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Looking through the Lens of Bourdieu: A Corpus-based Study of English Romance Fiction Translation Concerning the Translation Strategies of CSIs

Mirando a través de la lente de Bourdieu: un estudio basado en corpus de la traducción de ficción romántica inglesa sobre las estrategias de traducción de los CSI

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Abstract: Translational habitus is a key term incorporated Bourdieusian sociological concept of habitus and Translation Studies' translation norms. In light of Bourdieu's theoretical model of sociology, this study sought to address the translational behaviour of the Iranian translators of English romance novels in terms of the translation strategies of Culture-Specific Items (CSIs) before and after the Cultural Revolution of 1980 in Iran. 4282 sentences containing CSIs were obtained from *Rebecca*, *Sense and Sensibility*, *The Great Gatsby*, and their two Persian translations. Based on how each CSI was translated, they were grouped under one of Liang's proposed categorization. The frequency and percentages of each procedure were calculated using SPSS software. Moreover, the results were cross-checked with a qualitative analysis of some archived interviews printed in *Motarjem [the translator] journal*, newspapers, and WebPages. The evidence from this study suggests that there was a clear foreignizing trend among Iranian translators of the English romance novels when translating CSIs not only in the Pre-Cultural Revolution era but also in the Post-Cultural Revolution era. Also, a significant difference between various strategies utilized in the two eras was detected.

Keywords: Romance fiction translation, Bourdieu's sociological model, Literary field, Habitus, Culture-specific items (CSIs), Pre/ Post-Cultural Revolution era, Capital.

Resumen: El habitus traductor es un término clave que incorpora el concepto sociológico de habitus de Bourdieu y las normas de traducción de los estudios de traducción. A la luz del modelo teórico de sociología de Bourdieu, este estudio buscó abordar el comportamiento traductor de los traductores iraníes de novelas románticas inglesas en términos de las estrategias de traducción de elementos específicos de la cultura (CSI) antes y después de la Revolución Cultural de 1980 en Irán. Se obtuvieron 4282 oraciones que contenían CSI de Rebecca, Sentido y Sensibilidad, El Gran Gatsby y sus dos traducciones al persa. Según cómo se tradujo cada CSI, se agruparon en una categorización propuesta por Liang. La frecuencia y los porcentajes de cada procedimiento se calcularon mediante el software SPSS. Además, los resultados se cotejaron con un análisis cualitativo de algunas entrevistas archivadas impresas en la revista Motarjem [el traductor], periódicos y páginas web. La evidencia de este estudio sugiere que hubo una clara tendencia a la extranjerización entre los traductores iraníes de las novelas románticas inglesas al traducir CSI no solo en la era prerevolución cultural sino también en la era de la posrevolución cultural. Además, se detectó una diferencia significativa entre varias estrategias utilizadas en las dos épocas.

Palabras clave: Traducción de ficción romántica, Modelo sociológico de Bourdieu, Campo literario, Habitus, Elementos específicos de la cultura (CSI), Era pre/post-revolución cultural, Capital.

INTRODUCTION

Taking from the works of Marx, Durkheim, and Weber, Bourdieu proposed a theory of social and cultural production which is claimed to overstep the choice between subjectivism and objectivism: «subjectivism inclines people to reduce structures to interactions; objectivism tends to deduce actions and interactions from the structure» (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 129). Bourdieu underlines that his theory deals with issues such as «the relationship between cultural practices and broader social processes, the social position of intellectuals and artists, the connections between systems of thought, social institutions and different forms of material and symbolic power» (Wolf, 2013, p. 505).

In recent years, several attempts have been made to get translation studies' scholars acquainted with the sociological concepts: the «sociological

eye» (Simeoni, 2005, p. 12). *Habitus*, *field* and *capital* are the most basic pieces of this theoretical apparatus. Of these terms, the concept of *habitus* has captured some translation scholars' attention because it casts light «on the social implications of translation and the social dimension of the constraints operative in the translation procedure» (Wolf, 2013, p. 508).

Historical inquiry of Persian literature unveils major changes in genres such as fiction and poetry. Such major changes, particularly those occurring after vital moments like The Islamic Revolution of Iran in 1979 have been always associated with social and political changes. One of the significant events following The Islamic Revolution of Iran which initiated a gradual cultural change was The Cultural Revolution of 1980. Ayatollah Khomeini, the first religious leader of post-Revolution of Iran, gave a speech that set the stage for the so-called Cultural Revolution. The Cultural Revolution initially closed universities for three years (1980–1983) and after reopening many books were banned and many professors were expelled from universities.

The Cultural Revolution has been chosen as the focus of this study because of its effect on the translation of literary books. Haddadian-Moghaddam illustrates it as:

Prior to this second revolution, and as a result of the temporary freedom of press at the start of the Islamic Revolution, the publishing field experienced a sudden boom with respect to the publication of banned books of the previous period. But as time went on, growing readership, market demand, and the aftermath of the «Cultural Revolution» contributed to the idea that translation could be a viable profession (see Azarang, 2007, p. 267–268). In other words, because many intellectuals could not teach at universities, which were closed following the «Cultural Revolution», they turned to translation, as the last resort. (Haddadian-Moghaddam, 2014, p. 118)

In this study, Bourdieu's theoretical framework (1977, 1983, and 1984) was employed since it presents a thorough investigation of the role of social agents in structuring and restructuring the translational field. This study examines the field of translation and its socio-cultural factors, in the period around the Cultural Revolution in Iran, between the 1960s and 2010s, considering how they have governed social agents' behaviour and dictated the modes of production and circulation of translated works in an Iranian context.

A survey of the existing literature suggests that most studies on English-translated romance fiction into Persian have focused on linguistic issues at the textual level, resulting in microscopic analyses of translational

phenomena, with little attention paid to cultural and social perspectives. Similarly, relatively few studies focusing on romance fiction translations have either considered the impact of translators and other agents in the field or have addressed the influence of socio-cultural factors in the field on agents' practices. Hence, there is a need to locate translators as social agents in the field and to develop a perception of translation as a «socially situated practice» (Liang, 2010), in this case by considering the socio-cultural factors that govern the production and presentation of romance fiction translation, and the distribution of power among translation agents (i.e., translators). Overall, the current study is an attempt to examine translation strategies employed by English romance novels translators for handling CSIs (i.e., the references that are non-existent in the receiving culture or have a different function and value in the receiving culture) into Persian before and after the Cultural Revolution in Iran.

In general, the research questions addressed in the study include:

1. Is there any collective behaviour in the strategies of translating CSIs employed by the Iranian translators of English romance novels before the Cultural Revolution?
2. Is there any collective behaviour in the strategies of translating CSIs employed by the Iranian translators of English romance novels after the Cultural Revolution?
3. Has the collective behaviour in the strategies of translating CSIs employed by the Iranian translators of English romance novels changed before and after the Cultural Revolution (the 1960s to 2010s)?

1. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In the late 1990s, Bourdieu's theory of practice has been of proven value to offer an exhaustive account of how social agents construct a field and how a field shapes its practices. While different theories from different approaches in the field of translation studies, from the linguistic approach to the systemic perspective, have regarded the translated text as «a depersonalized construct of structural relationships» (Meylaerts, 2013, p. 104), since 1970, sociological models have underscored the dialectical relationship between objective social structures and subjective social actors (Hanna, 2005). One of the first scholars who offered to use Bourdieu's sociology and the various categories of his cultural sociology for the study of translation was Jean-Marc Gouanvic (1997, 1999). He has mentioned that Pierre Bourdieu's theory of cultural action can be widely utilized in translation studies since «it is a sociology of the text as a production in the process of

being carried out, of the product itself and of its consumption in the social fields, the whole seen in a relational manner» (Gouanvic, 2005, p. 148).

Moreover, it was Daniel Simeoni (1998) who first recommended including the concept of habitus in the theory of norms set forth by Toury and introduced the term «translational habitus» to Translation Studies literature. He argued that «as a result of the continuous historically conditioned acceptance of norms on behalf of translators, the translators' willingness to accept these norms had a decisive impact on the secondary nature of their activity as such» (Simeoni, 1998, p. 6; cited in Wolf, 2013, p. 510).

1.1. Habitus, Field, and Capital

Habitus is a Latin word that refers to a habitual or typical condition, state, or appearance, particularly of the body. Bourdieu retains some of the concept's original meaning(s) in the relationship between the body and the habitus. The dispositions and generative classificatory schemes which are the essence of the habitus are embodied in real human beings (Jenkins, 1992, p. 45). Bourdieu (1993a, p. 87) admits that habitus is a «product of conditionings which tends to reproduce the objective logic of those conditionings while transforming it».

To employ Bourdieusian sociology in TS, Simeoni (1998) rewrote 'translational habitus' in his paper entitled «The Pivotal Status of the Translator's Habitus». In this paper, Simeoni attempts to link Bourdieu's concept of habitus with Toury's concept of translational norms. He advocates that the research focus should build upon translatorial habitus (ibid. p. 21) instead of translational norms. The introduction of the concept of translatorial habitus would engender «finer-grain analyses of the socio-cognitive emergence of translating skills and their outcome, in particular at the micro-level of stylistic variation» (ibid. p. 33). This means that translators' lexical, grammatical, and rhetorical decisions are determined by their translatorial habitus, which can, in turn, be interpreted as the actualization of translational norms. Guzmán (2013) argues that Simeoni's definition of the translator's habitus «gives strength to the idea of the translator as a social and cultural agent, partly by specifying the special cultural capital required for the task but also positioning the translator among other types of agents.»

Voinova & Shlesinger (2013) conducted a study to address how translators of Russian literature into Hebrew, from the 1970s till now, present themselves, their work and their profession and reflect on their habitus, their conduct in the system of Russian literature translation, and their practice. Through the theories of Bourdieu and of Even-Zohar, the self-representations of translators were explored. It was found out that although the translators of Russian literature into Hebrew adopted different models,

they shared both a social and professional habitus which is a way of achieving status in the culture, accumulating capital, and constructing their (distinctive) group identity.

With the help of Pierre Bourdieu's sociological model, Liang (2016) addressed translators' behaviours in translating fantasy fiction in Taiwan. To investigate the social and cultural nature of translation by locating this activity within a particular social structure, a parallel corpus of four fantasy fiction translations was examined. The evidence from the textual analysis revealed a source-oriented tendency when dealing with culture-specific items (CSIs).

Ahed Alkhawaja (2019) sought to identify the extent to which the agents' habitus and intellectual trajectory influence the end product of translation and further understand the complex portrait of how the agents' experiences, history, and backgrounds influence the process of translation. As a case study, research involves an interview with the translator *Trevor Le Gassick*, identifying his experiences, history and backgrounds that might influence the process of translation to figure out if he has a certain degree of liberty in his choice of strategies and practices. To confirm the interview responses, the researcher presents some examples from *Gassick's* translation of novels written by the Egyptian Nobel laureate *Naguib Mahfouz*. The findings of this study indicate that the translator's habitus and intellectual life trajectories strongly influence the process and product of translation. This will allow for more consideration of individual agency concerning cultural production.

Sapiro (2013) studied the relation between translation and identity through the case of translators from Modern Hebrew literature into French. In this investigation, the conditions for the acquisition of linguistic skills and the paths that lead to the translational practice were analyzed based on a study of the social properties and trajectories of the translators. It is concluded that how translators do their work depends on «their degree of professionalization, the work conditions in the target publishing field, their ability to choose and to propose translations, the space left open for negotiation with publishers» (Sapiro, 2013, p. 79).

Drawing mainly on Bourdieu's genetic sociology, Hanna (2005) challenged mainstream histories of the early translations of Shakespeare's drama in Egypt through a reading of the first published translation of 'Hamlet' into Arabic (1902). He examined Tanyous 'Abduh's translation which is the first published Arabic translation of the play. In Hanna's (2005, p. 190) view, «the high demand for translated popular fiction in newspapers which influenced Tanyous 'Abduh and his fellow translators was typical of a mode

of production» that Bourdieu (1993b, p. 125) terms 'large-scale'. In other words, this change in the plot and generic structures of *Hamlet* was a response to this mode of production.

Liu (2013) reported a quantitative analysis of the relationship between translators' visibility and the amount of capital that they receive. The analysis was based on 193 Chinese translators in China, Hong Kong, Taiwan and Macao. It displayed that the more visible the translator, the more capital they receive. Among the four kinds of capital, the more visible the translator, the more *social* and *cultural* capital they receive. In addition, it presented that «some social variables including sex, level of education, region that the translator lives in, the translator's major field of study and the time spent on translation are not related to visibility or capital received. Meanwhile, the appearance of the translator's name on translations is significantly related to the capital received» (Liu, 2013, p. 25). Liu (ibid, p. 54) found that what is to be significantly related to the translator's visibility and the capital received is the appearance of a translator's name on translations.

1.2. Culture-Specific Items (CSIs)

Before dealing with the concept of Culture-Specific Items (CSIs), it is essential to know how culture is formed. Larson (1984, p. 431) defines culture as «a complex of beliefs, attitudes, values, and rules which a group of people share». Several authors have attempted to define CSIs, but as yet there is still no exact definition. Baker (1992, p. 21) defines a culture-specific word: «The source language word may express a concept which is totally unknown in the target culture. The concept in question may be abstract or concrete; it may relate to a religious belief, a social custom, or even a type of food». It can be inferred that the determination of CSIs lies not only in their non-existence in the target culture but also in having a different function and value in the target culture.

2. METHOD

This study as a descriptive corpus study aims to investigate the collective behaviours of translation agents in translating CSIs of romance novels in Iran's literary field. To meet this goal, this study used a parallel corpus to detect translation agents' textual practices in microscopic analysis. Using parallel corpus in translation studies helps the translation studies researchers to find out whether there is any normalized feature in translation (Kenny, 2000, p. 94). The corpus, containing three English novels and their two Persian translations, was selected based on the criteria presented in section 3.1. The English selected novels and their two Persian translations were read side by side, to identify how each CSI is translated and then, group each item under one of Liang's (2010, p. 121) proposed categorization

presented in section 3.2. Since the size of the corpus was manageable, the corpus was analyzed manually, and 4282 samples of CSIs were hand-picked scrupulously to make sure that they are representative and reliable. To assess the inter-rater reliability of the study, 25 per cent of the collected data were sent to an English language expert and university professor, and they were confirmed through the same codification system with 96 per cent. Then, the frequency and percentages of each procedure were calculated using SPSS software. Moreover, a Chi-square test was performed for the strategies of translating CSIs employed by the Iranian translators of English romance novels before the Cultural Revolution and each strategy was compared in both eras. An archive of printed interviews from *Motarjem* journal, newspapers, and WebPages was examined in the interviews' analysis phase.

2.1. Corpus-based selection criteria

Employing the corpus-based methods assist Translation Studies researchers to discover the translational norms in a specific socio-cultural and historical context (Baker, 1995, p. 231). The data were derived from a parallel corpus selected based on the following criteria:

(A) The texts in the corpus under consideration are from the romance novel genre.

(B) Three translations were chosen from those made both before and after the Cultural Revolution of Iran in each decade, i.e., from the 1960s to the 2010s.

(C) The novels are among the award-winning best-sellers.

(D) The novels are being translated by well-known and reputable Iranian translators.

(E) The novels are published by prestigious publishing houses.

(F) There is a one to four decades gap between the two investigated translations.

(G) The novels chosen were originally written in English and were then translated into Persian (direct translation).

Table 1 shows the selected three books, each with two translations, based on the aforementioned criteria.

Book Title	Publication Year	Author	Pre-Cultural Revolution Translator	Publication year	Post-Cultural Revolution Translator	Publication Year
<i>Rebecca</i>	1938	Daphne du Maurier	Shakibapour	1992	Keyhan	2012
<i>Sense and Sensibility</i>	1811	Jane Austen	Karamifar	1995	Rezaei	2006
<i>The Great Gatsby</i>	1925	F. Scott Fitzgerald	Emami	1965	Afshar	2013

Table 1: Corpus of the study

2.2. Procedures for Obtaining and Categorizing the Data (CSIs)

In this study, definitions of culture and CSIs presented by Larson (1984, p. 431) and Baker (1992, p. 21), and also based on the data available in the corpus of the present study, CSIs were recognized and categorized into eight types as presented in Table 2:

CSIs	Sample
Religious expressions	Jesus Christ, Upon my soul, Good God
Proper nouns, terms of address and titles	Colonel Julyan, Ma'am, Hon. Miss Morton
Food and drink	Soufflé, dessert, Constantia wine
Domestic life, activities, and festivals	Easter, piquet, Cassino
Common expressions	Out of sight, out of mind, the skeleton in the family
Cloths	Shooting-jacket, waist coat

Measurements	Guineas, pounds, mile
Geographical places	Kerrith, Loire, Wigmore Street

Table 2: Categorization of CSIs

It is expected that translation agents' collective behaviour, namely translatorial habitus, in translating English romance fiction into Persian in Iran will be revealed through a systematic descriptive approach, constructed by unifying the functions of the translation procedures proposed by Aixelá (1996), Davies (2003) and Klingberg (1986). Liang (2010, p. 120) compared the categorizations of translation procedures of culture-specific items as shown in Table 3.

Aixelá (1996)	Davies (2003)	Klingberg (1986)
Repetition	Preservation	Rewording
Orthographic adaptation	Addition	Added explanation
Linguistic (non-cultural) translation	Omission	Explanatory translation
Extratextual gloss	Globalization	Explanation outside the text
Intratextual gloss	Localization	Substitution of an equivalent in the culture of target language
Synonymy	Transformations	Substitution of a rough equivalent in the culture of the target language

Limited universalization	Creation	Simplification
Absolute universalization		Deletion
Naturalization		Localization
Deletion		
Autonomous creation		

Table 3: The categorizations of translation procedures of CSIs by three scholars

To develop a comprehensive model which covers all procedures overlapping in function, Liang (2010, p. 21) proposed a consolidated categorization by unifying the translation procedures as follows: Transliteration (T), Rendition (R), Substitution (S), Convention (C), Extratextual Addition (EA), Intratextual Addition (IA), Cultural Dilution (CD), Naturalization (N), and Omission (O).

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

3.1. Textual analysis (Micro-analysis)

3.1.1. Transliteration

Transliteration, also known as «phonetic translation», is a procedure in which the closest corresponding target language sound of an item is used for translation (Liang, 2010, p. 121). Some instances of transliteration are given in Table 4.

Book	ST	TT	Back-Translation from Persian
<i>Rebecca</i>	... <u>Mademoiselle</u> will have lunch with me. (p. 16)	...مادموزال با من غذا می خورند(کیهان، ص. 48)	... <u>Mademoiselle</u> will have lunch with me.
<i>Sense and Sensibility</i>	She must build a <u>stable</u> to rescue them. (p. 40)	بالاخره ساختن یک اصطیل برای آنها ضروری می نمود. (کریمی فر، ص. 76)	She must build a <u>stable</u> to rescue them. (p. 40)
<i>The Great Gatsby</i>	This is <u>Klipspringer</u> . (p. 180)	بنده کلیپ اسپرینگر. (امامی فر، ص. 211)	This is <u>Klipspringer</u> .

Table 4: Instances of Transliteration

3.1.2. Rendition

Rendition, also known as literal translation, is used when a cultural item is translated literally by its closest corresponding meaning in the target language. It is faithful to the source language expression and transparent in the target language through word-for-word translation. Table 5 presents examples of rendition extracted from the novels.

Book	ST	TT	Back-Translation from Persian
<i>Rebecca</i>	Go on, <u>for God's sake</u> . (p. 265)	برو، به خاطر خدا برو... (کیهان، ص. 755)	Go on, <u>for God's sake</u> .
<i>Sense and Sensibility</i>	The constant attention of <u>Mr and Mrs Henry Dashwood</u> to his wishes,; ... (p. 3)	توجه پیوسته خانم و آقای هنری دشوود به نیازهای او،... (کرمی فر، ص. 4)	The constant attention of <u>Mr and Mrs Henry Dashwood</u> to his wishes,; ...
<i>The Great Gatsby</i>	<u>The Carraways</u> are something of a clan and we have a tradition that we're descended from <u>the Dukes of Buccleuch</u> ,... (p. 2)	کاره وی ها برای خودشان یکجور قبیله ای می شوند و ما روایتی داریم که طبق آن خود را نواده دوک های <u>باکلو</u> می دانیم. (افشار، ص. 19)	<u>The Carraways</u> are something of a clan and we have a tradition that we're descended from <u>the Dukes of Buccleuch</u> ,...

Table 5: Instances of Rendition

3.1.3. Substitution

It means that a name that is not formally or semantically related is substituted in the target text for any name that exists in the source text (Hermans, 1988, p. 13). In this case, the original CSI and its substituted CSI are not related formally or semantically. In other words, an item in the target language is substituted for another but retains a foreign flavour (Liang, 2010, p. 123). Table 6 presents instances of substitution which are randomly chosen from the novels.

Book	ST	TT	Back-Translation from Persian
<i>Rebecca</i>	... and opened the door in his <u>dressing-gown</u> . (p. 139)	کمی بعد در حالیکه روپوشامیر پوشیده بود در راباز کرد. (کیهان، ص. 385)	... and opened the door in his <u>Robe de Chambre</u> . (p. 139)
<i>Sense and Sensibility</i>	..., will make it a very snug little <u>cottage</u> . (p. 19)	آن وقت صاحب یک ویلای دنج و جمع و جور می شویم... (رضائی، ص. 39)	..., will make it a very snug little <u>villa</u> . (p. 19)
<i>The Great Gatsby</i>	Tom and Miss Baker sat at the end of the long <u>couch</u> . (p. 21)	توم و دوشیزه بیکر در دو سر کاناپه بلندی نشسته بودند (افشار، ص. 44)	Tom and Miss Baker sat at the end of the long <u>canapé</u> . (p. 21)

Table 6: Instances of Substitution

3.1.4. Convention

A referred term is translated in a conventional manner using convention. This translation method is most commonly used to translate specific historical or literary characters as well as geographical names. Its foundation is the item's meaning or sound (Liang, 2010). Table 7 includes some examples that were extracted from the novels to illustrate how the Convention was applied by the translator.

Book	ST	TT	Back-Translation from Persian
<i>Rebecca</i>	Curried prawns, roast veal, asparagus, and cold <u>chocolate mousse</u> ... (p. 70)	خرچنگ سرخ کرده، کباب گوشت گوساله، پیاز و دسر کاهو با شکولات (شکیبا، ص. 110)	Curried prawns, roast veal, asparagus, and <u>lettuce dessert with cold chocolate</u> ... (p. 70)
<i>Sense and Sensibility</i>	In his addressing her sister by her <u>Christian name</u> alone,... (p. 41)	... و آنطور که او خواهرش را با اسم کوچک او صدا زده و مخاطب قرار داده بود،... (کرمی فر، 78)	In his addressing her sister by her <u>first name</u> alone,... (p. 41)

<i>The Great Gatsby</i>	They were so engrossed in each other that she didn't see me until I was five <u>feet</u> away. (p. 81)	آن چنان با یکدیگر گپ و گفت داشتند که متوجه نزدیک شدن من نشدند تا این که به فاصله پنج قدمی آنان رسیدم (افشار، ص. 153)	They were so engrossed in each other that she didn't see me until I was five <u>steps</u> away.
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Table 7: Instances of Convention

3.1.5. Extratextual addition

Extratextual addition is a procedure in which an explanation of the meaning or implication of a cultural term is added as a separate part of the translated CSI. In other words, extra information is presented by including a footnote, glossary, endnote, commentary, preface, and so on (Liang, 2010, p. 126). Some samples are provided in Table 8 to present a better understanding of how CSIs were translated using extratextual addition.

Book	ST	TT	Back-Translation from Persian
<i>Rebecca</i>	I took a piece of <u>crumpet</u> and divided it between two dogs. (p. 96)	1. نوعی قرص نان مدور که گرم و با کره صرف می شود. (کیهان، 268)	1. A small round <u>griddlecake served with butter</u>
<i>Sense and Sensibility</i>	...- Thomson ¹ , Cowper, Scott - she would buy them all over and over again. (p. 66)	1. جیمز تامسن (1700-1748) از پیشگامان شعر رمانتیک. (رضایی، ص. 104)	1. James Thomson (1700-1748), one of the foremost Romantic poet
<i>The Great Gatsby</i>	... and then assumed a more tangible form as a place to have a <u>mint julep</u> ¹ . (p. 134)	1. مشروب مخلوط از ویسکی، شکر، نعناع و یخ (امامی فر، ص. 162)	1. A mixed alcoholic drink consisting primarily of whisky, sugar, fresh mint, and crushed or shaved ice.

Table 8: Instances of Extratextual Addition

3.1.6. Intratextual addition

The methods of intratextual addition and extratextual addition are similar. What distinguishes them is that when translating a CSI, additional explanatory information is provided as an indistinct part (Liang, 2010, p. 125). Table 9 shows some examples of intratextual addition.

Book	ST	TT	Back-Translation from Persian
<i>Rebecca</i>	It was a <u>Raeburn</u> , and ... (p. 164)	این تابلو از کارهای <u>رویون نقاش معروف بود</u> و .. (شکیبا، ص. 277)	It was a <u>Raeburn</u> , <u>the famous painter</u> , and ... (p. 164)
<i>Sense and Sensibility</i>	«Last night, in <u>Drury Lane lobby</u> , I ran against Sir John Middleton...» (p. 230)	«دیشب در سالن <u>تئاتر دروی لین</u> با سرجان میدلتن سینه به سینه شدم...» (رضایی، ص. 352)	«Last night, in <u>Drury Lane theatre lobby</u> , I ran against Sir John Middleton...»
<i>The Great Gatsby</i>	' <u>Highballs?</u> ' asked the head waiter (p. 75)	سرپیشخدمت پرسید: « <u>ویسکی با یخ؟</u> » (افشار، ص. 143)	' <u>Whiskey with ice?</u> ' asked the head waiter

Table 9: Instances of Intratextual Addition

3.1.7. Cultural dilution

The cultural dilution procedure aims to produce a more neutral or general rendition in the sense that target readers will be able to access the cultural backgrounds of the source text more easily (Liang, 2010, p. 125). Table 10 contains examples from the novels that demonstrate how the translators dealt with various types of CSIs by utilizing cultural dilution.

Book	ST	TT	Back-Translation from Persian
<i>Rebecca</i>	... I'd like a small glass of <u>brandy</u> . (p. 203)	... من یک گلیاس <u>نوشیدنی میخوام</u> (کیهان، ص. 566)	... I'd like a small glass of <u>drink</u> .
<i>Sense and Sensibility</i>	A glass of <u>wine</u> , which Elinor produced for her directly, made her more comfortable, and ... (p. 120)	النور به سرعت <u>شریتی</u> تهیه کرد و به او داد که تأثیری فوری بخشید و ... (کریمی فر، ص. 209)	A glass of <u>syrup</u> , which Elinor produced for her directly, made her more comfortable, and ... (p. 120)

<i>The Great Gatsby</i>	A succulent <u>hash</u> arrived. (p. 77)	ظرف غذای تر و تازه و آبدار که رسید ... (افشار، ص. 146)	A dish of <u>juicy fresh meal</u> arrived.
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Table 10: Instances of Cultural Dilution

3.1.8. Naturalization

The goal of this procedure is to provide the target readers with a more transparent and fluent translation. Naturalisation is the process of replacing a source culture reference with a target culture reference (Liang, 2010, p. 127-8). Some samples of naturalisation are shown in Table 11.

Book	ST	TT	Back-Translation from Persian
<i>Rebecca</i>	I paid <u>two pence</u> for the painting... (p. 17)	برای کارت پستال پنج شاهی پول داده بودم ... (شکیبا پور، ص. 28)	I paid <u>old coin equivalent to one-twentieth of Rial</u> for the painting... (p.17)
<i>Sense and Sensibility</i>	«But if you write a note to the <u>housekeeper</u> , Mr Brandon,» Said Marianne, eagerly «will it not be sufficient?» (p. 85)	ماریان با شور و حرارت گفت: «آقای برندون، اگر یادداشتی برای سرآبدار بنویسید کافی نیست؟» (رضایی، ص. 75)	«But if you write a note to the <u>caretaker</u> , Mr Brandon,» Said Marianne, eagerly «will it not be sufficient?»
<i>The Great Gatsby</i>	...« <u>Amen</u> to that» (p. 186)	«آمین همینطور است. <u>این شالله</u> » (افشار، ص. 349)	...« <u>Amen to that. If God will</u> » (p. 186)

Table 11: Instances of Naturalization

3.1.9. Omission

This procedure is used if the cultural item is omitted because it is not ideologically or stylistically appropriate for the target reader (Liang, 2010, p. 127). Some samples of transliteration omission are given in Table 12.

Book	ST	TT	Back-Translation from Persian
<i>Rebecca</i>	A <u>soufflé</u> was handed, and a bowl of fruit salad. (p. 240)	... و در سرویس بعد مقداری سالاد و میوه آوردند. (شکیباپور، 396)	---, and a bowl of fruit salad was handed.
<i>Sense and Sensibility</i>	<u>Ladies</u> had passed near it on their way along the valley, ... (p. 23)	--- موقعی که از دره می گذشتند از کنارش عبور کرده بودند، ... (رضایی، ص. 42)	--- had passed near it on their way along the valley, ...
<i>The Great Gatsby</i>	Suddenly one of the gypsies in trembling <u>opal</u> ,... (p. 45)	ناگهان یکی از این کولی ها با پیراهن موج---، ... (افشار، ص. 86)	Suddenly one of the gypsies in trembling - ---... (p. 45)

Table 12: Instances of Omission

The textual investigation of the translation agents' translatorial habits is clearly interpreted using Venuti's notion of domestication and foreignisation. In Liang's (2010) view:

The procedure which tends towards the foreignisation end has a stronger tendency of maintaining cultural otherness in the translation, while the procedure which tends towards the domestication end has a stronger tendency to replace the cultural item with a target culture item or omitting the item without trace. (Liang, 2010, p. 153)

As illustrated in Figure 1, transliteration, rendition, substitution, and convention are oriented toward the foreignisation side of the continuum, whereas extratextual addition, intratextual addition, cultural dilution, naturalization, and omission are oriented toward the domestication side.

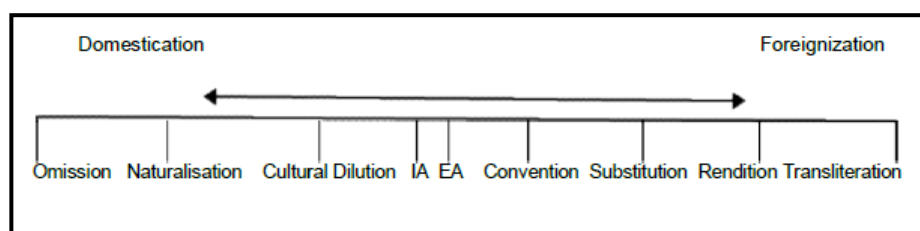


Figure 1 Tendency of translation procedures (Liang, 2016, p. 52)

3.2. Descriptive statistics of procedures for translating CSIs

The procedures for translating CSIs were realized and classified appropriately. The frequency and percentages of the procedures employed in pre-Cultural Revolution and post-Cultural Revolution versions of translations of the three investigated books are presented in Table 13.

Table 13 contains descriptive statistics and the results of the Chi-square test for the CSI translation strategies used by Iranian translators of English romance novels before the Cultural Revolution, and each strategy was compared in both eras.

Strategy	Era	Frequency	Percentage	χ^2	df	p
Transliteration	Pre-CR	1109	25.90			
	Post-CR	1531	35.75	33.72	1	0
Rendition	Pre-CR	1762	41.15			
	Post-CR	2023	47.24	8.99	1	0
Substitution	Pre-CR	57	1.34			
	Post-CR	89	2.08	3.5	1	0.061
Convention	Pre-CR	7	0.16			
	Post-CR	8	0.19	0.03	1	0.862
Extratextual Addition	Pre-CR	98	2.29			
	Post-CR	37	0.86	13.78	1	0
Intratextual Addition	Pre-CR	538	12.56			
	Post-CR	63	1.48	187.7	1	0
Cultural Dilution	Pre-CR	80	1.87			
	Post-CR	25	0.58	14.4	1	0
Naturalization	Pre-CR	544	12.7			
	Post-CR	495	11.56	1.15	1	0.28

Omission	Pre-CR	87	2.03			
	Post-CR	11	0.26	29.46	1	0
Total	Pre-CR	4282	100			
	Post-CR	4282	100			

Table 13: the descriptive statistics and the results of the Chi-square test for the strategies of translating

Table 13 demonstrates that the most common procedure utilized in both eras is rendition (47.24%). The second common one is a transliteration (35.75%) whose percentage after the Cultural Revolution overtakes its use before the Cultural Revolution. On the other side, naturalization and intratextual addition which appear in the third and fourth position (12.7% and 12.56%, respectively) in the pre-Cultural Revolution-era go into a considerable decline (11.56% and 1.48%, respectively) after the Cultural Revolution. The least frequent procedures in both periods are convention (0.16% and 0.19%) and Substitution (1.34% and 2.08%). The frequencies of procedures grouped under foreignization (2935) are greater than those procedures grouped under domestication (1347) before the Cultural Revolution. This learning boosts in the post-Cultural-Revolution period (3651 and 631, respectively). As $p < 0.05$; therefore, the significant difference in total strategies between the two eras is confirmed.

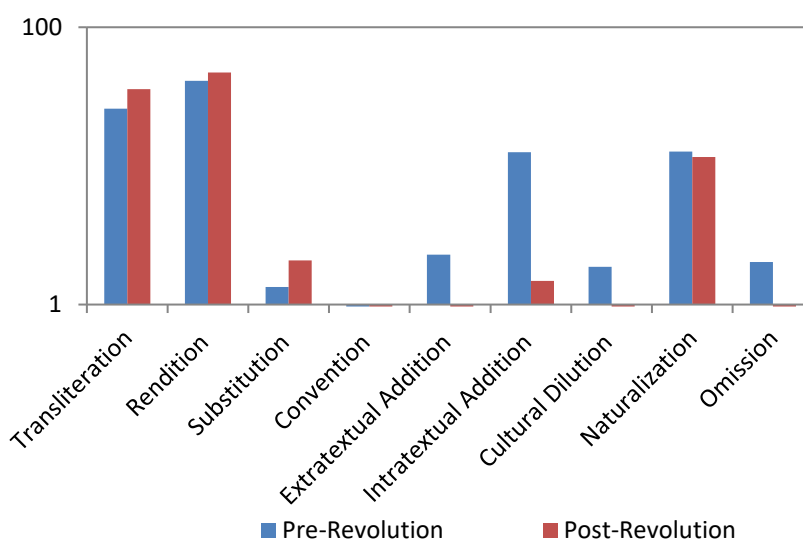


Figure 2: Translation procedures applied to all novels in pre- and post-Cultural Revolution eras

Figure 2 depicts the evolution of translatorial habitus over two time periods. It demonstrates a notable difference in transliteration, rendition, intratextual addition, and naturalization. Furthermore, there is a growing tendency among translators to foreignize their works. However, to get a clear picture of the overall trends of procedures in each period, the overall results are presented in a separate table.

Strategy	Domestication	Foreignization
Pre-Revolution	31.45%	68.55%
Post-Revolution	14.74%	85.26%

Table 14: Overall tendencies of translators of Pre-CR and Post- CR translation procedures applied to all the novels

4. INTERVIEWS' ANALYSIS

Simeoni (1998, p. 31) highlights that «modern sociographies of single translators' professional trajectories are sorely lacking. The present void could be filled out using simple interviews, without resorting to the heavy apparatus of sample-based techniques.» Sapiro (2013, p. 63) reaches the conclusion that «interviews provide rich qualitative data for reconstructing translators' social trajectories, their representations of their activity as translators and the role that their translation activity plays in building their identity.»

The collection of archived interviews printed in *Motarjem* [the translator] journal and the other archived interviews in newspapers and WebPages were investigated to make sure the translators' attitudes fit our previous findings from the textual analysis of the corpus. Because performing face-to-face interviews was impractical, this journal served as a valuable source of interviews for the researchers.

In response to this question «Do you evaluate the translation process as mechanical work or creative and artistic work? If you believe that the translation is a creative work, do you think that the translator is authorized to sacrifice some parts of the source text in the translation process?» Rezaei answered:

The translation of such works [literary and philosophical texts] requires creativity and art in addition to knowledge, cognition, and skills are required. The translator of such texts is recreating the text. In such a situation, creativity is the most important matter, and if it is not the case, that translation will not be successful. The translator should absorb the literary work and translate it into Persian in the same way as the mood of the source text is. This process is a creative work, and in fact, the creative process is this. (Rezaei, 2009)

As stated in the preceding interview, Rezaei considers translation to be more than mere occupation or profession. For him, it is a creative writing exercise in which it is critical not only to provide fluent translations of the source text but also to stay close to the original text and preserve the cultural values of the source text. The reader must also be aware that he is reading a text from a different culture. This justifies the source-oriented trends among Iranian translators, which confirms the textual analysis section's findings.

Somewhere else, when he was asked «translation project that you are involved in is a very tedious and time-consuming task and will take years to be completed. Of course, it will cause you to lose the opportunity to

translate and introduce new world-famous works. How do you cope with this?», Rezaei answered:

Naturally, whatever you do, you will achieve something and you will lose something else. We have to choose. I pursue prestigious world awards and sometimes tempted to translate works... (Rezaei, 2019)

According to the above interview, translators who are the social agents of the literary field constantly struggle, based on the rules and regularities of the specific field in which they are activating in, to succeed and receive different kinds of capital they pursue. Here, Rezaei emphasizes the importance of winning prestigious world awards and translating the new world-famous works, taking into account the expectations of readers, which proves that he recognizes the importance of gaining symbolic and cultural capital along with the economic one.

Khazaei Farid (2016) affirms that:

However, he [Karim Emami] did not elaborate his opinion on the translation of the above text [the translation of *the Great Gatsby*], but it is clear from his hints that being faithful to the author's language or style was very important to him, and intentionally he has tried to keep himself within the scope of the author's interpretations, even if some unfamiliar phrases and calques can be found in his translation.

What is clear in Khazaei Farid's statement is the agency of Mr Karim Emami as an excellent and capable translator in the field of translation in Iran. He emphasizes that Karim Emami believes in conveying the main meaning of the source text. This is consistent with the findings of the micro-analysis section.

In response to «also the issue of censorship should be taken into account if Iran joins Copyright Law. With the censorship of the book here, it may not be possible to join this law.» Keyhan stated that:

Yes, that's right. For example, Auster asked us about his book, *Invisible*. We wrote him a letter saying that the translation of the book has changed, because there is an unconventional relationship in this book. We told him that we could not translate such a relationship as it is found in the original book. So, we removed those parts that clearly described the relationship. But by reading the book, the main subject can be understood. Remember that we did not bring it as it was in the original book, because we were sure that the book would not be published (Keyhan, 2014)

Kayhan's explanation of preservation of the mood of the original text also confirms the findings of the text of the present study. Her faithfulness to the source text while translating, provided that the unconventional cultural sections of the book are removed or changed, indicates that translators are powerful enough to introduce new elements and a new culture to the readers and they are eager to preserve the elements that they have introduced. On the other hand, they are aware that power holders can intervene in the publishing field and prevent publishing a book.

CONCLUSION

This study was undertaken to account for the translational behaviours of Iranian translators in translating CSIs into English romance novels. The first research question deals with determining collective behaviour in the CSI translation procedures used by Iranian translators before the Cultural Revolution. Concerning the number of translated literary books into Persian, English has become a dominant source-text language for Persian translations. The rise in the number of literary translations from Persian into English, compared with Arabic, French and Germany, can be partly explained by the context of globalization, though such an increase is not a mechanical reflection of these conditions. This finding corroborates Sapiro's (2013, p. 62) study which showed that «During the era of globalization, international cultural exchanges increased and the world book market became more unified. This context created the conditions which favoured the investment of various agents in the 'exportation' and 'importation'...» It appears that globalization in the field of cultural production and literary translation has led Iranian translators to preserve the cultural elements of the source text to play their role in the cultural transfer.

The second research question investigated whether there was any collective behaviour in the strategies of translating CSIs utilized by the Iranian translators of English romance novels in the post-Cultural Revolution era. The evidence from this study implies that the dominant trend among the Iranian translators of English romance novels in translating CSIs is foreignization. The reason may be that translators as social agents are always seeking to gain social capital through drawing on the social networks of all agents involved in the field and the struggle for recognition in the field. Moreover, an individual's habitus is the result of «a complex product of multiple processes of socialization in a variety of situations (family, school, friends, work, neighbourhood, etc.). His/her dispositions to act and to think are the result of an unstable interplay of a fragmented, plural and sometimes even contradictory habitus» (Meylaerts, 2013, p. 107). It is in agreement with what Gouanvic assumes «translation strategies are generally not to be understood as deliberate choices, but rather concerning the translator's

habitus, which, together with that of other agents, structures the respective field and, in turn, is structured by the field itself (Gouanvic, 2007, p. 86).

The third research question addressed if the collective behaviour of Iranian translators in translating CSIs has changed before and after the Cultural Revolution (the 1960s to 2010s). The results showed that the foreignization tendency among Iranian translators in the post-Cultural Revolution is greater when compared to the pre-Cultural Revolution. The reason can be seen in the increasing efforts of Iranian translators to recognize the repertoires inherited from their preceding generations and also keep up with the changing translational norms in Iran's history. This concurs well with Hanna (2005) who assumes that «the trajectories of particular translators can be identified by examining the positions they successively occupy in the field of translation – their transition from one preferred genre to another, shifts in translation strategies across time and genres, their membership in adjacent fields (e.g., journalism, publishing) and shifts from one medium to another.»

The present study has some limitations. The first one is the focus on applying Bourdieu's *habitus* only to translators. Therefore, further research should be undertaken to investigate other social agents in the literary field, i.e. writers, publishers, and editors. The second limitation has something to do with the corpus of the study which consisted of romance novels translated from English into Persian. It is recommended that future studies entail studying different genres and different source languages. Given that censorship and the policies of translation have constrained Iranian translators, the research is needed to determine their influence on the literary translation field in Iran.

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