overused literal forms of translation, erroneous interpretation, wrong realisation of the TT or lack of awareness of the principles of translation (Hejwowski 2006: 125-126).

Chakhachiro, Skorov and many other scholars who examined literary irony for the purpose of translation focus mostly on the irony itself, on perceiving and decoding it. The same can be said about Birkelund. In "Translating the implicit", she carries out an analysis of the existing Danish translations of *Pride and Prejudice*, focusing on rendering the message implied in the text (Birkelund 2016). After analysing these studies, a conclusion can be drawn that the most important task while translating the implicit message is to perceive it and decode it, determining its meaning in the text.

4 Translation strategies and techniques

In her article, Zohre Owji (2013) states that the term "translation strategy" is widely used by the scholars in various contexts and with different meanings. In general, translation strategies are used by the translator when he or she encounters a problem with a literal translation (Owji 2013). Various strategies enable the translator to produce the equivalent text in the target language. Molina and Albir differentiate between the "strategies" that are about finding the way to translate a unit, and "techniques" that are the solutions "materialized", used in practice (Molina & Albir 2002: 508).

The first to classify translation "procedures" as they called it, were Vinay and Darbelnet (see Molina & Albir 2002: 499). In their work, *Stylistique comparée du français et de l'anglais* (1958), they classify them into two broader categories of direct (literal) and oblique (free) translation, and identify more specific procedures accompanying them (Vinay and Darbelnet 1972: 46-54). Another scholar, Nida (1964), proposes three techniques of adjustment: additions, substractions and alternations (Nida 1964: 226-238). He classifies footnotes as an adjustment technique (Nida 1964: 238). Other scholars who deal with translation strategies and techniques are for example: Vázquez Ayora (1977), Newmark (1988), Delisle (1993), Molina and Albir (2002).

The universal models and strategies that enable the analysis and rendering of irony are limited (Chakhachiro 2009: 37). Still, the article will show that many general translation strategies are applicable to the translation of irony, as well. When translation techniques are concerned, especially important will be the classification provided by the Polish scholar Hejwowski, as his techniques are connected with translating cultural aspects of the text. Hejwowski distinguishes:

- Reproduction without explanation – importing the foreign word into the TT. The spelling can be slightly adapted in order to fit the target language;
- Reproduction with explanation – a short explanation is added in order to draw the expression closer to the reader and enable him or her to classify and reconstruct it;

- Syntagmatic translation without explanation – a literal translation;
- Syntagmatic translation with explanation – a literal translation with explanation enabling readers to understand the meaning of the utterance in the source culture;
- Established equivalent – e.g. the translation of the names of the institutions or of the geographical names;
- Functional equivalent – a name or an allusion to something not widely known in the target culture is changed for a name or an allusion known better;
- Hypernym – using the word of a broader meaning;
- Descriptive equivalent – description or definition is used instead of the word;
- Abandonment – leaving out a certain element (Hejwowski 2006: 76-83).

Hejwowski's techniques are important while translating irony, a cultural phenomenon. Still, due to the space limitation, other strategies and techniques will serve as a basic structure for the analysis of the translations of *Pride and Prejudice*. These will be:

- Domestication and foreignization
- Substitution of an ironic expression
- Replacement of an expression by an idiom
- Omission
- Correcting original phrase.

Domestication and foreignization are considered to be general strategies adopted by the translators (Hejwowski 2006: 76). Identifying them in the first place will help to perceive the attitude adopted by the translators. The terms were coined by Venuti on the basis of the Schleiermacher's claim that the translator can either move the reader towards the writer (foreignization) or move the writer towards the reader (domestication) (Venuti 1995: 19-21). When the translation of a dated text is concerned, the choice between the archaic and the transparent language can be also mentioned here, as connected with the previous terms (Munday 2008: 144-145). The archaic language will be preferred along with the foreignization, the transparent language – along with the domestication. The issue of the translation of irony makes the choice between the two even more difficult. Irony is highly culture-bound; it exploits stereotypes and social habits that can be obscure to the target reader. Margot claims that there are three cases when the cultural adaptation can be justified: when the certain item is not known in the target culture (then, the classifier can be used), when the background is historical (a linguistic rather than cultural translation is proposed) and when the text should be adopted to the specific situation (Molina & Albir 2002: 503). The text analysed in this article, *Pride and Prejudice,* aims to ridicule the English society of the early 19th century, so the translator should preserve the style of the author by using a slightly archaised language and using classifiers in order to explain the meaning or application of certain items of the source culture.

The techniques following these two strategies: substitution, replacement and omission are identified by Chiaro (2006) and used by Vallès (who calles them "procedures") in his study of the translation of humour (Vallès 2014: 46). The first one is called the substitution of an expression. Original sentence can be substituted partly or wholly in order to fit the TT and preserve its ironic meaning for the TT readers (this specific technique overlaps with the more general strategy of domestication). A sentence can also be replaced by an idiomatic expression of a similar meaning. Where necessary, an ironical expression can be omitted and, to preserve the general tone, can be implied in a different part of the text where originally it did not occur (Vallès 2014: 46).

Vallès (2014: 46) also uses techniques enumerated by Delabastita (1993: 39), which encompass the three already mentioned: paraphrasing (rewording), amplification, explication, reduction, omission or even word-for-word translation. These techniques, although used by Vallès with reference to the humorous text, are important also when the translation of irony is concerned, which is why they will be analysed in this article.

The last case analysed here is correcting the original phrase, which is considered to be a translator's mistake (Lievois & Schoentjes 2010: 20). It can be found in the Polish translations of *Pride and Prejudice*.

It is important to remember that the TT should enable readers to perceive the ambiguity of the original ironical message, that means, the literal meaning should be accessible, as well as the non-literal one. Irony should not be explained in the TT, so that the TT readers will have the possibility of noticing and discovering irony themselves. However, as Zabalbeascoa observes, due to the problems connected with rendering humour (and irony) it seems to be rather popular among the translators to explain the humorous parts of the text so that the translations are often more overt than originals (Zabalbeascoa 2005: 9). It usually happens when the irony is verbal, since irony of a particular situation does not pose great difficulty: it is more the matter of plot than language. Verbal irony is more subtle. It can be missed, reduced (as was already mentioned) or even corrected as a writer's mistake (Lievois and Schoentjes 2010: 20). But there are also cases when the translator carries "ironic reading too far" (Booth 1975: 193).

5 A brief summary of the novel

Before proceeding to the analysis of the translations, it is useful to briefly describe the novel. *Pride and Prejudice* is the ironical depiction of the life of gentry at the turn of the 18th and 19th century. The history of the Bennet family is followed: Mrs. Bennet, a narrow-minded woman and a victim of her husband's irony; Mr. Bennet, a private ironist sharing his amusement only with Elizabeth; Jane, the oldest daughter and a sweet-heart; Elizabeth, a witty ironist and the voice of Jane Austen in the novel; Mary, the middle sister, whose pretentions to be seen as well-read and skilled present an

ironical contrast with her appearance as self-righteous and boring; Kitty and Lydia, the youngest daughters, described as infantile and silly.

When a wealthy bachelor, Mr. Bingley, along with his sisters and his friend, Mr. Darcy, arrive to the neighbourhood, the local girls start thinking about marrying the gentleman. Mr. Bingley and Jane develop interest in each other, while seemingly proud and supercilious Mr. Darcy is attracted to Elizabeth, who dislikes him. Elizabeth's objections regarding Mr. Darcy are stirred by Wickham, an officer, who has been acquainted with Darcy since childhood. Another ironically presented character is Mr. Bennet's cousin, pompous clergyman called Mr. Collins, who arrives with the intention of finding a wife.

The characters encounter troubles and learn that the first impression is often misleading. At the end, three of Mrs. Bennet's daughters marry, which is enough to make the mother happy; Jane and Elizabeth succeed in finding true love: Mr. Bingley and Mr. Darcy.

6 Study methods

A close analysis of the texts is carried out, following the order presented above in the bullet point list. The excerpts from the book and its translations are chosen subjectively, in order to match the strategy described, but they are representative of the whole translations. All of the examples contain irony. The excerpts are compared in search for the differences made by the various strategies and techniques which were adopted by the translators.

7 The analysis of the translation strategies and techniques

Firstly, the general strategies adopted by the translators will be analysed, followed by a comparative analysis of the particular strategies they used.

Domestication and foreignization

Table 1. Domestication and foreignization (Example 1)

Austen	Przedpełska-Trzeciakowska	Gawlik-Małkowska
"There is a very fine old saying, which every body here is of course familiar with – 'Keep your breath to cool your porridge,' – and I shall keep mine to swell my song (Austen 2004: 25).	*– Jest taki stary morał, który wszyscy dobrze znają: "Błogosławieni, którzy nie mając nic do powiedzenia, nie ubierają tego w słowa". Nie powiem już nic więcej, by oszczędzić tchu na moje pieśni* (Austen 2005: 24).	*– […] Istnieje stare, mądre powiedzenie […] "Zachowaj oddech do studzenia owsianki". Ja oszczędzę swój na me pieśni* (Austen 2012: 24).

Domesticating strategy can be observed in the translation of a proverb cited by Elizabeth in her witty response to Darcy. The "fine old saying", namely: "Keep your breath to cool your porridge", is explained in The Free Dictionary as "focus on yourself and your life, rather than other people's lives and issues" (Farlex Dictionary of Idioms: keep your breath to cool your porridge). Dictionary.com refers to it as the "idea of not expending one's breath to say something another person doesn't want to hear" (Dictionary.com: save one's breath). The literal meaning already suggests this interpretation: keep your breath in order to use it for your benefit. Elizabeth tries to tell Mr. Darcy that he is wasting his breath talking to her, while she is not going to do the same: she is going to use her voice to sing to the delight of the company. In the wider context, she intends to stop the conversation with Mr. Darcy, as she was asked by her friend to perform a song. But she does not stop it overtly. She tries to suggest to Mr. Darcy that the talk is over. It is possible that she does it with an ironic tone of voice, as the meaning of her sentence seems to be dismissive.

Translating the proverb into Polish is not an easy task. There is no proverb in the target language which would correspond to its meaning. The phrase "save your breath" or "keep your breath" can be translated as "oszczędź sobie" ('spare yourself') or "daruj sobie" ('save it'). This is, however, a very direct and overt statement, rather colloquial. It would not fit the style and manner of the book and the character. The translators, therefore, had to find a proverb that would be the closest to the original meaning, or translate it literally. The first choice carried the risk of losing the coherence of the sentence: if the proverb chosen does not contain the word "breath" or any other referring to the second part of the utterance, then the second part will not fit it. It would have to be changed in order to preserve the reference to the proverb, or left as it is, losing its connection with the proverb.

Gawlik-Małkowska decided on translating the proverb literally (syntagmatic translation without explanation). Although "zachowaj oddech do studzenia owsianki" is not a proverb in the Polish language, its meaning can be deduced from the context. "Porridge" is here translated as "owsianka" ("oat porridge"), so a more general word is translated as a specific one (a hypernym is used). In Poland, oat porridge is a popular simple dish eaten usually for breakfast and the word "porridge" itself has no direct equivalent. What Gawlik-Małkowska did here can be called foreignization. She translated the English proverb literally, uprooting it from its original historical, cultural and language context and using it in this form in the target language. Consequently, the proverb does not belong to the target culture and is not identified as such by the Polish readers. They distinguish it as foreign, even though they are able to understand its meaning.

Przedpełska-Trzeciakowska, on the contrary, decided on using the domesticating strategy and found a Polish equivalent, although not a proverb. The sentence used by her: "Błogosławieni, którzy nie mając nic do powiedzenia, nie ubierają tego w słowa"

('Blessed are those who, having nothing to say, do not put this into words') has a biblical etymology. Its form is based on the Beatitudes – Biblical blessings, which are familiar to a Polish person, as Polish culture is rooted in Christianity. But it is not the translator who modified the original version of the blessings. Przedpełska-Trzeciakowska paraphrased the words written by a well-known Polish poet, Julian Tuwim: "Błogosławiony ten, co nie mając nic do powiedzenia, nie obleka tego faktu w słowa" ('Blessed is him who, having nothing to say, does not put this fact into words') (Tuwim 1955: 545). It is an ironical parody of the blessings, intending to dismiss the people who talk much, even though they have nothing interesting or important to say. Although Tuwim is well-known, this particular quotation is not that popular as to be used in everyday language. Przedpełska-Trzeciakowska, using the words of a national poet in lieu of the original proverb, makes them sound familiar, although they are probably recognised more often as a parody of Biblical words, not as the words of Tuwim. Still, Elizabeth paraphrasing Tuwim can be perceived as an erudite. The only problem here is that, strictly speaking, Tuwim was born in 1894, 81 years after *Pride and Prejudice* was published. Leaving those details behind, it is true to say that Przedpełska-Trzeciakowska succeeded in rendering the proverb, making use of the domesticating strategy and putting the words in the national, Polish context, understandable to the target readers. The translated sentence is still ironic and can be interpreted as dismissive.

Table 2. Domestication and foreignization (Example 2)

Austen	Przedpełska-Trzeciakowska	Gawlik-Małkowska
It was next to impossible that their [Catherine and Lydia's] cousin should come in a scarlet coat, and it was now some weeks since they had received pleasure from the society of men in any other colour (Austen 2004: 65).	*Nie było możliwe, by kuzyn ich [Katarzyny i Lidii] pojawił się w szkarłatnym wojskowym mundurze, a od wielu tygodni nie znajdowały przyjemności w towarzystwie mężczyzn w ubraniu innej barwy* (Austen 2005: 58).	*Prawdopodobieństwo, że kuzyn [Catherine i Lydii] przyjedzie w szkarłatnym mundurze, graniczyło z cudem, a od paru tygodni ich aprobatę zyskiwali wyłącznie mężczyźni w stroju tej właśnie barwy* (Austen 2012: 57).

Another example contains the element that can be perceived as a part of the English culture. Scarlet coat was a part of the soldiers' regimentals. In Poland a coat of this colour carries the connotations with the kings or rulers, not soldiers. In the excerpts presented in Table 2, however, the object of Catherine and Lydia's interest are the soldiers. The narrator ironically states that Mr. Collins' forthcoming visit was of no appeal for the youngest Bennet ladies, as the only men they were interested in were the soldiers who were stationed in the nearby town at the time. What is ridiculed here is the girls' affection for soldiers, which can be called superficial, based only on their appearance and

the charm of their occupation, simply speaking: their "colour". Colour plays an important role here and, in the source language it helps the readers to identify the men as soldiers. Gawlik-Małkowska translated this phrase literally (syntagmatic translation without explanation) as "szkarłatny mundur" ('scarlet coat'), relying on the readers' knowledge of whom the colour indicated. Reading the novel, the reader is familiar with the sisters' choices concerning men, therefore the explanation may not seem necessary. Still, Przepełska-Trzeciakowska decided to add the adjective "wojskowy" ('military'), while preserving the colour of the coat in the translation (syntagmatic translation with explanation). The phrase "szkarłatny wojskowy mundur" ('scarlet military coat') clearly specifies the kind of men that caught Catherine and Lydia's attention, still describing a part of British regimentals. Both of the translators chose the strategy of foreignization here. Nonetheless, Przedpełska-Trzeciakowska made an attempt to "move the writer towards the reader" and facilitate understanding the phrase.

Przedpełska-Trzeciakowska tends to produce more literal translation, while Gawlik-Małkowska paraphrases the original. What can be observed here, on a side note, is Przedpełska-Trzeciakowska's domesticating strategy with translating names, while Gawlik-Małkowska preserved the foreign spelling.

Table 3. Archaisation (Example 3)

Austen	Przedpełska-Trzeciakowska	Gawlik-Małkowska
To be fond of dancing was a certain step towards falling in love; and very lively hopes of Mr. Bingley's heart were entertained (Austen 2004: 11).	*Jeśli znajduje przyjemność w tańcu, to, oczywista, łatwo mu przyjdzie się zakochać. Wszystko to krzepiło nadzieje w sercu pani Bennet* (Austen 2005: 11).	*Taniec dzielił przecież od zakochania tylko krok, i niejedna panna miała nadzieję, że zdobędzie serce pana Bingleya* (Austen 2012: 11).

The strategy of archaisation, connected with the strategy of foreignization, can be noticed in the two translations, although Gawlik-Małkowska tends to use more fluent and contemporary language. The example of using rather archaic words occurs in Przedpełska-Trzeciakowska's translation presented in Table 3. The example from the novel regards the hopes that aroused after Mr. Bingley had declared coming to the next assembly in the neighbourhood. The ladies who were looking for a husband, as well as Mrs. Bennet, who was eager to get her daughters engaged, gave this piece of news more emphasis than it deserved. They expected dance to lead to a romance and, consequently, to a wedding. In these words, the narrator echoes and ridicules the contemporary society's way of thinking and the attitude towards romance and husband-seeking. The use of archaic or modern words does not change the overall ironic tone of the excerpt, but it is helpful while identifying the time of the events. The chosen fragments are also

representative of the strategies used by the translators in this context. Przedpełska-Trzeciakowska uses archaic words to render Jane Austen's sentences: "certain" is translated as "oczywista", where it would be more natural to say "oczywiście" in present-day Polish. "Krzepiło nadzieję" ('got (her) hopes up') is also rather literary and old-fashioned. The language, however, is certainly more contemporary than it would have been, had *Pride and Prejudice* been rendered in the times when it was first published in the original. Gawlik-Małkowska, in her turn, used modern and natural language here and made the sentence shorter, rendering the sense rather than the original syntax. This example is representative of the whole approach of Gawlik-Małkowska to the translation of the novel.

To sum up, Przedpełska-Trzeciakowska uses a rather archaic language, but makes use of the domesticating strategy, in order to bring the source culture closer to the Polish readers. She uses syntagmatic translation with explanation and the adjustment technique of footnotes (not presented here) so she is also trying to preserve the original elements, but in a way that will be understandable for the reader. Gawlik-Małkowska's translation is more precise, moderately modernised. She preserves the original elements using syntagmatic translation without explanation, but she also uses hypernyms in order to make certain expressions more understandable.

Substitution of an ironic expression

Table 4. Substitution (Example 4)

Austen	Przedpełska-Trzeciakowska	Gawlik-Małkowska
To be sure it would have been for the advantage of conversation, had Miss Lydia Bennet come upon the town; or, as the happiest alternative, been secluded from the world, in some distant farm-house (Austen 2004: 299).	*Prawdę mówiąc, rozmowy w salonach byłyby o wiele ciekawsze, gdyby panna Lidia Bennet przeszła na utrzymanie parafii lub gdyby – w najlepszym wypadku – trzymano ją do końca życia w zamknięciu na jakiejś odległej farmie* (Austen 2005: 249).	*[Sąsiedzi] [b]yliby zapewne bardziej przejęci, gdyby Lydia powróciła do domu panną lub – jeszcze lepiej – została skazana na pustelniczy żywot na jakimś odludziu* (Austen 2012: 241).

An interesting example of the substitution of an ironic expression in the analysed translations of *Pride and Prejudice* is the case presented in Table 4. The excerpts describe Lydia's return, after she escaped with Wickham, and the couple were found and persuaded to marry. Lydia came home as a married woman, but the marriage was preceded by a scandal. The narrator tries to ridicule the small community's quest for gossip, the more scandalous, the better. Narrator ironically suggests that the news about Lydia's

return were not dramatic enough, therefore the gossip was too boring. The event would have been more appealing for the neighbours if something more remarkable and tragic had happened to Lydia.

In the original sentence, Austen uses the euphemism "come upon the town", which, according to the footnote in the quoted edition of the novel, means "become a prostitute" (Austen 2004: 299). The narrator suggests that if Lydia had become a prostitute, instead of marrying a soldier, the news would had been more interesting. Jane Austen's humour is well-manifested here. It is witty and bold in exposing the small community's weaknesses, even if she used a euphemism in order to convey the intended message.

Euphemism can be called one of the stylistic devices that convey irony (Skorov 2009: 92). The use of it should make the reader aware that an ironic intention can be implied by it. The euphemism is, however, archaic, therefore its meaning could have been misunderstood, missed or changed intentionally. Regardless of the reason, both the translators decided on substituting the phrase. Przedpełska-Trzeciakowska translated it as "przeszła na utrzymanie gminy" ('started being supported by parish'). The meaning of this phrase is rather obscure for the modern reader. In the 19th century, parishes were obliged to take care of the poor of their area (Mitchell 2009: 91). Przedpełska-Trzeciakowska's phrase means that Lydia became poor, maybe excluded from her family. The original meaning is removed, but the sentence can be still perceived as ironic. Therefore, the irony is conveyed not only by the euphemism, although its use is helpful while identifying the implicature. Still, the intention to ridicule the community is visible regardless of the dramatic events that are perceived as more interesting for the gossiping neighbours. The translated phrase, however, does not have any connotations with an occupation that can be considered as taboo. The humour, therefore, is less daring.

Gawlik-Małkowska replaces the examined phrase with "powrócić do domu panną" ('come back home as a maiden'), which carries a meaning opposite to both being a prostitute (as in the original) and being a married woman (which is what really happened to Lydia in the novel). As the opposite to the events from the book, it creates a contrast, which can be perceived by the reader as ironical. Moreover, it suits the context. It would have been scandalous, if Lydia had come back without the man with whom she escaped. The cited phrase is no longer a euphemism and lacks the taboo connotations, still, the ironic implication is visible. Therefore, the strategy of substituting the original phrase can be successfully used, even though the literal meaning is not preserved. Still, the original allusion in the example analysed was in some aspects weakened.

Replacement of an expression by an idiom

Table 5. Replacement of an expression by an idiom (Example 5)

Austen	Przedpełska-Trzeciakowska	Gawlik-Małkowska
"In point of composition" said Mary, "his letter does not seem defective. The idea of the olive branch perhaps is not wholly new, yet I think it is well expressed." (Austen 2004: 65).	*– Z punktu widzenia kompozycji – wtrąciła Mary – list ten nie wydaje się błędny. Pomysł z gałązką oliwną nie jest może zupełnie nowy, ale tu znalazł się, moim zdaniem, bardzo na miejscu* (Austen 2005: 57).	*– W kwestii kompozycji – powiedziała Mary – jego list wydaje się bez zarzutu. Idea niesienia gałązki oliwnej zapewne trąci myszką, lecz moim zdaniem została wyrażona jak należy* (Austen 2012: 57).

The cited example may not be the most suitable, but it clearly illustrates the strategy of the replacement of an expression by an idiom. It is not the most suitable in the case of representing the translation of irony, since the choice of the phrases here does not influence the reader's perception of the character described. The irony here is situational: Mary comments on the pompous letter written by Mr. Collins, a thoroughly humorous character ridiculed by the narrator, as well as by the witty characters in the novel (Lizzy and her father). While the mentioned characters, Elizabeth and Mr. Bennet, do not seem to treat the letter and their author seriously, Mary analyses the writing and comments on its language. Mary tries to come across as intelligent and knowledgeable, while her family does not pay attention to the form of the letter, but to the character and intentions of its sender. Her words are, therefore, shallow and stilted.

Mary comments on one of the expressions used by Mr. Collins: on the phrase "olive branch". He used it probably with the same intention with which Mary shares her comments: in order to come across as intelligent and erudite. She calls this phrase "not wholly new", even though she approves of its use in the context. Mary's simple words are translated by Gawlik-Małkowska with an idiom understood nowadays, but made up of semantic archaisms: "trącić myszką". The meaning of the idiom is the same as of the original phrase, therefore it does not change the literal meaning of the sentence. Mary's use of the idiom, however, strengthens the pompous character of her words, as they sound less natural in everyday speech. In Gawlik-Małkowska's translation, Mary's words are even more misplaced than in the original and the irony of the situation is more visible.

Przedpełska-Trzeciakowska's translation is also presented here, but it will not be analysed, since she used the literal translation. The only reason for placing them both in the table is to enable the comparison. It also enables perceiving the subtle difference in the tone of Mary's utterance, based on the chosen translations of the phrase analysed.

Omission

Table 6. Omission (Example 6)

Austen	Przedpełska-Trzeciakowska	Gawlik-Małkowska
[…] the young ladies […] were usually tempted tither three or four times a week, to pay their duty to their aunt, and to a milliner's shop just over the way (Austen 2004: 29).	*[..] co najmniej trzy razy w tygodniu, znęcone ciekawością i pokusą drobnych zakupów, szły z wizytą do ciotki i modniarki, której sklep wypadał im po drodze* (Austen 2005: 27).	*[…] bywały tam trzy lub cztery razy w tygodniu z wizytą u ciotki oraz zaglądały do znajdującego się po drodze sklepu modystki* (Austen 2012: 27).

The translator can also omit an ironical expression. It can be compensated later by adding an ironical expression where it does not originally occur. The ironic meaning of the expression was for instance left aside by Gawlik-Małkowska, as the example in Table 6 illustrates. Meryton was a nearby town, where an aunt of the Bennet daughters lived. The narrator ironically states that Kitty and Lydia visited the town to see their aunt, and the other kinds of entertainment, for example shopping, were only a bonus. In fact, it was obvious that visiting the aunt was merely an excuse, and the bonuses were the main reason for the girls' trips.

Przedpełska-Trzeciakowska's translation suggests, equivalently to the original sentence, that the "milliner's shop" ('sklep modniarki') was only an interesting stop on the way to the aunt's house. The translator, however, as if trying to make the motives of the young Bennets clear for the reader, adds the information (amplification technique) that they were tempted to visit Meryton by their curiosity and the prospect of shopping: "znęcone ciekawością i pokusą drobnych zakupów". By interposing this piece of information, Przedpełska-Trzeciakowska exempts readers from making their own judgement on the Bennets' behaviour and intentions. The ironical tone of the sentence is therefore weakened, as the reason for the girls' trips is overtly stated and the internal contradiction of the utterance is less visible.

In Gawlik-Małkowska's translation the ironical statement is reduced to simple information. Girls visited their aunt and, on their way to her house, they visited the milliner's shop. The sentence is not ironical, as there is no implied meaning here – the ironical sentence is omitted and it no longer conveys a subtle judgement of the Bennet sisters' character and behaviour. The narrator, therefore, is not ironizing here, as he or she does in the original.

Correcting original phrase

Table 7. Correcting original phrase (Example 7)

Austen	Przedpełska-Trzeciakowska	Gawlik-Małkowska
"Why, I must confess that I love him [Darcy] better than I do Bingley. I am afraid you will be angry." (Austen 2004: 361).	*– No więc… przyznam ci się, że kocham go bardziej niż ty swojego narzeczonego. Boję się, że się będziesz gniewać* (Austen 2005: 301).	*– Boję się, że będziesz zła. Muszę wyznać, że kocham go bardziej niż Bingleya* (Austen 2012: 291).

The last case mentioned involves the correcting of the original phrase. It is not a desirable situation, as the translator does not perceive the irony, interprets the original phrase as being wrongly formulated and decides to correct it. Hence, an ironical expression is amended and may lose its original implicated meaning. Such a case can be found in Przedpełska-Trzeciakowska's translation. Example presented in Table 7 is Elizabeth's confession made to her sister, Jane. They converse about Elizabeth's surprising decision to marry Mr. Darcy. Jane does not know how Mr. Darcy succeeded in gaining Elizabeth's respect and feelings and is sure she disliked him. She expresses surprise and tries to question Lizzy in order to be sure, whether her sister really loves the man she agreed to marry. During the conversation, Elizabeth playfully assures Jane that she really has feelings for Mr. Darcy. In the source text, Elizabeth tells Jane that her feelings for Darcy are stronger than what she feels for Bingley. Since Elizabeth is supposed to marry Darcy and Jane is engaged to Bingley, this is the normal and expected state of affairs. However, Elizabeth suggests that this confession can make Jane angry. Elizabeth probably makes an ironical reference to Jane's great love for Bingley. She is "afraid" that her sister expects her to also admire Bingley, and being in love with Darcy can come across as insulting – Darcy is considered to be an unpleasant gentleman by the whole Bennet family. This assumption is, of course, absurd. Elizabeth enjoys prolonging the tension with ironical remarks, before she decides to reveal the truth to her sister (the truth about Mr. Darcy's virtues which she discovered in his character). The utterance is meant to annoy Jane, while Elizabeth is clearly enjoying the situation, when she knows the truth and her sister is puzzled.

Przedpełska-Trzeciakowska probably perceived the unusualness of Elizabeth's statement and decided on correcting it. Instead of focusing on Elizabeth's feelings, she decided to make a comparison between both of the sisters and the amount of their love for their fiancés: "kocham go bardziej niż ty swojego narzeczonego" ('I love him more than you love your fiancé'). Elizabeth seems to playfully compete with her sister, at the same time assuring her that she loves Mr. Darcy and that her feelings are stronger than

Jane's. It can be perceived as underestimating her sister's bond with her fiancé, but when it is analysed as a humorous remark, it cannot be considered derogatory. Indeed, this statement is also humoristic and seems more logical. Still, Jane Austen was supposedly aware of her use of words and the implicatures they hold. Therefore, amending the original text does not seem necessary.

Gawlik-Małkowska's translation will not be analysed here, as it is a literal translation and preserves the meaning of the sentence: "kocham go bardziej niż Bingleya" ('I love him more than I do Bingley'), leaving it to the reader to comprehend this seemingly obvious statement.

8. Conclusions

It is a challenge to render irony in *Pride and Prejudice*. Irony needs to be preserved in its omnipresence in the novel, but it is dated and highly culture-bound. Still, the Polish translators succeeded in converting an ironical tone of *Pride and Prejudice* for the target readers to notice. A detailed analysis of their translations reveals how different approaches they adopted and how differently they interpreted various passages. Anna Przedpełska-Trzeciakowska's translation is more literal and archaic. She used the strategy of foreignization, but to a limited extent. In comparison with the other translation, Przedpełska-Trzeciakowska more often made attempts to explain certain aspects of the source culture. Still, she enabled a reader to perceive its foreigness and historical context. Magdalena Gawlik-Małkowska made her translation more precise and contemporary. Some aspects of the source culture are preserved here without being explained. The ironical message connected with the cultural aspects is therefore more covert. The techniques enumerated by Delabastita (1993) and those identified by Hejwowski (2006) could be found in both translations, along with the strategies of foreignization and domestication. They were succesfully adopted to translate irony. The particular technique used by the translators did not determine the ironical meaning of the utterance, as long as the irony was perceived and preserved, but it influenced the overtone of the utterance. Irony can be preserved as long as the translated text has both the silent and the implied meaning. It cannot be too overt, since the reader has to discover the irony himself or herself, in order to truly appreciate it.

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