Inkeri Vehmas-Lehto

QUASI-CORRECTNESS.

A CRITICAL STUDY OF FINNISH TRANSLATIONS OF RUSSIAN JOURNALISTIC TEXTS

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A B S T R A C T

Quasi-correctness.
A critical study of Finnish translations of Russian journalistic texts

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Fin

This is a study in the field of translation criticism: it assesses the quality of certain translations, finds reasons for their inadequacy, and suggests methods for their improvement.

The leading principle is that adequacy, that is to say the compliance of a translation with the norms of the target language, and, to a certain extent, with those of the target culture as well, is an inherent part of translation quality. The study is based on the hypothesis that, in order to be adequate, Finnish translations of Russian journalistic texts should resemble the corresponding Finnish functional style, i.e. Finnish journalistic language.

The text corpus used in the study consists of (1) Russian journalistic texts, (2) their published translations (PTrs), (3) alternative translations serving as suggestions for improvement, and (4) authentic Finnish journalistic texts used as material for comparison.

The assessment of the quality of the PTrs is based both on the intuition of the researcher and on a series of experiments. According to experiment (1), the PTrs are usually identifiable as translations, primarily because of the general impression they make of clumsiness and obscurity. Experiment (2) shows that the PTrs are experienced as unpleasant, uninteresting, and apt to arouse suspicion. Experiment (3) reveals an abundance of emotive elements in the vocabulary. Experiment (4) corroborates the difficulty of comprehending the PTrs.

The reasons for the inadequacy of the translations are investigated using textual comparisons. These reveal a number of covert errors, i.e. deviations from the usage and recommendable norms of Finnish journalistic language. Covert errors are basically due to interference from the source texts. They are mostly quantitative: e.g. an abundance of coordinated constructions, emotive words, and clichés, a high average length of sentences, clauses, and noun phrases, a high frequency of nouns and adjectives, and a low frequency of connectives.
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Valkeala, October 1989

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ABBREVIATIONS

Corpora

ST  =  source text
PTr  =  published translation
ATr  =  alternative translation
FT  =  authentic Finnish journalistic text

Others

SL  =  source language
TL  =  target language
TT  =  target text, translation
L1  =  language 1, native language
L2  =  language 2, non-native language
1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 The purpose of the study

Work on factual prose translations has occupied a minor position in the literatures dealing with translation problems, most of which have been connected either with translations of fiction or the Bible. However, at least in Finland, factual prose translations play a major role in translation practice and, consequently, also in translator training. There is no reason therefore to go on neglecting this important field.

The incentive for the present study came from observations of the poor quality of many factual prose translations made from Russian into Finnish. In the interests of translation practice and translation teaching, it seems vital to elucidate the reasons for this and also to find ways of improving the quality of translations. I hope that even though the present treatise deals with translations within one pair of languages only (and, besides, is “unidirectional”), it will give useful information also to those whose interest lies in translations within other pairs of languages.

The present treatise is based on empirical data taken both from translations and untranslated material. The study is partly descriptive, i.e. it gives information about the specific characteristics of different text types, including translations.

There are also contrastive elements in the study, i.e. comparisons between Russian and Finnish texts. The ultimate purpose is, however, not to compare Russian and Finnish as languages, or even Russian and Finnish journalistic texts as representatives of a certain functional style, but to deal with problems connected with the complicated interplay of the two languages and certain extralinguistic factors in translations.

More specifically, the study belongs to the domain of translation criticism. In other words, it seeks to discover (1) in which respects certain translations do or do not meet the requirements set by linguistic and extralinguistic factors, and (2) how they could be improved.

Consequently, the present study is not confined to criticising certain features in the translations: it also gives suggestions as to how else the same source texts could be translated.
Although these suggestions may be felt to give the study a somewhat normative or advisory tone, they are necessary. Criticism without constructive suggestions about improvements would be fruitless. It has to be emphasized, however, that the alternative translations suggested here are not meant to be taken as the only acceptable translations.

“Obvious” errors, i.e. deviations from the TL system or ST factual content are ignored here, and attention is focused on other, less easily detectable flaws, so-called “covert errors”. These errors, which are mostly quantitative in character, do not distort the message, but they hamper its communication. By shedding light on covert errors, it is my aim to broaden our picture of the factors which influence the communicative success of a translation.

Translation studies is a relatively new field not only in Finland but also in the whole world. It can be stated – provisionally – that even the theoretical foundations for scientific translation research were laid as late as the 1960's. It is no wonder therefore that the field is still rather under-developed. This manifests itself in, among other things, the looseness of the connection between theory and practice. There are translation models which have not necessarily been tested in practice. On the other hand, endeavours to deal with translations very often lack theoretical basis. One of the aims of this study is to combine theory and practice.

Another consequence of the novelty of translation studies is the dearth or even absence of methods of research. The traditional comparison of source text and translation is distinctly inadequate as a tool of translation research which goes beyond semantic equivalence. The lack of suitable methods has been one of the main difficulties in the making of the present study. The methodology used is a combination of different methods. Observations about translations and other texts are accompanied by methods which produce measurable data: experiments with readers and quantitative comparative analyses of different texts. The aim is to reduce the number of subjective factors as much as possible.

1.2 The organization of the study

Because translation criticism is a new field of study, it seemed necessary to give relatively ample space to introductory subject matter, e.g. to a discussion of different theories of translation (chapter 2), and to charting the past and present of translation criticism, both as a
practical activity and a field of study (chapters 3 and 4).

Chapter 5 discusses the material and the methods used in the study. The empirical part is preceded by a literature-based summary of the characteristics of Finnish and Russian journalistic language (chapters 6 and 7).

The empirical part of the study consists of three chapters. Chapter 8 reports on two experiments designed to measure the degree of communicative success of Finnish translations of Russian journalistic texts. Chapters 9 and 10, reporting both on textual comparisons and further experiments, go into the linguistic reasons for the communicative failure of these translations. The former chapter deals with linguistic factors connected with emotivity and the latter with those causing reading difficulties.
There are two requirements usually presented as criteria for the quality of a translation. A translation (or target text, TT) has to be equivalent to the source text (ST), and it has to be adequate. The concept of equivalence refers to the relationship of the translation to the ST: these two texts need to have the same value (see Reiss 1984: 80). The term adequacy, on the other hand, refers to the conformity of the translation to the norms of the target language (TL).¹

There is a conflict between the requirements of equivalence and adequacy, and it is usually impossible to satisfy all the conflicting requirements. Therefore translators have to decide, on one hand, which ST features are so important that they must be retained in the translation, i.e. which features have to be kept invariable. On the other hand, they have to decide which adequacy requirements are to be taken into consideration.

In the history of translation theory there have been various views on the relationship of equivalence and adequacy.

2.1 Formal equivalence

The history of translation theory, from its first traces in first century Rome,² has been a constant battle between two opposed translation principles, “literal translation” and “free translation”, both principles, it is true, manifesting different degrees of “literalness” and “freedom”.

According to the principle of literal translation, nowadays more often called the principle of formal equivalence, a translation should as far as possible retain the ST form and structure. In other words, the ST element which has to be kept invariable (i.e. as invariable as possible) is the form. The “unit of translation”, i.e. that source text unit which must have an equivalent in the translation, is smaller than a sentence, usually a word,

¹ The overall inconsistency of translation terminology is reflected by the fact that Toury (1980: 55) uses the term adequacy as being connected with the norms of the original, and uses the word acceptability to refer to the relationship between a translation and the norms of the target language.

² For an overview of literature on translation theory see e.g. Amos (1920), Fedorov (1953), Störig (1963), Newmark (1976), Bassnett-McGuire (1980, 39–75), L'vovskaja (1985).
Formal equivalence rules out adequacy: because of the differences between languages a formally equivalent translation must come into conflict with the rules of the TL. But if formal equivalence is aimed at, adequacy is not needed (or even tolerated): the translation does not have to comply with the norms of the TL, and even the communication of the ST semantic content may be regarded as unnecessary.

A good example of the supporters of this view is Schleiermacher. He represents the opinion that literary and scientific texts should be translated so that the reader – “the civilized man” – will not forget the differences between the source language and his mother tongue (see Koller 1981: 273). Similar views are held by Savory, according to whom only the unlearned reader, “the ignoramus”, wants to forget that the text he is reading is a translation. Other readers want the translation to be literal or at least identifiable as a translation: it should help them with the difficulties of the foreign language, or remind them of the language of the original. (See Savory 1957: 58–59.)

Nowadays formally equivalent translations of the kind described above are not necessarily regarded as actual translations. Instead, they may be seen as special versions (Reiss 1976: 23–24; House 1977: 59). Such versions may be needed for the purpose of demonstrating the differences between two languages, e.g. in teaching. The equivalence criteria of contrastive linguistics have also been much more formal than those of translation theory (for more details see chapter 4).

2.2 “Free translation”

There have also been advocates of “free translation” for at least 2000 years. But what has been meant by “free translation” has varied greatly. In the Middle Ages it was common to take great liberties: to shorten or lengthen the translation or to change its form and content to suit current needs. This was because most literary works were anonymous and in any case writers were not regarded as having any author’s rights to their works. (Mathauzerova 1976: 37–38.) In Europe of the 18th and early 19th centuries (especially in France) translations

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3 The extreme case, the requirement of equivalence on the letter level, is reflected by the need of translator Hrabr (around the year 1000) to explain that letters in themselves do not have any meaning: the Cyrillic alphabet had been attacked on the basis that it had more letters than its Greek prototype (see Mathauzerova 1976: 36).
were, in the interests of “good taste”, “purged” of those specific features of the original which were connected with the social life, history etc. of the foreign country. (Fedorov 1953: 22.)

Mostly, however, the expression free translation has been used when the aim has been to keep invariable the content of the ST, but to express it in natural target language. In other words, “free translations” usually follow an equivalence principle which could be called semantic. An integral part of this principle is the emphasis laid on TL adequacy. The first representative of this view was evidently Cicero (see Fedorov 1953: 20) and perhaps the most well-known was Martin Luther (see Apel 1983: 40).

After the development of linguistic theories of translation (from the 1950's onwards) the principle of semantic equivalence was given the form of a scientific model. On its basis Žolokovskij & Mel'čuk (1967; 1969) developed the so called meaning/text model, the essence of which is that the meaning of the ST must not change in the translation, but it can be expressed with paraphrases of the ST sentences.

However, semantic theories of equivalence leave out the expressive and stylistic characteristics of the ST. On the other hand, they cannot explain those cases where a semantically accurate translation does not make sense in the new cultural ethos.

2.3 Attempts to solve the equivalence/adequacy conflict within linguistic theories

The solution to the equivalence/adequacy conflict was not provided by other purely linguistic translation theories, e.g. by the theory of legitimate equivalents suggested by Recker (1950) and developed further by Fedorov (1953). According to this theory, it is the task of the translator “to express accurately and wholly the meaning of the ST with the means of another language, but at the same time to retain its stylistic and expressive features. --- In other words, a translation, unlike an adaptation, not only has to express the content of the ST, but also to do it in the same way as the ST.” (Recker 1974: 7; transl. I V-L). Consequently,

4 Latyšev (1981: 7) calls “semantic” equivalence by the name нормативно-содержательная эквивалентность - 'norm and content equivalence'.

5 The theory of legitimate equivalents (teorija zakonomernych sootvetstvij) has also been called “the concept of adequate translation” (концепция полноценного перевода; see Latyšev 1981: 7).

6 Fedorov's work Введение в теорию перевода (Vvedenie v teoriju perevoda; 1953) was the first thorough presentation of linguistic translation theory. Subsequent, enlarged and revised, editions were made 1958, 1968, and 1983.
this equivalence principle covers more than mere semantic content, but because it does not
determine the criteria of stylistic and expressive equivalence, it boils down to repeating the
old principle of semantic equivalence (“expressing the content”). Moreover, most linguistic
elements are also included in the concept of **content** (see Latyšev 1981: 18–19; Švejcer 1970:
2–3).

2.4 Translation as a form of communication

A new dimension to translation theory was introduced by the **situational models** of Catford
(1965) and Gak (1969; 1971) and the **theory of dynamic equivalence** of Nida (1964) and
Nida & Taber (1969). According to these models, it is possible to make certain changes not
only in the form but also in the semantic content of the ST and still have an equivalent
translation. This is made possible by the fact that, according to these models, the ultimate
basis for determining translation equivalence is not linguistic, but extralinguistic.

2.4.1 The situational model

The invariable element in the situational models (which can be regarded as a transitional form
of linguistic and communicative models) is the situation. It may be the communicative
situation (i.e. the situation in which translation or interpretation takes place): SL and TL texts
or items are translation equivalents when they are interchangeable in a given situation
(Catford 1965: 49).\(^7\) This so-called textual equivalence does not presuppose identity of the
semantic components between the ST and TT passages (see Catford 1965: 35–42). The
invariable element may also be the “object” situation (предметная ситуация), i.e. the
situation described in the translation (see Gak 1971: 79–80).

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\(^7\) In the Soviet Union Catford's theory has given rise to the so-called **situation/text model** (see Švejcer 1973: 55). Catford's theory has been criticized, e.g., because it relies on mere intuition in the establishment of equivalence (Švejcer 1970: 10).
2.4.2 The theory of dynamic equivalence

For Nida (1964) and Nida & Taber (1969) the extralinguistic element which has to be kept invariable is “the response of the audience for which the translation is designed” (Nida 1964: 144). The reactions of the ST and TT receptors should be as close to each other as possible, and “the relationship between receptor and message should be substantially the same as that which existed between the original receptors and the message” (Nida 1964: 159). Therefore, a dynamically equivalent translation aims at complete naturalness of expression, and tries to bring the translation as close to the cultural environment of the TT receptor as possible.

What is new in the theory of dynamic equivalence (and implicitly also in the situational model) is the recognition of translation as a communicative activity: the translator conveys a certain message from the SL addresser to a TL addressee. This message is not the same as the semantic content (referential meaning) of the ST unit: it has also a pragmatic dimension.

A similar view of translation equivalence was later put forward in the Soviet Union by Švejcer. In describing translation as a form of communication he emphasizes the importance of the pragmatic component and goes on: “When translating a SL text (сообщение) into another language the translator makes the extralinguistic reactions of the receptor of the translation commensurable with the reactions of the receptor of the SL text” (Švejcer 1973: 65; transl. I V-L).

2.4.3 Limitations of the situational and dynamic models

However trail-blazing the situational and dynamic models might be, they have certain limitations as regards their applicability for translation quality assessment. Catford's model lacks the critical element; it is in fact strictly descriptive. This is due to the fact that “the discovery of textual equivalents is based on the authority of a competent bilingual informant or translator” (Catford 1965: 27; boldfacing I V-L). This seems to suggest that once a translator has produced a text, it must by necessity be equivalent. However, the author probably did not mean his model to be understood in this way: the very existence of the situational criterion implies the existence of non-equivalent translations.

Nida's theory, on the other hand, has been criticized for the impossibility of formalizing

Moreover, not all texts can be translated according to the principle of dynamic equivalence. As Nida himself points out, between the two poles of translation, i.e. between strict formal equivalence and complete dynamic equivalence, there are a number of intervening grades, representing various acceptable standards of translation (Nida 1964: 160). In fact, some texts have to be translated according to the principle of formal equivalence, in Nida's terminology meaning a combination of formal and semantic equivalence (“the translator attempts to reproduce as literally and meaningfully as possible the form and content of the original”; see Nida 1964: 159), or, to use Newmark's terminology, some translations have to be semantic.9 This is true when the text contains “original expression, where the specific language of the speaker or writer is as important as the content, whether it is philosophical, religious, political, scientific, technical or literary” (Newmark 1977: 169).

2.4.4 Other communicative theories of translation

A new extralinguistic basis for determining translation equivalence was provided by the concept of function. For most communicative translation theories, the so-called functional theories, the element to be kept invariable in a translation is the function of the ST.

Functional theories of equivalence are very close to the dynamic theory; it is possible to regard them as two facets of the same theory, since the function of a text can be regarded as “the purpose of the text, corresponding to the communicative aim of its author.10 It is also the ability of the text to evoke a certain communicative effect in its receptor” (Latyšev 1981: 25;

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9 Nida's division of translations into formally and dynamically equivalent ones has been later developed by Newmark. The terms semantic and communicative translation used by him correspond to Nida's terms formally and dynamically equivalent translations. “Communicative translation attempts to produce on its readers an effect as close as possible to that obtained by the readers of the original. Semantic translation attempts to render, as closely as the semantic and syntactic structures of the second language allow, the exact contextual meaning of the original. --- Semantic translation remains within the original culture” —— (Newmark 1977: 164).
10 A similar mode of thinking is characteristic also of many other translation theoreticians. In fact, the concept of pragmatics, the importance of which is emphasized by many authors (e.g. Neubert 1968, 1973 and Rülker 1973), is closely connected with the functions of texts: "pragmatics is the study of language from a functional perspective, that is that it attempts to explain facets of linguistic structure by reference to non-linguistic pressures and causes" (Levinson 1983: 7).
transl. I V-L). In other words, the textual function “makes it possible to 'project' the receptor reaction onto the text with the consequence that the potential receptor reaction can be regarded as a characteristic of the text, and the actual reaction as the consequence of this characteristic” (Latyšev 1981: 25; transl. I V-L).

The term function in translation theory usually refers to the so-called **textual functions**. This concept is based on the statement made by Bühler in 1934 about the three functions of language: the informational or referential function (Darstellungsfunktion), the emotive-expressive function (Ausdrucksfunktion), and the persuasive function (Appellfunktion; see Bühler 1965: 28–33). Every function is connected with some component of communication: the informational one is linked to objects and relations in the real world, the emotive-expressive one to the speaker/writer of the message, and the persuasive one to the receptor of the message. The informational function is the most important; it is present in practically every message. (See Reiss 1971: 32, 1976: 18.)

For Reiss (1971: 32–34; 1976: 11–15) the function of the text serves as the basis for the division of texts into text types: (1) informational texts (Darstellungsfunktion), (2) expressive texts (Ausdrucksfunktion), and (3) operational texts (Appellfunktion). The element which has to be kept invariable in translation is the text type, and, consequently, also the textual function.

Though Reiss' model takes into account only **one** textual function. In reality texts more often than not have more than one function (Wilss 1977: 626; Latyšev 1981: 81), and it is often necessary to distinguish between primary and secondary functions (Koller 1979: 129).

The notion of function has also been broadened to cover not only **textual functions**, but also the functions of **textual elements** (see Latyšev 1981: 33–37). According to Latyšev (1981: 72), the primary requirement for a translation is that it retain the functions of the ST and the functions of ST elements. The **content** of the ST is retained if possible (function-content equivalence). The functions also determine the selection of formal and semantic

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11 Newmark (1976: 17) mentions a considerable number of other possibilities of naming these functions in English, e.g. cognitive, denotative, creative, subjective; conative, dynamic, directive, imperative.

12 Reiss (1971: 140) has also used other names for these text types: content-accentuated (inhaltsbeton), form-accentuated (formbetont), and appeal-accentuated (appellbetont).

13 In addition, Reiss (1976: 18) distinguishes – on different grounds – one more text type, the so-called audiomedial texts.
elements to be retained, left out, or compensated for. The crucial elements which have to be kept unchanged in the translation constitute the so-called “functional dominant”. (See also Švejcer 1973: 142.)

Unlike Reiss, Latyšev (1981: 73–79) relates the functions (informational-logical, emotive, and directive) not to text types, but to different types of content. The informational-logical function is mainly realized through denotative content, and the emotive function through significative connotations. The directive function can be realized through denotative content (e.g. direct orders), through significative content (slogans, advertisements), or simultaneously through both. (Latyšev 1981: 72–77.) However, there is no fixed and unambiguous correspondence between text functions and types of content.

House and L'vovskaja, for their part, see the function of a text not so much connected with the functions of language as with the situation in which the text is embedded. Therefore, in order to be able to get to the function, House breaks down the notion of situation into eight situational dimensions, three of which are connected with the language user (geographical origin, social class, and time), and the remaining five with language use (medium, participation, social role relationship, social attitude, and province). Consequently, the translation is equivalent to the ST, if the situational dimensions of these two texts match. (House 1977: 30–50.)

A somewhat similar view has been put forward by L'vovskaja, according to whom the prerequisite for translation invariability is the invariability of speech situation and pragmatic structure. Semantic structure can vary within certain limits, but its relationship to the pragmatic and situational components must remain invariable. (L'vovskaja 1985, 130–157; see also Vehmas-Lehto 1989.) The situational context figures also in Reiss' later works. What is especially interesting is that she also takes into account the socio-cultural embedding of the text (see Reiss 1984: 88). Reiss' view on communicative equivalence is based on the requirement that a translation has to be able to realize the same communicative function in the TL linguistic community (Sprachgemeinschaft) as the ST in the SL linguistic community.

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14 The types of content can be characterized as follows: (1) denotative: 'content originating with the connection between linguistic signs and the objects and phenomena described'; (2) significative: 'content which includes also significative connotations, i.e. certain reflections of cultural and linguistic traditions common to the members of the ethnic community'; (3) content on the level of the interpreter: 'content due to individual differences between the participants of communication'; (4) intralingual: 'content reflecting the interrelations of linguistic units' (see Latyšev 1981: 37–63). Many other terms are used synonymously with the word denotative: referential (e.g. Nida 1964), conceptual (Leech 1974: 10), and descriptive (Karlsson 1980: 239).
2.4.5 Communicative theories in comparison with formal and semantic equivalence

The basic principle of the communicative theories is the principle of selection and hierarchisation. This principle, which derives from the extralinguistic basis of these theories, makes them more satisfying from the point of view of translators and translation critics than the theories of formal and semantic equivalence.

The principle of selection and hierarchisation is applied, firstly, on the situational level: the different factors which participate in forming the speech situation, e.g. functions, are arranged into a hierarchy according to their relative importance for the particular translation. In case of conflict, the factors placed higher in the hierarchy carry more weight in the selection of different semantic and formal elements.

Secondly, selection and hierarchisation is needed on the level of meaning. It is not possible to convey in the translation the whole meaning of the ST, but only the essence of the meaning, i.e. that part of ST information which is relevant in the circumstances. This is the subjective side of the category of meaning, i.e. what a certain person means by a linguistic unit in a certain communicative situation, when his communicative act has a certain motive and purpose (L'vovskaja 1985: 79; see also Neubert 1974: 483). This subjective, selected meaning is usually called the message (der kommunikative Wert, Sinn, soderžanie, smysl).

In the hierarchical structure of the message, the top position is held by the pragmatic component (the communicative intention of the addressee), and a subordinate position by the semantic component (the realization of the intention through a description of reality; L'vovskaja 1985: 129). In certain circumstances (especially in puns, poems, proverbs etc.) the message may also have a formal component, the form of the ST unit may carry a message due to transference (see Latyšev 1981: 60–61). Even the paralingual elements, e.g. rhythm, intonation, and rhyme can have a function and therefore participate in forming the message (see Reiss 1984: 87). Also according to Reiss (1984: 86), a text (in an act of communication) has content, form and function, a combination of which constitutes the message (Sinn). Moreover, content and form are dominated by function.

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15 Also according to Reiss (1984: 86), a text (in an act of communication) has content, form and function, a combination of which constitutes the message (Sinn). Moreover, content and form are dominated by function.
The requirement of selection and hierarchisation pertains, thirdly, to the linguistic means used for carrying the message. Depending on the speech situation, it may be that terminological exactitude is central in one translation, sentence structure in another, and the form and location of the thesis of an argument in a third translation etc. (Tirkkonen-Condit 1985: 24). Conflicts between different TL stylistic norms are settled by discarding one of them (provided this will not result in an unacceptable expression) on the basis of a hierarchy of stylistic norms (see Doherty 1986: 105–106).

Another difference between communicative theories and other theories of translation is that in communicative theories the concepts of equivalence and adequacy are not necessarily separable from each other: communicative equivalence may imply adherence to TL norms and conventions; otherwise a translation may not be able to realize functions similar to ST functions. Moreover, a word-for-word translation, which by necessity stumbles against TL rules all the way, cannot guarantee even semantic equivalence (see Doherty 1985, 166, and Nida 1964: 192). Therefore, as House (1977: 30) puts it, “the concept of 'equivalence' may also be taken as the fundamental criterion of translation quality”. On the other hand, it is possible to keep these two concepts apart (see Doherty 1985: 165).

2.4.6 The “elasticity” of communicative equivalence

However, even when a translation can be considered communicatively equivalent, the correspondence of ST and TT functions is more or less imperfect. As Kade (1975: 254) remarks, the function of a translation can never be exactly the same as the function of the ST. This is understandable: the receptors of the translation and the ST have different backgrounds and live in more or less different social and cultural surroundings. According to Schmidt (1987: 255), it is, however, impossible to say, how wide the gulf between the functions can be without rendering communicative equivalence impossible.

It is because of the impossibility of complete equivalence of functions that Schmidt (1987: 254) states as the prerequisite of communicative equivalence not that the translation has the same function as the ST, but that it “can have a function to a great extent analogous to the function of the ST” (translation and boldfacing I V-L). She also gives a cautious formulation to her definition of communicative equivalence: “Communicative
equivalence means that the communicative value of the TL text is as close to the communicative value of the SL text as possible” (Schmidt 1987: 253; translation and boldfacing I V-L). This means that within certain limits, losses of textual meaning do not exclude communicative equivalence and that there is some room for divergencies from the original. In fact, according to Schmidt, a typical translation is somewhere between perfect equivalence and radical alteration of the ST. The message is often subtly modified by the conditions of reception and the informational expectations of TL-addressees. Nevertheless, the message survives. (See Schmidt 1987: 253.)

2.4.7 The concept of good translation

It must be kept in mind that a communicatively equivalent translation is only one type of good translation (see Schmidt 1987: 253–254). For a translation is regarded as good if it serves its purpose (see Nida & Taber 1969: 1; Reiss 1983: 208; Schmidt 1987: 253–254). The purpose, i.e. the functions of a translation can be different from those of the ST (see Reiss 1983: 208; Reiss & Vermeer 1984: 103).

It may be quite legitimate to give a translation a new main textual function (e.g., to convey only the informative, not the persuasive, function of a political text), or a secondary function not present in the ST (summarizing translations; translations illustrating differences between languages). The information contained in the translation may also be selected or modified in the interests of its addressees, if they differ decisively from the addressees of the ST (popularized versions of scientific writings, simplified versions of classical works made for children). Such translations are not regarded as equivalent to the ST (see Reiss 1976: 23–24; House 1977: 59; Schmidt 1987: 253). Moreover, they do not even strive for equivalence. The assessment of these translations is based on their adequacy. (Reiss & Vermeer 1984: 136–138.)

In other words, translations can be seen as performing in the first place their own functions. The guiding principle of the supporters of this view has been formulated as follows: The decisive factor for any translation is its purpose (“Die Dominante aller Translation is deren Zweck”; Reiss & Vermeer 1984: 96).

The purpose of a translation, in turn, is not the mere conveyance of information, but the
ability to perform a **communicative** function in a certain linguistic community (see Reiss 1983: 208, and 1984: 86–87), and in a certain socio-cultural environment (see Reiss 1984: 88). Consequently, the term **adequacy** does not refer only to the linguistic relationship between the translation and the TL (cf. section 2), but also to the relationship between the purpose of the text and the means of its realization (see Reiss 1984: 80), or to the suitability of the linguistic signs used in the translation from the point of view of the new addressees (see Reiss & Vermeer 1984: 136–138).

Regardless of whether equivalence is striven for or not, a translation which is capable of serving a purpose in the TL linguistic community can usually be produced only (depending on the purpose) by using means which are in harmony with this community and its readers, i.e. which are adequate. Otherwise the translation may arouse unwanted reactions, e.g. irritate the reader instead of arousing positive emotions, turn his attention to the linguistic formulation of the text instead of giving him information about the matter under discussion, etc.

The realization of the importance of the receptor pole has resulted in a shift of focus both in translation studies and in various areas where translations are used. “This shift of focus is from the traditional focusing on the transference of an invariant over and across a linguistic border to focusing on the use of the resultant entity within the recipient linguistic-cultural context. After all, translated utterances, no matter what the exact process which yielded them, form facts of one system only: the target's.” (Toury 1982: 71.)

Some theoreticians have even suggested rejecting the whole concept of equivalence, because they consider it as “an idealized construct” or “too prescriptive” (see Reiss & Vermeer 1984: 124). Be that as it may, it seems that it is possible to determine only the core of communicative equivalence, and that beyond this core there are different degrees of communicative equivalence. Moreover, the borderline between equivalence and non-equivalence is vague, and it seems that the transition from communicative equivalence to definite non-equivalence is in fact quantitative rather than qualitative. (See Schmidt 1987: 253.)

2.4.8 Levels of adequacy

Adequacy of a translation can reach different levels depending on the degree of conformity
with the target language. These levels form a kind of staircase corresponding to the division of language into different levels.

2.4.8.1 Conformity with the TL system

The lowest adequacy level is conformity with the target language system, i.e. with the rules concerning the structure of this language (see Latyšev 1981: 189). The system of a language has been defined as the body of rules in the consciousness of native speakers according to which most units of that language are formed and which renders it possible to form new linguistic units (Mustajoki 1980: 29).

2.4.8.2 Conformity with the TL norms

The second level of adequacy is conformity with the system and also with the so-called grammatical norms. Such a translation consists of linguistic units which are considered correct by native speakers of the language without a context and regardless of their appropriateness (Mustajoki 1980: 33). This type of adequacy is connected with acceptability. According to Chomsky (1965: 11), acceptable sentences differ from unacceptable sentences by being (1) more probable in speech, (2) easier to understand, (3) less heavy, and (4) more natural.

A language norm can be based either on the opinion of experts about how the language should be used (the official norm; Mustajoki 1980: 35) or on the usage generally accepted and established in the language (the collective norm; see Ickovič 1968: 4: see also Latyšev 1981: 189 and Wilss 1974: 35–37).

2.4.8.3 Conformity with the usus/functional style

On the following level of adequacy the translation conforms not only with the system and the norms of the TL, but also with the so-called usus, the norms of language usage. These norms

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16 What belongs to the norms of a language does not necessarily conform with its system. On the other hand, not everything formed according to the system of the language in question conforms with its norms (Mustajoki 1980, 33–34).
include TL stylistic norms (see Doherty 1986: 104), and TL conventions: such expressions, sentences etc. are avoided which are linguistically correct, but which would not be used by TL native speakers (Schmidt 1987: 252). The aim is to avoid disturbances in communication caused by unnatural or clumsy expressions, i.e. to make the translation felicitous and effective.

Norms of usage reflect linguistic “habits” of native speakers, the usual way of expressing oneself in certain communicative situations (Latyšev 1981: 191; see also Wilss 1974: 35–36). These norms also determine which linguistic units (among those permitted by grammatical norms) are preferred in texts having certain purposes and representing certain functional styles (Latyšev 1981: 191; cf. Wilss 1982: 169: usage norm II. In other words, conformity with usus is connected with appropriateness.

Usus is in fact quantitative rather than qualitative by nature, and it has therefore been defined as “the statistical regularities of speech” (Mustajoki 1980: 22–23).

The concept of usus is connected with the functions of a text. But it is not so much the textual functions which are important here, but the situational and social functions. Consequently, there is a close connection between the usus and functional styles, where the functions of a text are regarded primarily as being social (see e.g. Enkvist 1980: 226) or as being connected with some area of social activity (see Rozental' 1968: 11; Mitrofanova 1976: 9–10; Kumahova & Kumahov 1978: 4; Enkvist 1980: 233; Švejcer 1982: 44).

From the point of view of translation criticism, social functions seem more promising than textual functions. This is because of the different amount of data about how the functions influence language usage. There is more data about the linguistic correlations of social functions than about those of textual functions. The latter have received very little attention (see Latyšev 1981: 73; Panfilov 1982: 39).

It is true that there is little concrete data about the relationship of social functions and language as well (see Neubert 1974: 489; Sergeeva 1979: 184–185). This is due to the fact that functional stylistics has concentrated on classifying and concretizing extralinguistic factors – even in the Soviet Union, where functional stylistic studies started as early as the

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17 **Usage norm II** is a collective term for all communicatively standardized patterns in the field of 'socioperformance' --- with the two subfields, LSP texts and normatively determined everyday communicative situations (Wilss 1982: 169).

18 However, see Reiss (1976) about some linguistic correlations of the persuasive function.
1920's (Lapteva 1984: 54).

However, compared with the linguistic manifestations of textual functions, the amount of data about social functions is bigger, because there has been more research on functional styles. Moreover, it is not unfeasible to gather more data by means of corpus studies.

Because of the close connection of usus and functional styles, this level of adequacy can also be described differently: the ST and the translation represent corresponding functional styles. As early as the 1960's some Bible translators pointed out that translations should be tested against the receptor language's best equivalent for the style of the scripture portion to be translated. “Receptor language texts should be chosen to match the translation as closely as possible in style – narrative with narrative, argument with argument” (Grimes 1963: 50). “All the texts used should be as close as possible to the type of discourse (narrative, dialogue, etc.) of the Scripture portion being checked” (Moore 1964: 86; see also Robinson 1963).

One of the situational dimensions of House, the province, is also a near synonym for functional style. Province reflects “occupational and professional activity” and “the field and topic of the text in its widest sense of 'area of operation' of the language activity” (House 1977: 48).

Functional style has in fact been mentioned only in recent years, e.g. by Latyšev (1981: 172, see the beginning of this section) and by Doherty, who includes in “the rules of the TL” also stylistic rules, whether they apply to the TL as a whole or only to a certain functional style (Doherty 1985: 167). “A translation has to convey not only the denotative/significative meaning of the original in its specific thematic organisation as wholly as possible, but also contain the same tokens (Markierungen) of styles and functional styles” (Doherty 1985: 165; transl. I V-L). The importance of stylistic aspects for translations is as self-evident as that of grammatical aspects, even though it is given much less attention both in theory and in practice (Doherty 1986: 104).

Also Nolte (1987: 240) is of the opinion that a text, in order to be ready for publication, has to correspond to the semantic, stylistic, and functional stylistic norms which prevail in the TL linguistic community for the text sort in question. Schmidt, too, considers it very important to convey the ST functional style according to the norms of the corresponding TL functional style. But in practice this is much more difficult than conveying semantic content.

19 Studies concerning the social connections of language in general started in the Soviet Union 30 years earlier than in the USA (Budagov 1975: 3), i.e. in the 1920's.
In fact, efforts to attain both semantic equivalence and “equivalence of text sorts” often make full conformity with the norms of functional styles impossible (Schmidt 1987: 254).

The term **functional style** usually refers to quite comprehensive stylistic entities, principal styles, which in turn are divided into sub-styles. Saukkonen (1981: 94) mentions the following five Finnish functional styles: everyday spoken style, the style of belles-lettres, journalistic and political style, scientific and practical special field style, and the style of official documents. The Russian language, on the other hand, is divided into spoken style and written style, and the latter subdivided into scientific style, official style, journalistic style and the style of belles-lettres (Rozental’ 1974: 25; Bel’čikov 1977: 233).

Compliance with the corresponding TL functional style tends in practice to be somewhat variable. Like usus, also the differences between functional styles are quantitative rather than qualitative. Therefore they are mostly relative: only part of the linguistic means used in a certain functional style are specific for this style; the rest belongs to neutral linguistic material (Mitrofanova 1976: 9–10; see also Švejcer 1982: 44). Consequently, stylistic differentiation does not mean that linguistic units are tied to a certain domain of communication (Kožin 1982: 70), but that different functional styles **favour** certain different variants (Mitrofanova 1976: 56) and that the style of a text is to a great extent determined by the frequencies of different linguistic features (Lapteva 1984: 55).

2.4.8.4 Conformity with the recommendable norms

However, the linguistic acceptability of a translation is not necessarily guaranteed even by its conformity with the corresponding TL functional style, especially if the text is intended for publication. This is due to the fact that even authentic TL texts which represent the TL functional style in question may be open to criticism. These texts, it is true, usually correspond to the TL system, grammatical norms, and usus, but they may contain clumsy constructions, unclear expressions, archaic words or endings regarded as unrecommendable, etc. In other words, even an authentic TL text does not always correspond to the so-called **recommendable norms**, those norms understood as such usage of language which is generally accepted and officially sanctioned (see Lomtev 1979: 35). In other words, adequacy
of a translation can still go one step further: the translation can resemble well written TL texts of the same functional style.
3 TRANSLATION CRITICISM AS PRACTICAL ACTIVITY

3.1 Translation criticism to date

Any attempts to explain the reasons for certain translation decisions contain an implicit element of criticism of other kinds of translations. In this sense, translation criticism is as old as the oldest annotations on the theoretical foundations of translations, i.e. at least more than two thousand years. However, translation criticism in the modern sense of the word has not been much practiced.

3.1.1 Criticism of Bible translations

Right up to our day, critical comments have been concerned almost exclusively with either Bible translations or literary translations. Especially Bible translation has for centuries been a battlefield of different ideas about translation, intermingled with dogmatic and even political schisms and controversies (see e.g. Mathauzerova 1976: 25–55). The desire to translate the Bible into all languages of the world has in the past few decades thrown up new problems, and the endeavours to solve them (e.g. by Nida 1964 and Nida & Taber 1969) have been invaluable for the development of translation theory.

3.1.2 Criticism of literary translations

Criticism of literary translations has always formed an integral, but minor part of literary criticism. Thus, book reviews in newspapers and magazines sometimes contain comments on the quality of the translation. However, these comments are usually brief and also rather naive.

Translation criticism itself was subjected to criticism in the 1970's. According to Wilss (1974: 26), translation critics often argued in an amusingly pre-scientific fashion – even in periodicals dedicated to translation studies. Reiss (1971: 7) remarked that the criteria used in translation criticism were arbitrary and often yielded biased results. According to Itkonen-
Kaila (1972: 336), the characterizations of translations were too vague (“the translation makes a fluent impression” or “the translation seems reliable”) or then they picked on isolated lexical errors; the translation as a whole, the general impression of its style was not touched upon. It was also pointed out that critics concentrated on critical comments, not giving suggestions about ways of improvement (Reiss 1971: 129).

Not much seems to have changed in the 1980’s. The names of two articles by Heino (1986 and 1986a), the latter of which was written after the first seminar on translation criticism in Finland, illustrate the state of literary translation criticism here: “Käännöskritiikkiä – onko sitä?” (‘Translation criticism – or does it exist?’), and “Käännöskritiikki. Ei oo eikä tuu?” (‘Translation criticism. There ain't none and there ain't going to be none?’).

According to Heino, literary translations, if they are commented upon, are described in very general terms like “splendid”, “on a high level”, “fluent”, “workmanlike”, “rather clumsy”, “disastrous” etc. If the translation gets more attention, it is usually tackled from the point of view of its various deficiencies and “clumsinesses”. Illustrative examples are usually too short and arbitrarily detached from the context. (Heino 1986; see also Suominen 1987; cf. similar remarks about the German press by Apel 1983: 35).

3.1.3 Criticism of factual prose translations

The interest of critics in factual prose translations has been still more meagre. There are hardly any signs of it before the 1960’s. Unfortunately, the absence of criticism of factual translations cannot be taken as a sign of their high quality. The reason for the lack of interest is different: translators’ work is not much appreciated or even noticed. The general opinion seems to be that anyone who more or less masters two languages is a competent translator.

However, the evaluation of factual prose translations has received considerable attention in the various translator training institutions. This is natural, considering that at least in Finland the principal task of translator training has been to produce competent translators of factual texts.

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20 An interesting exception is provided by critical comments by Tsar Peter the Great in 1709 about a translation dealing with the building of a fortification: the edge of the criticism is directed at the “literalness” of the translation; it makes the contents obscure (Fedorov 1953: 29).

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3.2 The principles of evaluation of factual prose translations

Unlike literary translations, factual prose translations, at least in small countries like Finland, are made not only from L2 into L1, but also in the opposite direction. Therefore, the problems of evaluation would seem to be the same as in schools, where previously (up to the 1970's) translations were practically the only method of teaching foreign languages and where this method is still occasionally used.

3.2.1 Evaluation principles in schools

In the 1960's and 1970's, when the Language Institutes (i.e. the translator training institutions) were founded in Finland, schools followed marking principles which paid practically no attention to questions of communication. When translating from L2 to L1, it was important only to show that one had understood the text. Whether any reader apart from the language teacher could understand or enjoy the translation was never asked. The guarantee of a good mark was to keep as close to the formal characteristics of the source text as possible. On the other hand, when translating from L1 into L2, the most important criteria were grammaticality and that the pupil “knew the words”. (Cf. Johanson 1973)

Other, additional points taken into consideration were pedagogical. Marking was lenient if the error involved a linguistic phenomenon which had not yet been in the curriculum (cf. Leisi 1972: 35) or which was difficult to learn (cf. Nickel 1972: 23). Errors involving common words or constructions were regarded as the most serious, because there was a high probability of their being repeated later on.

3.2.2 Evaluation principles in translator training

In Finnish translator training the gravity of an error was from the very beginning determined according to principles different from those which at that time prevailed in school teaching.

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21 Three Language Institutes (Tampere, Turku, and Savonlinna) were founded in 1966, and a fourth (Kouvola) in 1971. The institutes were incorporated into universities in 1981.

22 Marking principles in school teaching have undergone a considerable change during the last two decades. Nowadays they rest to a great extent upon communicative considerations.

23
The basis for evaluation was provided by communicative principles, i.e. the main emphasis was laid upon the communication of the ST message.

Consequently, the equivalence principle followed in translator training institutions is dynamic/functional/communicative. Therefore the evaluation of translations is, at least in principle, dependent also on extralinguistic factors, e.g. the functions of the translation, its receptors (adults/children, specialists/laymen etc.), the degree of “finish” required (e.g. a working translation, a translation ready for publication) etc. The students are informed about such factors when receiving the texts.

The gravity of an error depends on the damage it causes to the communication of the message (whether the message is distorted or its communication merely hampered). This general principle covers all errors, including linguistic ones. Therefore e.g. grammaticality is not considered to have an absolute value for the quality of a translation. Its value is only instrumental: ungrammatical constructions obstruct the communication of the message by distracting and irritating the reader. Moreover, the marking of linguistic errors does not follow preventive aims (an error is not given more points, if it has a high probability of being repeated). This is natural since the aim is not to teach a language but to teach the students to translate.

In spite of a progressive overall evaluation principle, translation quality assessment leaves much to be desired even in translator training. This is partly due to the fact that the communicative principle described above is too vague and general to carry the evaluator through the endless diversity of the individual cases met in practice. Therefore it would be important to agree on certain more detailed evaluation criteria. This would help not only the evaluators, but also the students, who are often compelled to translate not the way that suits different translations, but the way that suits each individual teacher.

Unfortunately, the requirements for a good evaluation system are quite controversial. Such a system should, on one hand, be general enough to cover, if not all translations, then at least a great amount of them. On the other hand, it should be detailed enough to give answers to specific problems. Consequently, it seems impossible to set up an evaluation system of general applicability. (See Cviling & Turover 1978: 7.)

What can be done, however, is to try to clarify the evaluation criteria by paying conscious attention to the relative importance of different elements in different translations.
taking into account the function(s) of the ST and the translation. The criteria for each individual translation have to be based on an importance hierarchy of the textual features of the hypothetical translation (Tirkkonen-Condit 1985: 22–24).

3.3 Quasi-correctness. Neglect of covert errors

An important deficiency in translation evaluation in translator training (and in translation criticism in general) is the limited nature of the concept of translation error. The comments of translation critics are usually directed towards the most indisputable and conspicuous errors, which could be called overt errors (cf. overtly erroneous errors: House 1977: 56–58).

Overt errors are, firstly, such deviations from the semantic content of the ST which are not justified by functional considerations, i.e. distortions of the message. Such errors usually originate in the analysis of the ST: they are caused by misinterpretations.

Secondly, overt errors often originate in the phase of synthesis, i.e. when the translator formulates the TT. Such errors are either violations of the TL system, i.e. forms and expressions which are in obvious conflict with the TL structure23, or violations of TL grammatical norms.24 In other words, overt errors originating in the phase of synthesis are connected with the two first adequacy levels mentioned in 2.4.8. Errors in inflection, word formation, concord, orthography, and often also in the choice of words are examples of such errors.

Overt errors, whether originating in the analysis or synthesis, are detrimental to a translation. Errors of the former type distort the message; errors of the latter type tire and irritate the receptor and distract him by turning his attention from the message to the linguistic deviation.25

However, if the translation has to be able to compete with authentic TL texts, it is not enough to avoid overt errors. It is not enough that the ST factual content is rendered "exactly"

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25 Linguistic deviations have the same effect also on other texts in a foreign language (see Johansson 1973: 105) or on texts in general (see Kolde 1975: 165).
and in "correct" language: the means of conveying the message in a translation must also be appropriate and felicitous. In other words, the “rules” of the TL do not pertain only to its system and grammatical norms, but also to situation-specific or functional style-specific characteristics of language.

Thus, translation criticism has to cover also deviations from the TL usus, i.e. “violations of such forms of realization of linguistic expressions which are socially conditioned, i.e. violations of pragmalinguistic norms” (Wilss 1974: 35–37; transl. I V-L), and even deviations from the recommendable norms.

Violations of usus and recommendable norms can be called **covert errors** (cf. **covertly erroneous errors**; House 1977: 56–57), because even though the receptor intuitively feels that there is **something** wrong with the translation, he cannot usually pinpoint the reason for this feeling. Duff hits the mark when comparing the reader's reaction in saying “it sounds wrong” with that of the music-lover listening to a recording of a symphony and saying “somebody's out of tune”: he cannot identify the instrument, but his ear tells him that somewhere in the orchestra one of the players has hit a false note (Duff 1981: 2).

In fact, Papp (1972: 27–29) has approximately the same error type in mind when he writes about the **quasi-correctness** (kvazi-pravil'nost‘) of texts produced (not translated) in a foreign language. Papp describes such quasi-correct texts as follows:

1. Every sentence of the text is formed according to the rules of the language in question (in the estimation of a native speaker, every sentence of the text is grammatically correct);
2. Adjacent sentences have always been correctly joined together;
3. The text as a whole does not correspond to the picture a native speaker has of a well-formed text.

Quasi-correctness may be caused either by the fact that the writer has been mistaken about the distribution of certain specific phenomena or that there are many such elements in the text which **can** be used, but which in fact are rare or marginal. (Papp 1972: 27–29.)


27 Papp (1972: 37) gives an example of syntactic quasi-correctness. In a thesis written in Russian by a Hungarian with a good command of Russian there were no passive forms, because Hungarian has no passive voice proper. Moreover, in Russian texts written by Hungarians there may be no participles or gerunds; subordinate clauses are used instead. On the other hand, there may be too many possessive pronouns, which are used in Hungarian when speaking about parts of the human body and of family members (Papp 1972: 38). It may be added that since Finnish
Violations of usus—especially in great quantities—“spoil the impression of authenticity and naturalness of expression, and make the text unidiomatic” (Latyšev 1981: 191; transl. I V-L). Moreover, “the unnaturalness of expression resulting from constant ignoring of usus renders the translation more difficult to comprehend and forces the reader to keep on stumbling and going back in order to understand what is meant by the sentences so oddly formulated” (Latyšev 1981: 191–192; transl. I V-L).

Evidently, it is often due to violations of usus that there is a lack of redundancy in translations. This lack increases their “communication load” (Nida 1964: 129–142; see also Tirkkonen-Condit 1981: 133–135) and, consequently, lowers their readability level. By so doing they also make the translations less effective.

Covert errors have to date received little attention. House (1977), it is true, establishes in her corpus numerous “covertly erroneous errors”. However, her study is restricted to qualitative errors. But as usus is more quantitative than qualitative by nature, also covert errors in fact are mostly quantitative.

Quantitative covert errors have been mentioned (without giving them such a name) by Grimes (1963) and Robinson (1963), who emphasise the importance for a translation of conforming to TL frequencies of different linguistic phenomena. Cwilling (1964: 68), for his part, remarks that one of the reasons why translations made unit by unit are “not entirely adequate” is that there may be a difference in SL and TL texts in the frequency of the two units used as translation equivalents. Toury (1979: 226; see 3.4) describes one interlanguage phenomenon as consisting of such units and structures which are seemingly within the TL code, but which are not used as frequently in TL texts as translations (under the influence of SL/ST). According to the observations of Klaudy (1980), in translations from Russian into Hungarian, the frequencies of participles, gerunds and verbal nouns are closer to the Russian source texts than to authentic Hungarian texts. According to Soini (1983), there is an obvious frequency difference between Finnish texts and translations from Russian into Finnish as regards the use of tenses.

In fact, the idea of the deleteriousness of quantitative deviations is implicitly present and Hungarian are related languages, all these features are characteristic also of Russian texts written by Finns.

Such errors have also been called „Abweichungen von den gesellschaftlich bedingten Realisationsformen sprachlicher Äusserungen, also gegen pragmalinguistische Normen” (Wilss 1974: 35–37).
also in what Nida (1964: 129–142) says about the communication load: it is the odd and unexpected elements, i.e. the elements infrequently used in TL texts, which increase a translation's communication load. (See also Tirkkonen-Condit 1981: 134.)

Quantitative deviations have been discussed also by those interested not in translation criticism but in the analysis of L2 errors. Besides Papp (see above), also Levenston has paid attention to such deviations. According to him, “one feature of non-native use of a second language, or L2, is the excessive use ('over-indulgence') of clause (or group) structures which closely resemble translation-equivalents in the mother tongue, or L1, to the exclusion of other structures ('under-representation') which are less like anything in L1” (Levenston 1971: 115). Chesterman (1977: 54) has used the term errors of distribution.

There is a discrepancy between principle and practice in translator training concerning covert errors: critics allegedly support communicative translation principles, which lay much emphasis on the receptor pole of the translation process and, consequently, on the adaptation of the translation to the requirements of the recipient linguistic community on all linguistic levels (see 2.4.7, and 2.4.8). In reality critics often concentrate on checking the communication of factual content from the ST into the translation. On the linguistic side, attention is mostly directed to most conspicuous errors. In other words, evaluation may be restricted to overt errors. This means that the equivalence principle followed may in reality be semantic, not communicative.

3.4 Neglect of interference phenomena

Closely connected with the neglect of covert errors is the fact that little attention has been paid to the phenomenon of interference, i.e. the undue influence of the ST linguistic form on the TT linguistic form or “a direct substitution of linguistic means for linguistic means – either existing or created ad hoc – without taking into account their functions in the two

29 Translation equivalent here means the closest possible formal equivalent.

30 It must be kept in mind that certain extralinguistic or contextual factors may turn intralinguistic meaning into the functional dominant (e.g. in puns). This is justified ST influence, not interference. Latyšev (1981: 64–68) gives an example of how intralinguistic meaning can become the functional dominant. The poem by Heine “Ein Fichtenbaum steht einsam” is built on the contrast of grammatical gender: der Fichtenbaum (masc.) & die Palme (fem.) create an allegory of lovers. In order to retain this allegory in the Russian translation, it has been necessary to substitute the word кедр (masc.) ‘cedar’ for the semantic equivalent of the word Fichtenbaum, сосна ‘pine’, because this Russian word is feminine.

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linguistic systems, SL and/or TL, as well as in the two texts involved, ST and/or TT” (Toury 1979: 226).\(^{31}\) However, the assertion made by Wilss (1977: 252) that interference from the ST is the most important cause of errors in translations from L2 into L1\(^{32}\) seems justified.

The term *interference* originally comes from error analysis, where it has been discussed much more often and thoroughly than in translation studies. This term has normally been used to mean the influence of the native language of learners on their output in the foreign language being learned (see e.g. Lado 1957: 58–59).

Interference has turned out to be so common in contacts between languages that “there is no bilingualism without interference” (Rozencvejg 1964: 67; transl. I V-L). Error analysts, having established that the L2 output of language learners is usually influenced by their mother tongue, even coined a new term for the L2 output of learners, *interlanguage*, i.e. language between L1 and L2 (see e.g. James 1971; Selinker 1972; Sajavaara 1980: 214).\(^{33}\)

But interference and interlanguage are not restricted to the output of language learners: translations provide a still more fertile soil for interference phenomena.\(^{34}\) In fact, translations are “inter-texts” by definition (Toury 1979: 227), i.e. they always contain formal equivalents in TL of ST/SL units or structures. These equivalents can be

1. altogether **outside** the TL code (direct copying, transcribing, or transliterating of ST/SL units while adapting them to the phonological, graphological, or even morphological and grammatical systems of TL);

2. **between** the two codes (e.g. translation loans, or the creation of new TL forms and structures from existing ones formally corresponding to SL forms and structures);

3. seemingly **within** the TL code, but under obvious influence of SL/ST (e.g. showing preference for certain TL forms and structures, because of their formal correspondence to some SL forms or structures). (Toury 1979: 226.)

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\(^{31}\) This definition does not include so-called intrastructural interference, which is usually caused by false analogy (see Nickel 1972: 12).

\(^{32}\) In translations from L1 into L2, on the other hand, the imperfect command of L2 is a self-evident source of errors.

\(^{33}\) In error analysis the term *interlanguage*, which was coined by Selinker (1972), means the linguistic system of a language learner. This system contains not only L2 features but also features from the learner's native language. James (1971) calls the same phenomenon *interlingua*, and there are also other, less well-known names (see Sajavaara 1980: 214).

\(^{34}\) Duff (1981) has called the language of translations “the third language".
The third type in Toury's classification resembles closely the concept of **covert error**, discussed above.

Because of the strong susceptibility of translations to interference, it has been hypothesized that “there is something **in the nature of translating itself** which encourages the emergence of interference forms by realizing the potential language contact in the speaker's brain and triggering off the transfer mechanism”, i.e. that the abundance of interference phenomena in translations is due to a psycholinguistic universal (see Toury 1982: 68).

The correctness of Toury's assumption is backed up, firstly, by the fact that there is interference even in translations made by bilinguals. Secondly, interference is not restricted to translations by amateurs, but is present also in the output of professionals (see e.g. Toury 1979; Denison 1981; Vehmas-Lehto 1984a; 1984b; 1985). Thirdly, and this is most important, interference phenomena occur also in translations into the translator's native language (see Toury 1979; 1982; Klaudy 1980; Denison 1981; Vehmas-Lehto 1984a; 1984b; 1985). The influence of interference may, in fact, be **bigger** in translations into the translator's mother tongue than in translations into a foreign language. This is probably due, among other things, “to the very consciousness of translators of the first category of their lack of complete command of L2, which may make them resort to avoidance strategies”. (Toury 1982: 69.)

Consequently, the basic hypothesis of error analysis that interference is caused by deficient command of L2 (see e.g. Wilss 1977a: 262) is not necessarily valid for translations.35

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35 In contrastive and error analysis there are some references to the possibility of the influence of L2 on L1. But these references are connected with the language of a whole linguistic community (see Weinreich 1953: 2-3, 64; Juhász 1970: 9; Dulay & Burt 1974:102-103; Nemser 1974: 57).
4 TRANSLATION CRITICISM AS A FIELD OF STUDY

The term translation criticism applies not only to the practical activity of actually criticizing translations, but also to a field of study. Together with descriptive studies, it forms the applied branch of translation studies. In contrast to descriptive studies, which are non-normative by nature, translation criticism sees translations in relation to certain quality criteria which are dependent on various linguistic and extralinguistic factors.

The criteria may to a certain extent be outlined beforehand, prior to scrutinising the translation. This is done on the basis of certain extralinguistic information especially concerning the purposes (functions) of the translation, and a hierarchy of the various features of the imaginary translation performing these functions (cf. Tirkkonen-Condit 1985: 24). However, it seems that not all criteria can be established a priori, but that translation criticism (e.g. the present study) also needs descriptive information about translations and other texts in order to get a clearer view of the whole complex of factors connected with translation quality. Consequently, the two applied branches of translation studies are not strictly separable from each other.

Translation criticism, or rather translation studies as a whole, has been criticized for being excessively prescriptive. Especially Toury has postulated the necessity of descriptive translation studies (see Toury 1980: 79–111; about van den Broek's opinion see also Vehmas-Lehto 1987b). Unfortunately, it seems that the descriptive touch, however “scientific” and objective it may be, is not sufficient for the needs of translation criticism. In order to be able to criticize, one is forced, sooner or later, to take a stand in regard to what constitutes a good translation.

Like practical translation criticism, also the corresponding field of study is somewhat undeveloped. Research in this field has not moved far from the scetchy outlines drawn by Reiss (1968; 1971) and Wilss (1974; 1977a: 279). As Wilss (1982: 217) puts it, “one could almost say that TC, being a forbiddingly complex subject-matter, has become the breaking test of the science of translation”. Very few empirical translation studies have been made, and there is a crying need for suitable methods. However, fundamental research is necessary for the improvement of translation evaluation.

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Before presenting a review of studies connected with translation criticism, I will first attempt to do some boundary clearing with two related fields of study: error analysis and contrastive linguistics.

4.1 The relation of translation studies to error analysis

Because translation into a foreign language involves many problems of a purely linguistic character, it would seem natural to use in translation quality assessment the results of error analysis – the branch of applied linguistics developed to help in foreign language teaching. This is apparently how Kemppainen (1979: 15) feels when making the provocative remark that the number of errors in translations seems to be too small, “as evidently nobody has used them for making an error analysis”.

But in reality the scope of errors studied in error analysis is too narrow for the needs of translation criticism, especially for the assessment of L2/L1 translations. Firstly, error analysis has usually contented itself with observing the relationship of the learner’s output with L2 (see e.g. Juhasz 1970: 9), and not paid attention to what the learner intends to say (however, see Corder 1972: 38). Therefore, results of error analysis would not be of any help in assessing errors connected with the relation of the translation to its ST, i.e. to what the translator intends to convey, to the message. Secondly, error analysis is usually restricted to morphological mistakes and lexically or syntactically clear failures, i.e. overt linguistic errors. Covert errors have not received much attention. However, covert errors form the majority of errors in L2/L1 translations.

Indeed, there is a clear difference between L2/L1 and L1/L2 translations in the relative importance of different types of errors: the former mostly have covert errors and errors in the communication of factual content, the latter are more prone to have overt linguistic errors.36

The relative difference in the occurrence of error types has driven Wills (1974: 24–25) to make a distinction between two types of translation quality assessment, error analysis (the evaluation of L1/L2 translations), and translation criticism (the evaluation of L2/L1 translations).  

36 Cvilling & Turover (1978: 6) describe the difference between L2/L1 and L1/L2 translation errors in an interesting way: the L2/L1 translations contain translation errors proper, i.e. the intention of the author of the ST is not quite realized. In addition to this, there are errors caused by the interference of the ST. The L1/L2 translations, on the other hand, contain linguistic errors. Here it is the intention of the translator which is not realized.
translations). Such a distinction seems not quite justified: the differences between L2/L1 and L1/L2 translations are not absolute, but relative. Both translation types can contain any type of error.

It is a matter of opinion whether a distinction between translation error analysis and translation criticism is needed. If such a distinction is made, it could be based not on the direction of the translation process, but, as suggested by Wilss later (1977a: 279), on the aims and character of analysis. Error analysis is aimed at examining sporadic errors; translation criticism, on the other hand, is concerned with the translation as a whole (also with positive phenomena).

4.2 The relation of translation studies to contrastive linguistics

Contrastive linguistics also has a lot in common with translation studies. In spite of this, it cannot answer all questions arising in connection with translations. This inability is due to the fact that contrastive linguistics and translation studies have different aims. The former tries to discover the similarities and differences between two languages, whereas the latter compares texts, i.e. different extralinguistically motivated manifestations of language.

Consequently, contrastive linguistics has hitherto mostly exhibited rather formal equivalence criteria (“the language-oriented equivalence conception of contrastive linguistics”, Reiss 1984: 82; transl. I V-L). According to the narrowest equivalence criteria of contrastive linguistics, words or phrases in two languages are equivalent only on the condition that they have the same syntactic functions in the languages under comparison (see Marton 1968: 55). Even though the scope of equivalent constructions has been broadening (see Vehmas-Lehto 1987: 64–65), and some contrastive linguists have even become aware of the insufficiency of contrasting mere linguistic codes without locating the codes “in their proper place in the speech communication processes across language” (Sajavaara & Lehtonen 1980: 11–12), the tendency to formal equivalence still prevails. This manifests itself in, among other things, the fact that the relationship of word-for-word translations is called “ideal equivalence” (see Krzeszowski 1981: 123).

The equivalence criteria of translation studies, on the other hand, are textual and situational, or to use Reiss' expression, “parole-oriented” (parole-orientiert; Reiss 1984: 82).
This means that the translation has to be equivalent to the ST on the textual level, but individual textual elements or segments need not be equivalent (see e.g. Neubert 1974: 486; Reiss 1984: 83; Doherty 1985a: 89). It is therefore natural that studies based on formal equivalence can be utilized only with major reservations in translation quality assessment.

The differences in aims and equivalence criteria influence material and methodology. Firstly, in contrastive linguistics, comparison of linguistic constructions normally does not go beyond the boundaries of a sentence (however, see Enkvist 1976), whereas the object of translation studies is the whole text. Smaller units are naturally also examined, but only as parts of the text in its entirety.

Secondly, if contrastive studies are based on translated material,37 this material is, at least in principle, bidirectional, whereas the material of translation studies is unidirectional. In other words, contrastive linguistics involves both L1/L2 and L2/L1 translations, because “there is an objective correspondence between two languages if the same phenomenon is constantly repeated in translations made in both directions by different translators of different authors” (Gak 1979: 16; transl. I V-L),38 but translation studies, which do not aim at finding universally valid equivalence relations, do not need bidirectional material (see Toury 1980: 24). In fact, the principle of bidirectionality would not even be applicable to translation studies. Even a back-translation of the target language equivalent would not necessarily share any formal features with the source text unit, and there would consequently be no fixed basis for comparison. That is why translations have with good reason been described metaphorically as a one-say street (see Švejcer 1973: 111).

Finally, contrastive studies are more limited in their choice of starting point. If a contrastive study is based on translated material (either a corpus or translations made by an informant), a linguistic phenomenon is first examined from the point of view of L1, and then L2 equivalents are searched for. In a translation study it is necessary not only to compare the translation with the source text, but also with authentic target language material. Consequently, there can be other starting points besides the ST: the translation, target

37 Contrastive studies are conducted not only on the basis of translated material. They can also operate with universals, i.e. specify how a given universal category is realized in the languages contrasted (see e.g. Fisiak 1981: 2; Mustajoki 1985).

38 For the sake of objectivity multilateral contrastive studies have been called for, i.e. studies embracing more than two languages (Bausch 1964; Wandruszka 1969).
language material, or even receptor reactions. (For a more detailed discussion of contrastive
and translation studies see Vehmas-Lehto 1987.)

In other words, the methods of contrastive linguistics are not applicable to translation
studies. Contrastive linguistics can only be a useful auxiliary field for translation researchers.

4.3 Prelinguistic translation studies

Translation studies have at least until recently been rather unsophisticated. As House (1977:
5) puts it, “there is a long tradition of anecdotal reflections undertaken by professional
translators, philologists, and poets on the subject of translations and translation quality”.39 For
a very long time translation “was mainly discussed in terms of (a) the conflict between free
and literal translation and (b) the contradiction between its inherent impossibility and its
absolute necessity” (Newmark 1976: 6). These writings, which can be called pre-linguistic or
philological, were concerned e.g. with problems connected with the retention of the original's
specific flavour and local colour, and the pleasure and delight of the reader.

Philological writings had the drawback of being altogether vague and subjective. They
were short on method and contained few or no illustrations from actual translations. On the
other hand, some of these writings, e.g. Gold (1972), centered around random illustrations,
deciding the problems at hand, but not even making an attempt to form a framework with
wider applicability in translation and evaluation.

4.4 Empirical translation studies

Translation studies in an even somewhat scientific sense date back to the 1960's, i.e. to the
development of communicative translation theories (see 2.4). Since that time too the field has
produced a rather unscientific impression.

Researchers of translations have been criticized for posing mainly general questions
rather than putting forward specific hypotheses, and therefore getting mere "insights" rather
than plain answers (Toury 1988). Moreover, theoretical models have often lacked practical
data to support them. What is needed in translation studies is an enormous data base:

39 For an overview see e.g. Amos 1920, Fedorov 1953, Störig 1963, House 1977: 5–8. See also the bibliography in
Translation studies should contain much more empirical data, not just examples (Neubert 1988).

Translation studies as a whole are unlikely ever to be able to give such exact and measurable data as the natural sciences. If only “objective” methods were used, much useful information would be lost. Therefore Wilss (1974: 41) expressly warns researchers from making translation criticism “more scientific than it can be”. “Objective”, empirical methods can, however, be applied in certain areas of translation studies, above all in the descriptive field, but also in translation criticism.

The empirical studies connected with translation criticism can be divided into three categories on the basis of the starting point of analysis: (1) source text-based studies, (2) translation-based studies, and (3) response-based studies.

4.4.1 Source text-based studies

It is possible to start a translation study from the ST by analysing it and then comparing it with the translation. This method, suggested e.g. by Koller (1979), Reiss (1968; 1971; 1976), and House (1977), is nowadays usually based on the notion of functional equivalence of the ST and the translation. Consequently, the key activity in the analysis is establishing the ST main function and, on its basis, the text type (see Reiss 1971: 32–34; 1976: 11–15), or text functions and their hierarchy (e.g. Koller 1979: 129–130; cf. 2.4.4). The following step is to find out whether the ST functional hierarchy is to be retained in the translation and whether it is possible to retain it. Then the question must be examined of which TL linguistic and stylistic means can be used in texts with the textual functions in question. (See Koller 1979: 129–130).

As regards translation criticism, the source text-based model is, however, usually discussed strictly theoretically as a general outline for a method; it is not put to the proof by analysing practical corpora of source texts and translations. An exception is House (1977), who performs an analysis of both the STs and the translations on the basis of textual functions divided into “situational dimensions” (see 2.4.4).
4.4.2 Translation-based studies

Toury (1980: 83) suggests starting translation studies with a description of the translated text by first taking up “target phenomena which are regarded as translational phenomena from an intrinsic point of view of the target system, prior to their reference to their respective source texts (or, rather, independently of the question of the very existence of these texts)”. This method is based on the idea that the purposes (functions) of a translation “are set mainly by the target, receptor pole, which serves as the 'initiator' of the inter-textual, intercultural and interlingual transfer” (Toury 1980: 82–83).

This is the order in which Hesseling (1982) tackles her material. She first analyses the translation without reference to its ST, establishing certain kinds of errors: semantic ambiguities and contradictions, evident deviations from TL norms, and stylistic deficiencies. Then, after a thorough analysis of the ST, she analyzes the translation a second time, now comparing it with the ST, primarily from the point of view of semantic correspondence.

Also Duff's work (1981), criticizing translations made into English from different languages, is translation-based. However, in spite of many interesting observations, Duff's work is rather too impressionistic to be called “a study”. The more so because it lacks practically all reference to source texts, and cannot therefore shed light on the reasons for translation flaws.

4.4.3 Response-based studies

Response-based studies have concentrated on attempts to establish and to measure receptors' responses, usually by experimental methods. The main aim of these studies has been to discover the degree of comprehensibility of the translations.

The following types of experiments have been either suggested or actually performed:

1. Cloze-texts, i.e. tests which measure the percentage of deliberately omitted words that can be filled in correctly by subjects. This method, which was suggested by Nida & Taber (1969: 169–170), has been criticized by House (1977: 11), who states e.g. that it is extremely difficult to analyze the results of Cloze-texts, i.e. to find out exactly why incorrect guesses were made. Also Toury (1988) regards this method as rather elementary.
(2) The elicitation of receptors' reactions to several translation alternatives. This method was also suggested by Nida & Taber (1969: 171): a couple of native speakers of the TL are presented with sentences in two or more different versions and asked questions such as “Which way sounds the sweetest?”, “Which is plainer?”, “What words will be easiest --- to understand?” (Nida & Taber 1969: 171). A more sophisticated version of this test was performed by Tirkkonen-Condit (1986), who had two different subject groups rate five translation variants with their impressionistic criteria according to how well the translations seemed to function vis-à-vis the purpose for which they were written. The test was more reliable than that suggested by Nida & Taber: the material consisted of texts, not individual sentences, and there were more subjects (15 + 15).

(3) Reading out the translation to someone who then relates what he heard to several other persons not present at the first reading. With this test one hopes to find out “how well the meaning comes across”. (Nida & Taber 1969: 172). It seems that there are too many phases in this test: the results will be influenced by variables which do not necessarily have any connection with the actual quality of the translation.

(4) Having several subjects read aloud the translation before an audience, and observing where the readers stumble, hesitate, or make substitutions. These are the points where the translation presents problems. (Nida & Taber 1969: 172.)

These four methods were criticized by House (1977: 11–17). According to her, (a) they are unfruitful and nondiagnostic unless ease of comprehension and degree of intelligibility “can be strictly defined, and the linguistic means by which they are given expression can be clearly identified”; (b) they completely lack reference to the source texts.

Other experimental methods suggested are e.g.

(5) Having subjects answer questions based either on the ST or the translation. If the answers correspond to each other, the translation is equivalent. (Miller & Beebe-Center 1958; see also Macnamara 1967; Brislin 1976: 15.)

(6) So-called performance tests, i.e. certain tasks are performed on the basis of a translation. This test type has naturally a very restricted scope of application. (See Brislin 1976: 15–17.)

(7) Comprehensibility experiments with reading time as the criterion. Carroll (1966) (using, however, isolated sentences as his material) proved human translations more
comprehensible than machine translations and assessors without knowledge of the SL more reliable than assessors who compare the translation with its ST.

(8) Identifying texts as either original or translated. In an experiment with 42 subjects on three Hebrew translations and four original Hebrew quotations, Weizman & Blum-Kulka (1987) explored factors motivating the identification of Hebrew journalistic texts as original or translated.

There have been more suggestions than implementations of the response-based methods listed above. Moreover, most of the experiments can be criticized for having too few subjects to be regarded as scientific. But it seems that if the practical implementation of response-based studies were improved, they could give useful information about translations.
5 THE METHODS AND MATERIAL

The present study belongs in the domain of translation criticism, i.e. it seeks to discover in what respects certain translations do or do not meet the demands made of them by linguistic and extralinguistic factors. It also makes suggestions about how the translations could be improved.

The theoretical framework of the present study could be characterized as functional: the guiding principle is that the linguistic formulation of Finnish translations of Russian journalistic texts needs to be based on the functions of these translations in the Finnish linguistic community.

As regards functional equivalence, it remains to be seen whether an equivalence of functions of the Finnish translations and the Russian journalistic STs can be attained, i.e. whether the translations can have and perform functions similar to the STs.

The stimulus for the experiments on reader reactions was provided by the theory of dynamic equivalence (requiring an equivalent effect on the ST and TT readers). However, dynamic equivalence was not taken as the theoretical basis of the study. This was, firstly, because it seemed difficult or even impossible to establish the reactions of ST readers by reliable methods. Secondly, measuring ST reader reactions seemed beside the point, because the study will place main emphasis on the adequacy of the translations, not on their relationship with the STs.

Adequacy seems a necessary requirement for published translations if they are to be felicitous and effective. As regards the means of attaining adequacy, the following working hypothesis is presented here: the translations ought to conform not only with the system and the norms of the target language, but also with the usus of the corresponding (or the closest) TL functional style represented by the STs. Additionally, if the usus leaves something to be desired, it is desirable that the translations should conform with the recommendable norms of this TL functional style. (See section 2.4.8 above.)

Conformity with the TL functional style seems necessary because, in the light of previous comments by certain specialists on translation theory, violations of functional-style-specific norms (see section 3.3: covert errors/quasi-correctness) evidently cause disturbances in communication.

It is my aim to combine theory and practice, i.e. to look at practical translation problems
on the basis of theoretical considerations, rising above the jungle of details and establishing reasons and regularities for specific translation phenomena. Perhaps this will help to anticipate and forestall some unsuccessful translation decisions.

5.1 The material

The study will be based on a text corpus consisting of the following texts:

(1) 20 Russian journalistic source texts (abbreviated ST) from the years 1978–1982, i.e. previous to the Gorbachev regime. Each text contains roughly 4500 typewritten letters. The total number of sentences in the texts is 542, the number of clauses 913, and words 10327. In order to make the texts comparable with Finnish texts, old, simple prepositions were not included;

(2) translations of these source texts (abbreviated PTr), published either in the Finnish press (texts 5–15) or in the Soviet Union (primarily, however, for foreign audiences: texts 1–4 and 16–20;

(3) the so-called alternative translations (ATr), made by me on the basis of the same source texts;

(4) 15 authentic Finnish journalistic texts (FT), dealing with similar subject matter. These texts contain 484 sentences, 842 clauses, and 6450 words (excluding prepositions).

The size of the corpus was largely decided on the basis of the fact that the study is primarily syntactic and the methods mostly quantitative. According to empirical data collected by Hakulinen & Karlsson & Vilkuna (1980: 99–100), a sample consisting of a couple of hundred clauses is normally sufficient for reliably establishing the frequency distribution of central syntactic variables.

All texts deal with economics, often with foreign trade. The choice of subject matter was dictated by practical circumstances: economics was the only field represented by translations in different sources and made by different translators.

5.1.1 The source texts

Most STs are from Russian periodicals. Texts 5 and 6, however, are from a booklet meant for the general public. STs 11–15 have apparently not been published: they were given to me in
typewritten form.

Most texts are extracts. However, in order to be able to lean on context both in criticism and in suggestions for improvement, the extracts were normally taken from the beginning of the article. Exceptions were necessary when the beginning of the ST was not translated (texts 2, 8, 9, and 10).

5.1.2 The published translations

All PTrs made in Finland (5–15) come from the news agency APN. Numerous futile endeavours were made to find also translations made elsewhere, but evidently all material translated from Russian and published in the Finnish press comes from APN. However, the translations were most probably made by several translators: the agency employs a considerable number of them, but the exact identity of each translator could not be established. The same applies to PTrs 1–4, the translators of which were commissioned by the editor's office of the journal Sovetskij Sojuz. Translations 16–20 are divided among two different translators.

It was brought to my knowledge that the translations made by APN were corrected by a stylist. Moreover, translations 11–15 were additionally edited by the editorial staff of the journal Prospekti. No attention will, however, be paid to the role of these editors: that would form the subject of another study. Only the final result, the texts actually published, will be discussed.

5.1.3 The alternative translations

The alternative translations, which will be used as suggestions for ways of improvement, were made by me. This was done in defiance of those advising me – for the sake of objectivity – to have them made “by some experienced translator”. I came to the conclusion that there was no guarantee that such new translations would be any freer from errors than the PTrs, which were made by experienced translators. If, on the other hand, I had advised the translators how to avoid errors, the result would not have been “objective”.

The suggestions to use as models translations made by good translators seem to be based on a confusion of descriptive translation studies and translation criticism. It is possible to study how problems have been resolved by good translators. But the translations are not necessarily
correct.

The same objection naturally pertains also to translations made by a researcher. Therefore, it must be remembered that the ATrs cited in the present study are suggestions only, and their success or failure is open to criticism by readers. But because there is no such thing as the one and only correct translation which could be established by objective methods, imperfect translations, like the ATrs, have to be used.

However, the ATrs have certain advantages, which make them more reliable than using just any alternative translations: (1) They have been done very painstakingly; (2) Their degree of success can be judged on two objective grounds:

- on the basis of experiments showing reader reactions to different texts, including the ATrs;
- on the basis of quantitative analyses between the STs, PTrs, and FTs. If the ATrs are close to the FTs quantitatively, they are probably also close qualitatively.

5.1.4 The authentic Finnish texts

The authentic Finnish texts included in the corpus have been chosen, firstly, because of their subject matter and, secondly, on the basis of their degree of formality. As the STs are quite formal (cf. the five degrees of social distance and proximity: frozen, formal, consultative, casual, and intimate in House 1977: 45–48), I have rejected such Finnish texts (common e.g. in the journal “Talouselämä”) which have a relaxed, chatty or causerie-like tone. Consequently, the FTs do not necessarily represent average economic journalistic texts; they show how economics is dealt within formal-style articles. In making concessions to the style of the STs in the choice of FTs, I wanted to facilitate comparisons between different text types. I also wanted to make sure that the possible differences between Russian and Finnish texts could not be claimed to be exaggerated.

5.2 The methods

The study is empirical, based on a combination of experiments and textual comparisons.
5.2.1 The experiments

The starting point of the study will be reader response, elicited by means of four experiments:
(1) an identification experiment along the lines suggested by Weizman & Blum-Kulka (1987; see 4.4.3), (2) an experiment measuring reader impressions by means of seven-point scales, (3) an experiment measuring the emotivity of words by means of a semantic differential, and (4) a readability experiment where subjects will be asked to pick out the assertions corresponding to the content of the texts.

The experiments will have a double function. Firstly, they will be used in verifying the hypothesis that the PTrs are only quasi-correct. Secondly, they will yield some information about the nature of the quasi-correctness in question.

5.2.2 The textual comparisons

The basic method in establishing the nature of and reasons for the translations' quasi-correctness will, however, be comparison of different text types. There will also be a new, non-psycholinguistic starting point. This will usually be the translations and their relationship to authentic Finnish texts of the same functional style. Occasionally, if it serves the purpose, the starting point can also be the ST.

Before the textual analysis proper, Finnish and Russian journalistic language will be compared in general terms on the basis of the literature. Attention will be given to the textual functions of journalistic texts in the societies in question.

Textual analysis will not be restricted to the traditional establishing of the ST/translation relationship. On the contrary, the analysis will be complex and many-sided. The main attention will be given to establishing the nature and degree of deviance of the PTrs from Finnish journalistic language, i.e. to comparing the PTrs and the FTs. Authentic TL texts have also earlier been used as material for comparison (see 2.4.8.3, and also Klaudy 1980: 103). On the whole, however, the use of authentic TL texts as points of comparison has hitherto got no further than the stage of an embryonic awareness of its usefulness.40

The PTrs will also be compared with the STs – in order to check whether the message of

40 The usefulness of authentic TL material was pointed out at the Nordic symposium on translation and interpretation (see Tirkkonen-Condit 1982: 3).
the STs has been rendered correctly, and also in order to discover possible reasons for translation errors.

Finally, the PTrs will be compared with the ATrs – for two reasons. Firstly, this will help in establishing certain characteristics of Finnish journalistic texts. The method of comparing translations which are not equally good stylistically has been suggested earlier by Doherty (1986: 104). According to her, it is important to compare two translations (the poorer of which is “analogous with the original”, and the better one “has been changed in relation to the original”), in order to discover the stylistic norms specific to a certain language. Secondly, the ATrs will be used as suggestions for ways of improving the translations.

The comparison of different texts will mostly be quantitative. This is because a corpus of authentic TL texts can be used for qualitative considerations only if the text sort is strictly restricted, if possible standardized (e.g. resolutions, see Thiel 1980). Quantitative methods, on the other hand, can easily be based on a corpus.

The textual comparison will produce information about the differences between Russian and Finnish journalistic language. This information will, however, be just a by-product, and it will have only instrumental value. The study as a whole is expressly a translation study, not a contrastive one (cf. 4.2.). This manifests itself in the fact that the corpus consists of translations from Russian into Finnish only, without any Finnish-Russian translations; the starting points will normally be, as was mentioned earlier, reader responses and the PTrs (not the STs, as in contrastive studies).

One more feature which is central for the present study is its textual nature. This manifests itself, above all, in the quantitative analyses: quantitative factors naturally reflect characteristics of whole texts and them only. But even when specific sentences and clauses are discussed, it will be textual sentences and textual clauses, i.e. sentences and clauses in context.

5.3 The basis for verification

The complexity of the methodology used is due to the fact that neither intuitions nor empirical data alone seem sufficiently reliable. What has been said about linguistics seems to apply also to translation studies: “the method of intuition and the method of empirical collection of data --- are not contradictory, but complementary – neither of them must be taken to extremes by one-

Consequently, the basis for verification will be complex. Firstly, there will be corpus-based quantitative data. Being objective, these data, however, are too general for solving specific translation problems. Therefore, they will be supplemented by the subjective intuition of the present researcher (mostly expressed through alternative translations). 41 42

Criticism and suggestions of improvement will also be founded on other kinds of intuition. Firstly, there will be the views of the specialists on the Finnish language concerning the recommendable norm of Finnish and especially Finnish journalistic language. Secondly, there will be the shared reader intuitions (reader response) elicited by the experiments.

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41 Intuitions are a controversial issue in translation studies. Catford (1965: 27) recommends having the discovery of textual equivalents “on the authority of a competent bilingual informant or translator”, taking it for granted that informants and translators are infallible. This trust, however, is not justified by practical experience. However competent the translator, translations contain errors. Even bilingual informants have been shown to be unreliable (see Carroll 1966: 62).

42 The intuition of the researcher has been used as a basis for verification in translation studies also by House and Tirkkonen-Condit (see House 1977: 61; Tirkkonen-Condit 1982a: 5).
6 JOURNALISTIC FINNISH

The Russian source texts in my material exemplify the journalistic functional style. Therefore, as correspondence of functional styles is aimed at, the translations should resemble Finnish journalistic texts (basic level), and/or (whenever these are not good enough to serve as models) satisfy the requirements of specialists in the Finnish language (ideal level). This makes it necessary to chart the characteristics of Finnish journalistic texts in general. The following overview is based on the literature.

The term functional style is normally used in connection with the principal socially conditioned styles of language. According to Saukkonen (1981: 94), Finnish has e.g. the following functional styles: (1) colloquial spoken style, (2) the style of belles-lettres, (3) the style of the press and politics, (4) scientific and practical style for special purposes, and (5) the style of official documents. However, because the language of the press forms the core of the 3rd style, the term journalistic style is used here to mean functional style.

6.1 Studies of journalistic Finnish

On the basis of the existing literature it is not easy to establish the actual characteristics of Finnish journalistic texts. This is because not much descriptive research on Finnish journalistic language has been done. As tellingly remarked by Suojanen, “the Karelian rune singer seems to appeal more to scholars than journalistic language” (Suojanen 1988; transl. I V-L.)

Most studies of Finnish journalistic language have been done at the university of Oulu (e.g. Alm 1972; Piukkula 1974; Niinimäki 1978; Ruohonen 1981). Valuable descriptive information about Finnish journalistic language can also be obtained from the study of Hakulinen & Karlsson & Vilkuna (1980), which, although concerned with the Finnish standard language in general, draws most of its material from journalistic sources.

In most other writings journalistic language has been approached not from the descriptive, but from the normative angle, i.e. from the point of view of what it should be like. In the following, a joint summary of these two different kinds of writings will be made.
6.2 The position of journalistic language in the system of Finnish functional styles

Finnish journalistic language does not constitute such a marked functional style as the corresponding Russian text sort. As a whole, the Finnish system of (functional) styles is not nearly as pronounced as the Russian, and even the existing functional stylistic differences are gradually levelling out or are being actively levelled out (see e.g. Rontu 1977; Tyynilä 1984). Perhaps this is why Finnish researchers seldom even use the term *functional style*, using the term *style* instead. However, they mean practically the same thing: style is nowadays largely understood as a reflection of extralinguistic factors (see e.g. Hakulinen & Ojanen 1976: 147; Koivusalo 1981: 29). Also the term of *text sort* may be used as a near synonym (see e.g. Hakulinen & Karlsson & Vilkuna 1980: 100–101; Saukkonen 1981: 95), as well as the term *primary class* (pääluokka), used in connection with the Oulu corpus (journals, newspapers, belles-lettres, technical non-fiction (tietokirjallisuus), radio, standard spoken language; see Saukkonen 1982).

Finnish journalistic language represents “*normal prose*” (see Pulkkinen 1977, 7–9) or “*neutral factual prose*” (see Hakulinen & Karlsson & Vilkuna 1980, 101). The factual style fills up “newspapers, non-fiction, minutes, commercial correspondence, and, for the most part, public speeches, lectures, sermons and even belles-lettres” (Rintala 1979, 190; transl. I V-L).

In other words, it is part of the so-called *standard language* (yleiskieli; Koivusalo 1981, 31), i.e. the form of language which is understood by all Finns and which most of them can use (Ikola 1985, 4). Moreover, according to various quantitative analyses of Finnish text sorts, journalistic language seems to represent a kind of average language. This picture emerges from various quantitative analyses, which show that journalistic language is closest to the mean scores of different text sorts, for example in relation to word frequencies (Saukkonen 1977: 19), the frequencies of certain grammatical cases (Virkkunen 1977: 57), and sentence length (Niemikorpi 1974: 34).

The adherence of Finnish journalistic texts to standard language makes the task of a translation critic easier: it enlarges the sphere of writings about Finnish which can be used as the basis for criticism and suggestions for improvement. It is possible to draw upon writings about standard Finnish in general, not only those writings which are specially concerned with journalistic language.
6.3 The textual functions of Finnish journalistic texts

For the sake of contrasting with Russian journalistic style, it is necessary, however, to emphasize certain features of Finnish standard language which are especially characteristic and important for journalistic texts. All these features are connected with the nature of the “functional hierarchy” characteristic of Finnish journalistic texts. According to Vehmas (1970: 10), their basic function is informative, “the spreading of informational material about society”. A very minor position is usually held by “the creation of common aims and values” and “the forming of social reality”. In other words, the persuasive function, not to speak about the emotive function, usually has a very minor position. (Vehmas 1970, 10; transl. I V-L.)

6.4 Characteristics connected with readability

In view of the informative basic function, it is natural that a good readability level is the most important characteristic of Finnish journalistic language. Finnish factual prose in general “has always to be unambiguous and preferably formulated in such a way that a reader with normal understanding comprehends it on the first reading” (Pulkkinen 1977: 9–10; transl. I V-L.)

The importance of a good readability level particularly for journalistic language has been emphasized by many scholars: journalistic language needs to be clear (Liuhala & Maunula & Kosola 1983: 54), comprehensible Wiio 1969 and 1975: 85; Miettinen & Kalliomäki & Suominen 1978: 127–128), and fast to read (Miettinen & Kalliomäki & Suominen 1978: 128).

The readability of Finnish texts seems to be to a great extent dependent on the so-called word factors and sentence structure factors (Wiio 1969, 90; for more details see 10.4 below). One of the word factors is familiarity of vocabulary. Therefore, journalists have been advised to use familiar words and to explain the unfamiliar ones (Okkonen 1974: 167). As for the sentence structure factors, Finnish journalistic language is characterized by short clauses, short sentences, and also a relatively high percentage of verbs and nouns, in contrast with a modest number of adjectives (Okkonen 1974: 240).

In fact, journalistic language has long been imitating the simple sentence structure of the spoken language (Koivusalo & Huovinen-Nyberg 1981: 15), i.e. avoiding long, heavy
constructions containing many modifiers, contracted sentences, verbal nouns etc. In general, there has been a tendency to keep written Finnish reasonably close to spoken language (see Itkonen 1979: 148; Rintala 1985: 5), though this tendency has not been as strong in Finland as in the USA (cf. e.g. Flesch 1948).

Most other requirements for Finnish factual prose, including journalistic language, are connected with readability. One such requirement is evidently conciseness, in the sense of avoiding unnecessary words (e.g. many adjectives). “Where one word is enough two words are too many” (Pulkkinen 1977: 18–19; transl. I V-L). “Concise style protects the reader from being hoodwinked. Verbosity not only makes the reader tired, it also obscures the subject matter.” (Rainio 1981: 91; transl. I V-L.)

Another feature connected with readability is the striving after concreteness characteristic of journalistic style. Unnecessary abstractness, e.g. the anaemic nominal style, makes the text long and complicated, abstruse and difficult to understand (Pulkkinen 1977: 32).

6.5 Characteristics connected with neutrality

The prominence of the informative function as contrasted to the insignificance of the persuasive and emotive functions also explains why Finnish journalistic texts, and in fact all Finnish factual prose, is characterized by neutrality, adherence to facts, unaffectedness. As Rintala puts it, “people of our time appreciate matter-of-factness. We do not want to listen to exalted words even in festive oration ---. When writing for the readers of to-day, it is good to remember the old principle ‘When it is raining outside, it is good style to say that it is raining outside’.” (Rintala 1979: 205–206; transl. I V-L.)

The neutrality of Finnish journalistic language is well attested in the article by Kaufman and Broms (1988) comparing American, Finnish and Soviet newspaper articles dealing with the Chernobyl accident. Unsensational reporting is the norm in all the Finnish articles (taken from Helsingin Sanomat). On the other hand, “both American and Soviet Chernobyl news coverage moves from the informational to the ideological level almost immediately and fairly explicitly” (Kaufman & Broms 1988: 44–45). According to the observations of Tiittula and Lenk, also German newspapers contain considerably more value-charged utterances than Finnish papers (Tiittula 1988: 4).
However, neutrality does not characterize all journalistic language to the same extent. An exception to the overall neutrality is provided by such newspapers and magazines whose main purpose is to promote a particular ideology, religious view, and the like. But even in these the proportion of agitation is considerably smaller than it used to be a couple of decades ago (Kylävaara 1981: 54).

The emotivity level also varies according to the subject matter of the article. Art criticism and sports reports have traditionally been among the most emotive. However, there is a tendency to neutralization even there. As observed by Rintala (1988), art critics nowadays are not as keen on exclamations or value adjectives as they used to be before the Second World War. Articles dealing with the economy are among the most neutral ones (Kylävaara 1981: 54).

Another characteristic of Finnish journalistic language, closely connected with neutrality, is **freshness**. This means that journalists avoid using standard, stereotyped means of expression – or that they are at least advised to do so by specialists on the Finnish language.

Among the devices which are/should be avoided are e.g. clichés. “Clichés' empty bombast makes factual texts dim. There is a discrepancy between the weight of the expression and the weight of content: the expression is high-sounding, but its content is light. A phrase has often a strong emotive charge, but so vague a meaning that it is impossible to analyze. And upon closer investigation it is discovered to be empty. This is why well-written factual prose is totally void of phrases.” (Rainio 1981: 30–31; transl. I V-L.)

Figurative language is also used sparingly both in journalistic language (except e.g. art criticism) and in factual prose in general: figures of speech, especially if they are stale, may sound artificial or even comical (Nyberg 1979, 179).

Moreover, the avoidance of so-called fashionable words has been recommended by numerous specialists (see Pulkkinen 1977, 42–49; Ikola 1979, 110–114; Koivusalo & Huovinen-Nyberg 1981, 75–89; Rainio 1981: 33).

### 6.6 The relationship of ideal and practice

What has been said above about Finnish journalistic language has partly been concerned with the **ideal** of journalistic language, not always the actual language itself. Journalistic texts naturally have faults and weaknesses – or else there would have been no need for linguists to give advice...
to reporters. According to Okkonen (1974: 261), newspaper language is not always as exact and compact as it could be, it may get into a rut or be hyperbolic. On the whole, it seems, however, that Kylävaara is right when maintaining that “stylistically handicapped reporters are relatively rare” (Kylävaara 1981: 56; transl. I V-L). Consequently, there is probably not much difference between the basic level and the ideal level requirements for journalistic translations.
7 JOURNALISTIC RUSSIAN

The source texts in my material belong to the Russian journalistic style, which, along with scientific style, official style and the style of belles-lettres, forms one of the main functional styles of written Russian (see Rozental’ 1974: 25). Actually there is no term in Russian meaning exactly 'journalistic style'. Instead there is “publicistic style” (публицистический стиль), which comprises not only the language of the press, but also e.g. political booklets written for the general public, and even political speeches (cf. the Finnish “style of the press and politics” in chapter 7). Because the language of the press, however, forms the nucleus of the “publicistic” style, the term journalistic will be used here.

7.1 Textual functions

Russian journalistic texts have various intertwined textual functions, the informative and directive-persuasive being the principal ones. The most important function is the latter, i.e. “to educate and to agitate” (Merrill and Fisher 1980: 175), to persuade the reader of the rightness of the aims given and to influence him (Rozental’ 1981: 16). In more specific terms, the persuasive function of those Russian texts which form part of my material could be interpreted as being to strengthen the readers' confidence and pride in the socialist economic system, to persuade them to stand by it and do their best to promote it.

In view of the persuasive main function of Soviet journalistic texts, it is not surprising that “a journalist (‘publicist’) --- engages in plain and open agitation and propaganda” (Solganik 1982: 44; transl. I V-L) and that the word propaganda is taken to have a positive meaning. This attitude, alien to people living in the West and used to the idea that the flow of information is not governmentally controlled, is based on the totalitarian nature of Soviet society. Even the press is part of the governmental machine, i.e. it expresses the views of the government or, in recent years, views at least accepted by the government. Governmental power, in turn, is monopolized by members of the Communist party, i.e. the only party in the country.

The informative function is subordinate to the directive-persuasive one. Providing information about concrete facts and events, Russian journalistic texts simultaneously “give
them a certain ideological and political interpretation, in order to make them influence the reader, his picture of the world and his feelings, as much as possible” (Bel'čikov 1977: 237; transl. I V-L). In Russian journalistic texts, the directive and the informative functions constitute an inseparable whole (Kostomarov 1971: 43; Kožin & al. 1982: 110).

In addition, Russian journalistic language could be seen as having an emotive function. This is because it follows the principle that in preparing public opinion “dispassionate manner of presentation is insufficient. What is needed is emotional, expressive language. The reader, besides getting information, has to feel, as well”. (Doneckih & Kara 1974: 34; transl. I V-L.)

However, in Russian journalistic texts, the emotive function is different from Bühler's “Ausdruckfunktion” (see section 2.4.4): it is a calculated influencing of the addressee's feelings rather than an expression of the author's feelings. Soviet scholars usually refer to such a combination of emotive and directive functions by the adjective expressive (e.g. Kostomarov 1971: 90; Ljapidevskaja 1979: 133–139; Akimova 1981: 110–111; Solganik 1982: 44).

Consequently, it is possible to regard the emotive-expressive function not as an independent function at all, but as subordinated to the directive-persuasive function. This could also be expressed differently by saying that the directive-persuasive main function of Russian journalistic texts is partly performed using emotive means of expression.

7.2 The complex nature of Russian journalistic style

The diversity of textual functions is reflected in the linguistic devices used. The Russian journalistic style consists of heterogeneous linguistic material. It has been regarded as a kind of melting pot for features and elements, especially lexical ones, adopted from all the other functional styles: the scientific style (see Vasil'eva 1982: 10), the style of belles-lettres (Rogova 1975: 4), the official style (Vasil'eva 1982: 14) and the spoken style (Rogova 1975: 5; Švec 1979: 64). It is therefore natural that the journalistic style is not uniform, and that it can be divided into substyles. E.g. Doneckih & Kara (1974: 31) distinguish between social and fictional journalistic style, and Vasil'eva (1982) proposes a division into 11 substyles ranging from official informational journalistic style to causerie style.

The substyles may be very different from each other: e.g. the official informational substyle is close to the official style, and the expressive substyle and the styles of reports and
causeries close to the spoken style. The subject of the following overview is a kind of average journalistic style.

7.3 Russian journalistic style as a reflection of textual functions

Different textual functions give rise to characteristics which often seem to contradict each other. The informative function implies logic and consistency. It is natural, then, that journalistic style is characterized by “economy of means of expression and conciseness of the manner of representation accompanied by high density of information” (Rozental’ 1974: 41–42; transl. I V-L). According to Rozental’ (ibidem), the journalistic style also chooses its means of expression on the basis of their comprehensibility.

The emotive-persuasive function, for its part, entails features not necessarily economical and laconic. The Russian journalistic style favours “emotional-expressive vocabulary” and “stylistic syntax” (Rozental’ 1974: 41–42), so that the texts usually are emotional and often saturated with pathos. In short, one of the main characteristics of Russian journalistic texts is expressiveness.

But Russian journalistic texts are also standardized. From the Soviet point of view, the combination of these two, seemingly incompatible, features is natural, in fact vital: it helps to carry the reader away, to give him information and, in so doing, also to influence him (see Kostomarov 1971: 92). In other words, standardization contributes to performing the persuasive function.

The combination of expressiveness and standardization has been regarded as the most important characteristic of Russian journalistic language (see Kostomarov 1971: 57; Kožin 1982: 109).

7.4 Expressiveness

As shown by the following quotation, expressiveness is regarded as an outright necessity for the Russian journalistic style: “Socialist and communist building work is full of enthusiasm in creating a wonderful new society, and the ideals of communism inspire millions of people to join their forces in building a wonderful future. Only labour can turn ideals into reality, and such
labour, such matters and people must, of course, be talked about in a very special way; this talk must have a special resonance.” (Vasil'eva 1982: 15; transl. I V-L.)

At least the following manifestations of expressiveness in journalistic texts have been mentioned: metaphors and similes (Solganik 1982: 44), the parcellation of subordinate clauses (i.e. their separation from the main clause using a colon; Rogova 1975: 8), segmentation (i.e. the separation of some part of a sentence from the rest of the sentence, in writing usually shown with a dash; Rogova 1975: 39), inversion and exclamatory sentences (Rozental’ 1981: 24–26), question-answer constructions and rhetorical questions (Švec 1979: 38; Ljapidevskaja 1979: 133–139), elliptical constructions (Rogova 1975: 53), addresses to readers exhorting them to exert themselves to fulfill the tasks of the five-year plan (Švec 1979: 40), nominal sentences (Rozental’ 1981: 24–26), i.e. sentences consisting of a subject (subjects), a zero-copula and a predicative (predicatives), repetitions (Rogova 1975: 53; Švec 1979: 42–43), and parallelism in the construction of different parts of clauses and sentences or in the construction of sentences (Švec 1979: 42).

7.5 Standardized devices

The linguistic devices used in Russian journalistic texts to achieve expressiveness are to a high degree stereotyped. This explains the at first sight surprising connection between expressiveness and standardization.

One example of stereotyped devices is social and political terminology. It has, “thanks to the moral and political uniformity of Soviet society”, developed a uniform system of value charges so that the connotations of the term “reflect the people's unanimous attitude to the concept, rule or their specific manifestations expressed by the term”. (Vasil'eva 1982: 14; transl. I V-L.) Such words, which have been called ideological terms (Krjučkova 1982: 31), are frequent in Russian journalistic texts.

In the Soviet Union standardization of language is usually regarded as a positive phenomenon. According to Vasil'eva (1982: 14–15), uniformity of emotive and value charges lessens the need for qualifiers and thus makes the stylistic devices more uniform. This in turn, according to her, makes the stylistic devices grow in “pragmatic value” and “communicative adequacy in society”.

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The same tendency to uniformity also influences collocation: there are more and more established collocations, standardized expressions, phrases, clichés. Especially common are established adjective attributes (неуклонный рост, активная поддержка, динамичное развитие etc.).

Usually clichés are taken to be “a most vital part” of certain Russian styles (Pospelova 1979: 140), because they “correspond to the psychological stereotypes which in the human consciousness reflect recurrent phenomena, and because they are automatized and easy to repeat, and thus facilitate communication” (Rozental’ 1968: 78; transl. I V-L; see also Kožin & al. 1982: 110). Some scholars (e.g. Kožin & al. 1982: 114–115), it is true, may write about clichés in a negative tone defining the concept as a worn expresseme which has lost its freshness and its semantic precision. But the concept of cliché comprises only a minor part of standardized expressions. The greater part, on the other hand, are referred to by the name of standard and considered to be semantically exact, economical and facilitating communication: люди доброжелательности, мир, неуклонный рост, всемирная поддержка, широкий размах). (See e.g. Kožin & al. 1982: 114–115).

According to the Soviet point of view, standardization of language is a “natural, objective and progressive process” (Solganik 1982: 45). Recorded protests against this view have been rare, one of them being Skvorcov's assertion that standardized language (containing clichés, long chains of nouns, and plenty of verbal nouns) is cold and dry, and shows the journalists's indifference towards the reader. This is, according to Skvorcov, very close to emptiness of content. Such language cannot be defended on the basis of comprehensibility, because it makes no impression on the readers. Therefore it is ineffective. (Skvorcov 1982, 58–61.)

Skvorcov mentions that, according to a statute given in 1979 by the Central Committee of the Soviet communist party, journalistic language must rid itself of “dryness, abundance of clichés, and linguistic formalism” (Skvorcov 1982: 61; transl. I V-L). However, these few signs of discord with the established usage seem to have had little or no influence on actual journalistic language, at least prior to the Gorbachev regime. It is natural to assume that the political changes of the last few years have had some influence on Russian journalistic language. Information about such changes is, however, not available. Moreover, the analysis of American, Finnish and Soviet newspaper articles dealing with the Chernobyl event by Kaufman and Broms (1988) shows that in 1986, at least, the propagandistic, expressive and “liturgic” essence of
Soviet journalistic style was unaffected by changes in political atmosphere.

7.6 Russian journalistic style compared with Finnish journalistic style

In spite of obvious differences, there are also some common ideals in Finnish and Russian journalistic texts. One of them is the ideal of conciseness or, as expressed by Rozental’ (see above), “economy of means of expression and conciseness of the manner of presentation accompanied by high density of information”. But the idea of useful conciseness is different in the Soviet Union and in Finland. In Finland, when speaking about the need of conciseness in factual prose, the aim is mostly to avoid unnecessary words (cf. “where one word is enough, two words are too many”; Pulkkinen 1977: 18–19). In the Soviet Union, the idea of concise style has more to do with syntax. According to Sergeeva (1979: 186–187), one of the special features of Russian journalistic language is syntactic compression by means of substituting a short representative symbol for a detailed expression, a word for a phrase, and phrase for a clause. Among the various syntactic means of compression used in journalistic texts, the most important is apparently the use of nominal constructions based on verbal nouns (see Sergeeva 1979: 187). Closely connected with this feature is the abundance of nominal phrases in Russian journalistic texts. According to Mel'nik (1969: 86), there are 4.8 times as many nominal phrases in newspaper texts than in texts representing belles-lettres. He points out that chains of nominals are perhaps one of the most important features of Russian journalistic style. Moreover, he regards them as “compact and expressive” and as “to a great extent corresponding to the complicated tasks and aims of newspaper language” (see Mel'nik 1969: 89; transl. I V-L).

Another common ideal for Finnish and Russian journalistic texts is comprehensibility (see above). According to Solganik, writing about newspaper style, newspaper articles are meant for “all, all, all” and must therefore be written in language which is simple, but able to express the most complicated matters lucidly and accurately. Reporters are therefore advised to cut out words which could be difficult for readers, i.e. special terms, dialect words, poetic words, idiosyncratic neologisms, unnecessary loan words, etc. (See Solganik 1982: 43, and also Kostomarov 1960: 56). In other words, attention is again focussed exclusively on words, syntactic conciseness, e.g. nominal style, which in Finland is experienced as causing difficulties in understanding, is regarded as a normal and positive feature of Russian journalistic style.
In other words, on closer investigation even the seeming similarities of Russian and Finnish journalistic texts turn into differences. Indeed, the expressive and standardized journalistic language used in the Soviet press is very different from the matter-of-fact Finnish journalistic style aiming at freshness.

In section 5 the working hypothesis was expressed that Finnish translations of Russian journalistic texts ought to conform to the corresponding TL functional style (and/or to recommendable norms). However, because of the differences between the textual functions of Russian and Finnish journalistic texts and the different tendencies in their linguistic formulation, one may ask whether it is reasonable to postulate functional-stylistic conformity. This problem will be discussed below (from 8.3.4 onwards).
8 TEXTUAL IMPRESSIONS

8.1 The researcher's general impression

According to my intuitive impression, the PTrs do not seem to be normal Finnish journalistic language (cf. authentic Finnish passage in example 2 FT). In spite of the fact that they were made from a foreign language into the translators' mother tongue and consequently contain few overt errors, they make a strange, unnatural impression on the reader, they are difficult to comprehend, and unpleasant to read:


Compare with an authentic Finnish passage:

(2 FT) Suomi ja Neuvostoliitto vaihtavat ensi vuonna tavaroita ja palveluksia arvoltaan suunnilleen saman verran kuin tänä vuonna: vaihto nousee noin viiteen miljardiin ruplaan eli nykyhinnoin 37,5 miljardiin markkaan. Hintojen kehityksestä riippuu, miten käy vaihdon reaalarvon. Säin pieneltä alennemista tuokin voidaan välttyä.

Tieto ei ensikukulemaltakaan olla mieluinen, jotka ovat tottuneet maittemme välisen kauppavaihdon jatkuvaan kasvuun ja toivovat sitä myös tulevina vuosina.

Silti suomalaisilla on syytä olla tulokseen tyytyväisiä. Tavaravaihtomme on
edelleen tasoltaan korkealla ja ylittää selvästi runkosopimuksen tavoitteet.

Neuvostoliiton osuus Suomen koko kauppavaihdosta on nyt 25,6 prosenttia oltuaan esimerkiksi kymmenen vuotta sitten kaksitoista prosenttia.


Incidentally, the Russian STs (see example 1 ST) seem to be normal Russian journalistic language. This impression of mine was shared by the six Soviet informants asked (6 Soviet lecturers of Russian working temporarily in Finland):

(1 ST) В 70-х годах была создана база для прочного экономического сотрудничества между СССР и странами Запада. Накопленный положительный опыт свидетельствует, что различия в общественном строе не препятствуют обмену достижениями человеческой деятельности в самых различных ее сферах. Помимо выгод международного разделения труда, деловое сотрудничество Советского Союза с западными странами создаёт атмосферу доверия, укрепляет миролюбивые отношения. Такое сотрудничество с рядом западноевропейских стран перешло на крупномасштабную и долгосрочную основу. Соглашения, заключённые СССР с этими государствами, определили на длительную перспективу большие возможности для взаимовыгодных связей в области торговли, промышленности, науки и техники.

Стабильно и гармонично развиваются наши экономические отношения с Финляндией, которые представляют собой образец успешного использования механизма разделения труда между странами с различными общественными системами. Советско-финский товарооборот достиг в прошлом году 5 миллиардов рублей. Между СССР и Финляндией подписана программа торгово-экономического и научно-технического сотрудничества, наметившая конкретные сферы взаимных интересов. Добрососедские отношения, конструктивная и реалистическая позиция финского правительства, атмосфера взаимного доверия – всё это способствует развитию деловых контактов, открывает широкие перспективы.

Большой вклад в выявление новых возможностей сотрудничества вносит постоянная межправительственная советско-финляндская комиссия по экономическому сотрудничеству, которая по общей оценке сторон, стала организующим и координирующим центром всего комплекса многообразных и взаимовыгодных советско-финляндских связей.

Thus, the Russian STs seem likely to reach their public even though there might be reason for
improving them (see Skvorcov's comments in chapter 8 below). Consequently, it seems that the effect made by the PTrs on their readers is not equivalent to the effect of the STs on their readers, i.e. the PTrs do not follow the principle of “dynamic equivalence”. However, as the focus of this study is on adequacy, not on equivalence, exploring the reactions of ST readers or the quality of the STs is beside the point. Thus, no experiments were performed on the readers of the STs; all experiments were designed to measure the reactions of the readers of the translations.

The hypothesis informing all the experiments was that the impression of unnaturalness, unpleasantness and reading difficulties experienced by me when reading the PTrs is shared by other readers living in Finland and having Finnish as their native language. In order to verify this hypothesis, four experiments were performed. Two of them will be reported in this chapter and the other two in 9.5.2, and 10.3.1.

8.2 Shared impressions. Experiment 1: Identification of translations and authentic Finnish texts

8.2.1 The organization of the experiment

An identification experiment was earlier made by Weizman and Blum-Kulka (1987), who explored factors motivating the identification of Hebrew journalistic texts as either original or translated. The experiment was performed on three Hebrew translations and four original Hebrew quotations with 42 subjects, who were asked to try to distinguish between translated and original texts. The percentages of correct identification of translations was 73.5 %. The researchers came to the conclusion that the identification of texts as translated is most often based on “pragmatic shifts”, i.e. “shifts from one set of pragmatic rules to another” (Weizman & Blum-Kulka 1987: 61). By “pragmatic” they mean not only extratextual factors, but also textual conventions: “the utterance is irrelevant” or “the reporter has been too verbose” (see Weizman & Blum-Kulka 1987: 67).

A very similar experiment was made by the present author on Finnish translations of Russian journalistic texts: subjects were asked to try to distinguish between translated and authentic text passages and then to comment on the reasons for their choices.
There were 10 passages altogether (average length 60 words). The subjects were Finnish high-school students in their 10th school year, aged approximately 17. They worked in two groups, consisting of 19 and 21 people. The time allotted for reading, identifying, and commenting was 15 minutes.

Both groups were given a set of 5 passages: 2 extracts of the PTrs, 2 extracts of the FTs, and 1 ATr extract. ATrs were included in the experiment because I hoped that if they turned out to be less identifiable than the PTrs, they could be proven reliable guidelines for improving the translations.

The subjects were instructed not to base their decisions on what country the text was about, because “a Finn may write about the Soviet Union, and a Soviet citizen about Finland”. In order not to influence the comments, no “ready-made” alternatives were provided. All passages were chosen so that they did not contain clear pragmatic signs of the writer's origin, e.g. expressions like our country, etc.

8.2.2 The identification rates

Table 1 shows the rates of correct identifications classified according to text types.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text type</th>
<th>Correct indentifications</th>
<th>Correct identifications (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PTr</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>76 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FT</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>75 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ATr</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>38 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>136</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The rate of correct identifications of PTrs as translations is quite high. Moreover, the data is consistent: table 2 shows that there is not much variation in PTr and FT identification rates. Both text types range from 13 to 17 correct identifications.
Table 2: Identification of translated and authentic texts in different subject groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text number</th>
<th>Type of text</th>
<th>Correct identification</th>
<th>Wrong identification</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Group 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>PTr</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>FT</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>PTr</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>FT</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>ATr</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>PTr</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>FT</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>PTr</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>ATr</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>FT</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Between the two ATrs there is a difference: text 5 has been mostly considered authentic, whereas there is a division of opinion as to the origin of text 9. However, even this text was experienced as considerably more authentic-like than the PTrs.

8.2.3 An overview of the subjects’ comments

The amount of comments on the reasons for the identification choices was satisfactory. Though there were papers with few or no comments, there were also papers with more than one comment on each text. An overview of the characteristics mentioned by the subjects is presented in table 3:
Table 3. Reasons for identifying the texts as translations or authentic texts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>PTrs correct identification</th>
<th>PTrs wrong identification</th>
<th>FTs correct identification</th>
<th>FTs wrong identification</th>
<th>ATrs correct identification</th>
<th>ATrs wrong identification</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>GENERAL IMPRESSION</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clumsy</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fluent</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difficult to understand</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Easy to understand</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Complicated</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>COHERENCE</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incoherent</td>
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<tr>
<td>Systematical</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>SENTENCES</strong></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Short</td>
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<tr>
<td>Complicated</td>
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<tr>
<td>Odd word order</td>
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<tr>
<td>Natural word order</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>EXPRESSIONS</strong></td>
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<td>Odd</td>
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<tr>
<td>Natural</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>WORDS</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Odd</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ordinary</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Of foreign origin</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Native</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unnecessary words</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No unnecessary words</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>EXTRATEXTUAL FACTORS</strong></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OTHER REASONS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

65
It turned out that the most important basis for identification was the general impression made by the textual whole: this was referred to in more than half of the comments (131 comments out of the total of 253). The texts were described mainly in terms of two oppositions: fluency/clumsiness and ease/difficulty of comprehension. Both of these oppositions were commented upon 62 times. In addition, there were a few comments on textual complexity without explicit mention of reading difficulties. The rest of the comments were endeavours to find more specific grounds for identification.

8.2.4 General impression

8.2.4.1 Ease/difficulty of comprehension

The opposition of ease and difficulty of comprehension makes the distinction between translated and authentic texts very clear. Though there were also opposite opinions (see figure 1), the PTs were mostly characterized as **hazy, obscure, muddled, or difficult to read/understand**. There were also mentions of **longer reading time**. Examples of comments are presented below:

- “The message of the text remained hazy.” - “The text sounds quite complicated. An authentic Finnish text would probably be more fluent and easier to understand.”
- “Somehow strained. Difficult to comprehend, because not fluent.” - “If this is a translation, it has been done most obscurely.” - “Muddled.” - “It's all Greek to me.”
- “The text is difficult to read. One must pause again and again.” - “In many places one is forced to stop for a while to consider what the text is saying, e.g. *kulttuurisen elintason huomattavan nousun turvaamisen*” (‘the ensuring of a substantial rise in the cultural standard of living’).

The FTs, on the other hand, were nearly unanimously presented as being **lucid** and **easy to read**:

- “Lucid and easy to read.” - “Easy to read and to understand. Reads rapidly and sounds natural.” - “A typically lucid Finnish text.” - “The text feels familiar. Reading runs easily, without getting stuck.” - “Sensible sentences, the main content of which is clear on the first reading.”
In figure 1, the mentions of reading difficulties are presented together with the mentions of reading ease. Each x signifies one mention.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure 1. Mentions of ease or difficulty of comprehension</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The PTrs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mentions of ease</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x x x x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x x x</td>
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<tr>
<td>x x x</td>
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<td>x x x</td>
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<tr>
<td>x x x x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x x x x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mentions of difficulty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x x x x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x x x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x x x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x x x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x x x x</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Reading ease and difficulty were directly connected with the identification of the texts as translated or authentic. It seemed self-evident for the subjects that if a text was difficult to understand it was a translation. Only one subject connected difficulties in understanding with authentic Finnish texts.

8.2.4.2 Fluency

The opposition of fluency and clumsiness served as the secondbest basis for identification. The PTrs were often characterized as clumsy (not fluent, bumpy, not natural, strained). The most outstanding feature of the FTs, on the other hand, was fluency (smoothness, naturalness, familiarity of style). However, some subjects held opposite views. The data are presented in
There was absolute unanimity about the significance of fluency or clumsiness for identification. If a text was described as fluent, it was always regarded as authentic. If it was considered clumsy, it was without exception identified as a translation.

8.2.5 More specific grounds for identification

**Lexical** features served as an important basis for identification. The authenticity of FTs was sometimes decided upon on the basis of idiomatic expressions, like *oma lehmä ojassa* 'he has his own cow in the ditch', i.e. 'he has an axe to grind'. The PTrs, on the other hand, had "un-Finnish" expressions, the most conspicuous of them being *kansantalouden kasvot* 'the face of the national economy'. Some typically “socialist” expressions were also commented upon:
Odd words in the PTrs (without specifying which words) were commented upon e.g. as follows:

- “Contains strange words.” - “Such words which would probably not be there, if the text had been originally written in Finnish.” - “Something about the words makes one think of a translation.” - “Some words are not Finnish.”

Some subjects seemed to assume that words of foreign origin are a sign of a translated text. Five subjects mentioned them as an argument for regarding a text as a translation, and five subjects mentioned their absence as a proof of authenticity. Most foreign words in the PTrs would, however, seem to be familiar to highschool students (sosialistinen 'socialistic', kulttuurinen 'cultural', dynaamisesti 'dynamically', aktivinen 'active', rationaalinen 'rational'). Perhaps the reason why they were experienced as being a sign of translation is that they are used ritually rather than informatively: expressions like dynaamisesti kehittyvä 'developing dynamically' or edesauttaa aktiivisesti 'to foster actively' can without much semantic loss drop the adverbials. Therefore it seems that the use of words of the type described above and the mentions of the presence or absence of unnecessary words (again unspecified) were connected.

The use of “unnecessary words” is in fact not a word-level phenomenon, but rather a matter of textual conventions. Russian journalistic texts favour semantically empty or weak words, whereas Finnish journalistic texts avoid them.

Another feature clearly connected with textual conventions is sentence length. There are quite a few mentions of long sentences in the PTrs. In Finnish, as in English, high average sentence length has been shown to be one of the symptoms of a low readability level (see Wiio 1969, 90–91).

Among the most interesting comments are those connected with extratextual factors, i.e. with the world around us. Sometimes it was the atmosphere of expert knowledge which served as the basis for identification:

- “The text sounds very expert, and therefore it can be assumed that it comes from inside the Soviet Union.” - “A foreigner would not necessarily know the things above. Therefore the writer must be a Finn.”
A couple of times identification was based on the author's view of the world (sometimes misinterpreted). The FTs were mentioned as making a “capitalistic impression” and as being “realistic”. On the other hand, the praise given to the socialist system in the PTrs, was experienced as alien:

- “Praising COMECON. Finland has no motive to praise it.” - “Glorifying”. - “The text stresses the importance of the Soviet Union.” - “It makes one think of a report on the activities of a company, where the management is praising everything.” - “A socialist impression.”

8.2.6 Discussion

The results of the experiment show that the published translations mostly are identifiable as translations. As for the reasons for identification, it is most interesting that the comments of the subjects centered around the two features mentioned by Latyšev in connection with violations of usus (see above): comprehensibility and fluency. The PTrs were experienced as difficult to understand and relatively clumsy.

Besides comments on general impression there were also references to more specific linguistic, textual and extratextual reasons for identification. Some of these reasons – at least odd word order and probably many of the odd words and expressions – seem to be connected with linguistic norms. Most of the reasons, however, have to do with textual conventions: sentence length, the use of native words/words of foreign origin, the use of unnecessary words. In addition, there are also reasons connected with factors outside the text, especially with views of the world. Consequently, the assertion of Weizman and Blum-Kulka (see above) about the importance of “pragmatic shifts” receives support from the data.

Most of the features serving as a basis for identification, whether connected with linguistic factors or textual conventions, can be regarded as errors, i.e. as belonging to the two error types mentioned in connection with “quasi-correctness”.

It can be argued that it is not necessarily a bad sign if a translation gives readers clues as to its origin. Especially when reading political texts, such clues can in fact be quite useful: the reader knows what can be expected from the text and reacts accordingly. And indeed, e.g. socialist economic terminology (i.e. culture-bound vocabulary) may in this respect be regarded
as a positive phenomenon. But not all kinds of clues are useful. It seems to me that violations of linguistic norms or textual conventions, in causing clumsiness and reading difficulties, only adversely affect translations.

8.3 Shared emotive impressions of the textual whole. Experiment 2: the “emotive differential”

8.3.1 The hypothesis

Experiment 2 concentrated on the emotive aspects of impressions. It was hypothesized that the PTrs make an unfavourable impression on Finnish readers as compared with the more favourable impressions made by authentic Finnish texts.

8.3.2 The organization of the experiment

The material for experiment 2 (see appendix 2) consists of 3 PTr passages (A, B and C) dealing with economic growth and welfare in the Soviet Union and 2 FT passages (1 and 2) dealing with Finnish-Soviet trade. The PTr passages, being ideological in character, are amongst those passages in the material which have a strong emotive charge.

There were two groups of subjects, consisting of two high-school classes with 28 and 36 students respectively. The difference in group sizes was unintentional: not all students were present in class 1. The students were in their tenth year of school, and their age was approximately 16–17. Experiment 2 was performed in close connection with experiment 3, which will be described in 9.5.2. Together the experiments took 15 minutes.

Group 1 were given texts A, B and 1 (1 + 2 and 3 sentences); group 2 were given texts C and 2 (3 and 5 sentences).

The subjects were asked to describe the general impression made by the texts by rating each text on a seven-point scale with respect to the following oppositions:

- uninteresting - - - - - - - interesting
- pleasant - - - - - - - unpleasant
- confidence-inspiring - - - - - apt to arouse suspicion
- pompous - - - - - - - matter-of-fact
The subjects had to locate a cross closer to that end of the scale which better characterized the
text. In order to make the subjects consider the oppositions independently from other
oppositions, some of the negative characteristics were located on the left and others on the right.

The first three oppositions concentrate on the emotive response of the subjects. The last
opposition is less response-oriented and more concerned with the nature of the passages.

The method, which could be called the “emotive differential”, is a modification of
Osgood's semantic differential, used in studying connotations of words (see 9.5.1).

8.3.3 The results

In the analysis of the results, each negative end of the bipolar scale was given the value 7, and
each positive end the value 1 (and other positions the values from 6 to 2). In order to get an
index characterizing the subjects' impressions in connection with each opposition, the values
were added up, and the sum was divided by the number of subjects. If the resulting mean value
was more than 4 (the neutral position in relation to both ends of the scale), the impressions were
predominantly negative; mean values below 4 indicate a positive impression. The results of
experiment 1 are presented in table 4.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Opposition</th>
<th>Text</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Uninteresting (interesting)</td>
<td></td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unpleasant (pleasant)</td>
<td></td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apt to arouse suspicion</td>
<td></td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(confidence-inspiring)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pompous (matter-of-fact)</td>
<td></td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For illustration, the values given in table 4 are located on seven-point scales in figure 3:
Table 4 and figure 3 show that the impressions made by the three translated passages are in every respect considerably closer to the negative end of the scale than those made by the authentic Finnish passages. The translated texts are felt to be highly uninteresting and quite unpleasant. Texts A and C are also considered pompous and apt to arouse suspicion. The authentic texts, on the other hand, have been rated as slightly interesting and pleasant, quite confidence-inspiring and very matter-of-fact.

Table 5 shows simple negativity indexes of the texts. They have been calculated on the basis of the first three oppositions (which concentrate on the emotive response proper) by adding up their mean values and dividing by 3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>B</td>
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<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
8.3.4 Discussion

The results support the hypothesis of the unfavourable effect of the translations on Finnish readers: the translated passages are pompous, uninteresting, unpleasant, and apt to arouse suspicion. It must be kept in mind, however, that the results are not necessarily valid to the same extent for every passage in the 20 translations: the texts are not throughout as emotive and pompous as the passages used in the experiment. Moreover, the experimental results might have been influenced by the fact that the PTr passages are not quite commensurable with the FT passages: economic growth and welfare is more ideological, and, consequently, more likely to bring about emotive elements than foreign trade.

In any case, experiment 2 supports the results of experiment 1. It shows that the PTrs differ from the closest TL functional style: some of the features of the PTrs – especially pomposity and obscurity – are in absolute contrast with Finnish journalistic language.

Moreover, the experiments confirm the fact that it is justified to require correspondence of functional styles. As the PTrs, which do not satisfy this requirement, were rated as clumsy, obscure, uninteresting, unpleasant and apt to arouse suspicion, they may well miss their audience. Therefore they can hardly succeed in properly performing either a persuasive or an informative communicative function.

As the translations contain few overt errors, it must be the covert errors which cause the negative characteristics of the PTrs. To use the term introduced by Papp (see 3.3), the translations presumably are quasi-correct.

One of the reasons for covert errors seems to be connected with the difference between the textual functions of Russian and Finnish journalistic texts. The informative main function of Finnish journalistic texts entails linguistic features different from those of persuasive-directive Russian texts. Finns are therefore used to a journalistic style different from the PTrs, which imitate the linguistic devices of the Russian Sts.

In fact, the question is of different journalistic conventions, i.e. pragmatic differences. In chapter 9, suggestions will be made as to how some of these differences could be minimized without affecting the message of the texts.

Another reason for covert errors is apparently the interference from the STs, i.e. a reason on the actual linguistic level. Interference phenomena have a twofold effect on the PTrs. Firstly,
they make them stylistically still more odd than mere following of Russian conventions could
do. Secondly, they lower the PTrs’ readability level. Various covert errors connected with
readability will be discussed in chapter 10.
9 QUASI-CORRECTNESS CONNECTED WITH EMOTIVITY AND STANDARDIZATION

9.1 The need to modify the PTrs

At the end of section 7, the question was asked whether it is reasonable to expect correspondence of functional styles, if the textual functions and linguistic features of a certain functional style are much different in the SL and TL. However, experiments 2 and 3 indicate that translations which do not conform with TL functional stylistic conventions are experienced as odd and unsuccessful. Thus, it seems advisable to try to bring the translations at least closer to Finnish journalistic texts, i.e. to modify them according to the expectations of the new addressees.

There are two clear functional-stylistic differences between the STs and Finnish journalistic texts which need to be taken into consideration in translating. One is the discrepancy in the number of emotive devices. The STs frequently use various emotive devices, whereas Finnish journalistic texts are (relatively) objective and neutral. Like the Moscow News and “the coercive-persuasive style introduced by Lenin” (see Kaufman & Broms 1988: 35), the PTrs, following the example of the STs, seem to miss their audience. This is because “in terms of style, the Sender assumes that the Receivers are still Soviets or Eastern Europeans. While the education-agitation effect on the Soviet audience may be one of increased confidence in the Sender and increased distrust of the Adversaries, it may act in reverse on a Western audience.” (Kaufman & Broms 1988: 35.)

Another functional-stylistic difference between the STs and Finnish journalistic texts is in the amount of standardization. Finnish texts aim at freshness; the STs prefer stereotyped, “liturgic” or “ritual” elements. According to Fredriksson (1969: 40), the function of ritual language is to strengthen the information, opinions and feelings of those people who are already sure about their worth; therefore such language is meant for inside usage (e.g. for party conventions or party press). But such language “is usually ill suited for converting marginal groups. Adversaries are usually amused, contemptuous or indifferent.” (Fredriksson 1969: 40; transl. I V-L.) In other words, ritual texts like the STs can perhaps have an effect on the
inhabitants of the Soviet Union (or some other socialist country), but evidently (cf. experiments 1 and 2), not on Finns, who can (depending on their political beliefs) be included either in the “marginal groups” or the “adversaries”.

Consequently, in order to make the Finnish translations of Russian journalistic texts correspond better to the expectations of Finnish readers, they need to be made more like Finnish journalistic texts, i.e. they have to be to a certain extent both neutralized (made less emotive) and freshened up. Complete accommodation is naturally not possible – and perhaps not even wise. In any case, this would be the editor's, not the translator's task (provided the translator is not seen as a rapporteur: see Mossop 1983).

The idea of modifying translations is not quite new. It has been put forward e.g. by Soviet scholars. According to Švejcer (1973: 197–199), journalistic texts written in English, e.g. sports reports, are more colloquial than their Russian counterparts. When translating from Russian into English, neutral or even colloquial style is therefore substituted for the literary style (knižnyj stil’) of Russian texts. On the other hand, when translating from English into Russian, the stylistic level is raised. According to Latyšev (1981: 22), the “normative-stylistic” level of Spanish orations is usually lowered in Russian translations in order to rid them of pomposity and excessive emotivity.

Papp, for his part, has written about freshening translations up. According to him, when translating from Russian into Hungarian, “the text has to be made more concrete, vivid, etc., to have it make an approximately similar stylistic effect on the reader as the ST”. Otherwise “the reader unwittingly gets a dry, official and overtly abstract picture of the Russian ‘style’”. (Papp 1972: 37; transl. I V-L.)

It is another matter whether the need to modify the translations implies a change in their textual functions. It is possible to reason along the lines of Reiss (1976: 24, 103), according to whom the persuasive function is often abandoned when translating “operative” (i.e. persuasive) texts, e.g. Marxist-Leninist propagandistic texts, and the translation is left with an informative (or expressive) function.

But it is also possible to maintain that the persuasive (however, not directive) main function and the informative secondary function of the translations remain, though the linguistic devices used for their realization are modified. The latter view seems to me more plausible in connection with the present material. Considering who the publishers are, it is evident that these
translations are not intended just to give information, but above all to influence readers.\textsuperscript{43} In other words, their main function, like the main function of the STs, seems persuasive. Their persuasiveness, it is true, has been reshaped by the existence of a new public. If the main function of the STs is to strengthen the Soviet readers' confidence and pride in their social and economic system (see 7.1), the function of the translations is apparently to inspire a similar confidence, respect, and admiration in the \textbf{Finnish} readers. Besides this goal there are probably other, more tangible aims: to encourage Finns to maintain their commercial relations with the Soviet Union, and perhaps even to change the social and economic system in their country.

\textbf{9.2 Emotive devices in the PTrs}

The PTrs do not, however, contain all those emotive devices which one would expect on the basis of the list of typical emotive devices in Russian journalistic style (see 7.4.). Even though these devices have structural equivalents in Finnish,\textsuperscript{44} most of them are used sparingly or not at all in the PTrs. There are practically no exclamations or addresses to the reader, and few figures of speech. The repetitions used in the PTrs do not generally have an emotive function, but a cohesive one. Word order is usually natural; odd inversions are rare. Neither do the translations contain many parcelled constructions or segmented sentences.

The reason for the non-use of many emotive devices is simple: most of them are not used in the STs. Only inverted word order (in the sense of having the verb at the very beginning of the sentence) constitutes an exception. It is occasionally used in the STs, but it is not reproduced in the PTrs. The tendency of the Finnish word order to avoid placing the verb first in an assertion (see Hakulinen & Karlsson 1979: 303–304) is evidently too strong to be outweighed by translationese.

However, four of the emotive devices mentioned in 7.4 are common in the PTrs: \textbf{listing, parallel constructions, nominal sentences, and rhetorical questions}. Rhetorical questions,

\textsuperscript{43} The publishers of the translations are the following: (1) the journal \textit{Neuvostoliitto} ('The Soviet Union') published in the USSR to be circulated abroad, no doubt with propagandistic aims; (2) the Soviet news agency \textit{"Novosti"}, more precisely its Helsinki office; (3) \textbf{The all-union organization Vneshtorgreklama}, which has the task of promoting Soviet commercial relations; (4) \textbf{The Finnish-Soviet chamber of commerce}.

\textsuperscript{44} Speaking about Finnish texts, it is customary to connect the following linguistic characteristics with emotivity: rhetorical questions and exclamatory sentences (see Louhija 1934: 19); addresses to the reader; figures of speech (similes, metaphors; see Rintala 1979: 193 and 202–203); exceptional word order (Rintala 1979: 193); listing and repetitions (Rintala 1979: 204–205).
which are occasionally used in the PTrs as cohesion devices, violate the textual conventions of Finnish journalistic language. Thus, affirmative sentences are substituted for them in the ATrs (see Vehmas-Lehto 1989a). Parallel constructions and nominal sentences will be discussed in this chapter together with two lexical emotive devices: emotive words and translation clichés. Listing has been subsumed under parallel constructions.

9.3 Parallel constructions

One of the features contributing to the heightened emotivity of the PTrs is no doubt parallelism of words and constructions, the reflection of “the liturgic language of parallelism and recurring themes” of the Soviet press (see Kaufman & Broms 1988: 32–33). Parallelism manifests itself both on the level of text structure, and on the level of clause structure: parallelism of clauses and parts of clauses is one of the typical features of Russian journalistic texts (Švec 1979: 42). The former type of parallelism will be touched upon in (10.10) in connection with cohesion devices. The latter type, the use of coordinated parts of clauses, will be discussed here.

Coordinated constructions are used in the STs and PTrs clearly with the aim of impressing the readers. The “impressiveness” of these constructions is often built on the information contained in long lists of e.g. the achievements of the Soviet economy, new tasks assigned to different parts of the economy, articles of trade, members of commercial coalitions, countries having commercial relations with the Soviet Union, etc. But the emotive element is also present in the lists. This is most evident when the list is not intended to be exhaustive, but only to give examples:

(3 ST) Теперь 300-сильные К-701 и 165-сильные Т 150К можно встретить на полях Венгрии, ГДР, Франции, Канады, США, Испании и других стран.(25:14)


The emotivity of coordinated constructions is evident also in many rhythmic two-member constructions, especially in the case of synonyms or near-synonyms: vapaaehtoisia ja pyyteettömiä toimenpiteitä (акты добровольной и бескорыстной поддержки) ‘voluntary and unselfish measures'; laaja ja monipuolinen apu (широкое и многоплановое содействие) ‘wide
and many-sided aid; *laajentaa ja vahvistaa yhteistyötä* (расширять и укреплять сотрудничество) 'to widen and strengthen collaboration', etc.

Table 6 shows the occurrence of coordinated constructions within clauses (here called "coordinations") in different text types. If the construction contains more than two coordinated parts, i.e. if it constitutes a list, every additional part has been counted as a new coordination. Coordinated predicates have been included, if they have the same subject.

| Source texts | 10.4 |
| Published translations | 10.6 |
| Alternative translations | 8.8 |
| Authentic Finnish texts | 2.5 |

The frequency of coordinations in the PTrs is more than four times as high as in the FTs. E.g. in the following passage, consisting of 6 sentences, there are 14 coordinated constructions, which have altogether 18 coordinations. Usually the coordinated parts are adjectival attributes or noun phrases:

(4 PTr) Kymmenennen viisivuotiskauden päätavoite on kiteytettävä puolueen esittämään (1) ytimekkääseen ja (2) kattavaan määritelmään: kyseinen viisivuotiskausi on (1) talouden kasvuun ja (2) kansan hyvinvoinnin lisäämiseen tähtäävä (1) laadun ja (2) suuren tehokkuuden viisivuotiskausi. Tärkeintä on nyt saada aikaan päättävänä käänne kohti maassamme luodun tuotannollis-tekennisen potentiaalin entistä tehokkaampaa hyväksikäyttöä, jotta voitaisiin lisätä (1) kansantuloa ja (2) (a) väestön sekä (b) kansantalouden tarpeiden tyydyttämiseen tarkoitetujen viimeisteltyjen tuotteiden tuotantoa.

Olemme päässeet (1) korkeisiin ja (2) jatkuvasti kasvaviin lukuihin (a) teräksen, (b) öljyn, (c) sementin, (d) lannoitteiden ym. tuotannossa. Silti meillä ei käytetä (1) raaka-aineita ja (2) materiaaleja valmistuotteiden tuotantoon varten vieläkään monissa tapauksissa riittävän tehokkaasti. Sen vuoksi laadulliset osoittimet ovat kansantalous- ja valmisteiden tuotannossa ratkaisevan merkityksellisiä, esimerkiksi (1) (a) raaka-aineiden, (b) materiaalien ja (c) polttoaineiden kulutuksen alentaminen tuoteryskikööä kohti, (2) tuotantokapasiteetin entistä parempi hyväksikäyttö, sekä (3) kaikkien (a) tuotteiden ja (b) valmistuiden käyttöominaisuuksien parantaminen.

Kehittyneen sosialistisen yhteiskunnan talouselämä, jolla on mahtava (1) tuotannollinen ja (2) tieteellis-tekennisen potentiaali, tekee mahdolliseksi käyttää yhä laajemmin hyväksi sosialistisen yhteiskunnan (1) paremmuutta ja (2) sen mahdollisuksia, mm. määräilä pääsuuntien luonnoksessa (1) sosiaalisen kehityksen ja (2) kansan elintason kohottamisen laajakantoinen ohjelma. (6:12–17)
Table 6 shows also that, as regards the frequency of coordinations, there is no significant difference between the PTrs and the STs. The coordinations contained in the PTrs can nearly always be traced back to the STs (cf. example 4 PTr and 4 ST).

But the analysis also shows that even the ATrs have many times the number of coordinations contained in the FTs. In other words, the ATrs are significantly different from authentic Finnish journalistic language. However, without cutting out information and altering the whole text strategy (and broadening the concept of translation), not much can be done about the abundance of coordinations. The translation of parallel constructions seems to corroborate the assertions that a translation, however much the equivalence of text sorts is striven for, by necessity is a compromise between semantic equivalence and the equivalence of text sorts (see Schmidt 1987: 254). A translation is the outcome of a combination of (or compromise between) two extremes: “maximal representation of a pre-existing text composed in another language” and maximal acceptability, i.e. “the appropriate position of TT within the relevant target system(s)” (Toury 1979: 227).

However, the ATrs are somewhat closer to authentic Finnish texts than the PTrs are. This
is shown by the number of coordinations per text in table 7:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source texts</th>
<th>53.6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Published translations</td>
<td>51.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alternative translations</td>
<td>40.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In other words, the ATrs really are a compromise between the STs and Finnish journalistic practice, not mere "representations of pre-existing texts composed in another language", like the PTrs. E.g. in the following ATr passage six of the ST coordinations have been eliminated. The points of difference are underlined:

(4 ATr) Kommunistinen puolue on ilmaissut kymmenennen viisivuotiskauden tavoitteet lyhyesti näin: Tämä on (1) laadun ja (2) tehokkuuden viisivuotiskausi, jolloin (1) lisätään entisestäänkin taloudellista kasvua ja (2) kohotetaan elintasoa. Maamme valtavaa tuotantokapasiteettia on nyt käytettävä aikaisempana tehokkaamin: on (1) kohotettava kansantuloa ja (2) valmistettava sellaisia tuotteita, joita (1) kuluttaa ja (2) tuotantoelämää tarvitsevat.

Me tuotamme nykyisin yhä enemmän (1) terästä, (2) raakaöljyä, (3) sementtiä, (4) lannoitteita ym. Emme kuitenkaan vielä aina käytä raaka-aineita tarpeeksi tehokkaasti. Sen vuoksi seuraavana viisivuotiskautena tarpeen (1) vähentää (a) raaka-aineiden ja (b) polttoaineiden kulutusta ja (2) tehostaa tuotantokapasiteetin käyttöä. Myös tuotteiden käyttöominaisuuksia on parannettava.

Koska talouselämällä on kehitteennessä sosialistisessa yhteiskunnassa mahtavat (1) tuotannolliset ja (2) tieteellis-tekniset resurssit, siellä pystytään yhä paremmin hyödyntämään sosialistisen yhteiskuntamuodon etuja. Neuvostoliiton taloudellisen kehityksen puiteohjelmassa käsitelläänkin laajasti myös (1) sosiaalisia kysymyksiä ja (2) elintason kohottamista.

In 4 ATr there are no coordinations consisting of synonyms, like raaka-aineet ja materiaalit 'raw materials and materials' and tuotteet ja valmisteet 'products and manufactures'; one of the synonymous words is sufficient. Moreover, the coordinated liturgic adjectival attributes краткая и всеобъемлющая 'short and all-embracing' and высокие и постоянно растущие 'high and growing steadily' each have one equivalent only, the adverbial phrases lyhyesti 'in short' and yhä enemmän 'still more', 'more and more'. In the combination преимущества и возможности социалистического строя 'advantages and possibilities of the socialist political structure' the word возможности 'possibilities' is left untranslated. The semantic losses connected with such
eliminations are insignificant, but the text gains in clarity and matter-of-factness.

The over-indulgence in coordinations belongs to the domain of quantitative quasi-correctness. In other words, it is a quantitative covert error (partly impossible to correct). But coordinated constructions may also have qualitative covert errors. The PTrs often follow the example of the STs in leaving out the coordinating conjunction between the two last items in a list.

Such constructions, called asyndeton, are alien to the usus of journalistic texts, even though they are possible in Finnish as a whole. In Finnish texts the conjunction is often left out between coordinated adjectival attributes, but between nouns asyndeton occurs mostly in phrases (Itkonen 1966: 411–412) and “stylistically coloured” written language (Itkonen 1966: 417).

According to Rintala (1979: 204), asyndeton makes the lists more vivid and dynamic.

In Russian, asyndeton is used in neutral as well as in “stylistically coloured” texts. Thus, the PTrs have turned a neutral ST feature into an emotive device. The ATrs, which strive for matter-of-factness, naturally contain the appropriate conjunctions.

(5 PTr) NKP:n 25. edustajakokouksen ja sen jälkeen pidettyjen puolueen keskuskomitean kokousten päätöksissä, L. I. Brezhnevin puheissa on määritelty tämän tehtävän ratkaisun päähdot --- (7:6)

(5 ST) В решениях XXV съезда КПСС, последующих Пленумов Центрального Комитета партии, в выступлениях товарища Л.И. Брежнева определены основные условия решения этой задачи---

(5 ATr) Se, millä keinoin tavoitteeseen päästään, selvää NKP:n 25. edustajakokouksen ja NKP:n keskuskomitean täysistuntojen päätöksistä sekä Leonid Brezhnevin pitämistä puheista ---

(6 PTr) Kaikki liittotasavallat ovat saavuttaneet huomattavaa menestystä taloutensa ja kulttuurinsa kehittämisessä, maamme taloudellisen mahdin lujittamisessa. (5:6)

(6 ST) Все союзные республики добились крупных успехов в подъёме своей экономики и культуры, в укреплении экономического могущества нашей родины.

(6 ATr) Kaikkien neuvostotasavaltojen talous ja kulttuurielämä kehittyi, ja maamme taloudellinen mahti lisääntyi.

45 According to Itkonen (1966: 411–412), the Finnish asyndeton has evidently not been borrowed from Russian, at least in most cases. But Russian influence seems to have supported this phenomenon at least in the easternmost dialects.
9.4 Nominal sentences

One of the factors contributing to the emotivity of the PTrs is the use of nominal sentences – again following the example of the STs. Nominal sentences, which were propagated by Lenin, are widely used in Russian journalistic texts with the purpose of “sharpening” expression: they accentuate the importance of the concept expressed by the complement and make the expression categorical (Rozental’ 1981, 25).

In principle, nominal sentences can be used also in Finnish in order to propagate and influence. According to Korhonen & Mäkinen (1980, 152), who call such sentences “persuasive definitions” (suostuttelumääritelmä), their effectiveness (“dangerousness”) is due to their structure: the form of definition creates the false impression of self-evidence and arouses instinctive confidence.

Sometimes the effectiveness of persuasive definitions is apparently based on presuppositions created by putting new, unmentioned information in thematic position, where its truth does not seem to require proof. E.g. in examples 8 and 9, the reader is led to believe without questioning that the income of the population is rising and that a developed socialist society really has been built.

From the point of view of those who aim at influencing readers, such “dangerousness” would naturally be an advantage. But the possible emotive “sharpening” caused by nominal sentences is counterbalanced by negative side-effects. Pulkkinen's assertion (1970: 317) that nominal sentences often make the text dull, even unnatural is convincingly corroborated by the clumsy, dry, and muddled nominal sentences of the PTrs.

The negative features of the PTr nominal sentences are apparently due to their mostly being based on nouns of action. E.g. in examples 7–9, such nouns function as subjects, and in examples 8 and 9 also as a part of the complement. Nouns of action turn a dynamic description into a static statement of fact. Moreover, they tend to have plenty of modifiers, which make the sentences complicated.

The ATrs are constructed using finite verbs corresponding to one or other of the nouns of

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46 It is interesting that in the USA nominal sentences have been regarded as a token of ineffective style. For example, Woodrow Wilson's failure in the presidential post has been attributed to his abstract and ineffective style, e.g. to the abundance of be-verbs in his speech. (Rainio 1981: 57)
action used in the ST.

(7 ST) Одна из главных особенностей программы 1983 года – сбалансированное развитие всех отраслей, более активный поворот к интенсивным методам развития экономики. (4:3)

(7 PTr) Yksi tärkeimpiä erityispiirteitä on kaikkien alojen tasapainoinen kehitys ja entistä aktiivisemiä suuntautuminen talouden voimaperäistämiseen, intensiiviseen kasvuun.

(7 ATr) Vuoden 1983 ohjelman mukaisesti kaikkia aloja kehitetään entistä tasapuolisemmin ja tarmokkaammin.

(8 ST) --- главным путём повышения доходов населения является рост оплаты по труду, на долю которой приходится три четверти всего прироста доходов. (6:18)

(8 PTr) --- väestön tulojen lisäämiseen pääkeinona on työpalkan korottaminen; se on kolme neljännestä tulojen kokonaislisäyksestä.

(8 ATr) --- kansalaisten tuloja lisätään pääasiassa (n. kolmelta neljäsosalta) palkankorotuksin.

(9 ST) Построение развитого социалистического общества в нашей стране – результат самоотверженного труда советского народа, триумф ленинских идей. (7:1)

(9 PTr) Sosialistisen yhteiskunnan rakentaminen maassamme on neuvostokansan uhrautuvan työn, leniniläisten aatteiden voiton tulos.

(9 ATr) Neuvostoliiton kanssa on Leninin aatteiden mukaisesti uhrautuvalla työllään rakentanut maahamme kehittyneen sosialistisen yhteiskunnan. (11:1)

9.5 Emotive words

Important as the syntactic emotive devices discussed above may be, the negative features of the PTrs established in experiment 2 (pomposity, unpleasantness, uninterestingness, aptness to arouse suspicion) seem to be to a still greater extent based on lexical grounds, on the emotive-expressive vocabulary inherited from the Russian STs.\(^{47}\) It is vocabulary which is most easily adaptable to serving the persuasive function: unlike other emotive devices, words can be used to

\(^{47}\) Emotive-expressive vocabulary is – in different languages – used consciously in certain text types or functional styles, especially in poetry, advertisements and political propaganda (Dahlstedt 1970: 68).
give the emotive effect either a negative or a positive direction. This is essential for the press of the socialist countries: its view of reality is sharply dualistic: everything connected with political adversaries is negative; everything in the eastern bloc is positive (cf. Reich 1968: 250).

9.5.1  The concept of emotive word

Emotional-expressive vocabulary consists of words with an emotive meaning, i.e. of emotive words (see Andersson & Furberg 1973: 74). Usually the emotive meaning is only a minor part of the total meaning of a word, a connotation. E.g. the words granite, bear, to goggle, and to chat have respectively the connotations 'hard', 'strong', 'surprise'?a bit stupid', 'not seriously'/ 'something nice'. But sometimes the emotive meaning constitutes the principal part of the total meaning, e.g. wonderful, repulsive, sorrow, joy, prudence.

Emotive meaning is connected not only (1) with the feelings of the addressee towards the referent (emotive meaning proper), but also (2) with his positive or negative attitude towards the referent (for the component of evaluation, see Andersson & Furberg 1966: 114; Koller 1979: 188–189; Sokolova 1981: 55). Seen from another angle, emotive meaning comprises also (3) that part of the total meaning which is consciously used in order to influence the attitudes and feelings of the addressee (the expressive component; see Akimova 1981: 111). In practice these different elements are inseparable.

Emotive words have been divided in the literature (1) into words with a positive emotive charge or plus-words, and words with a negative emotive charge or minus-words (see Andersson & Furberg 1966: 114; see also Korhonen & Mäkinen 1980: 150; Šahovskij 1980: 33);(2) according to the intensity of the charge, into words having a weak, medium, or strong emotive charge (see Šahovskij 1980: 33).

Studies on the emotive component of meaning, both intralingual and contrastive, are rare. Semantic studies, e.g. componential analysis (see e.g. Nida 1975; Sulkala 1981), have

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48 Such a broad concept of emotivity seems necessary, because the emotive component nearly always goes together with the component of appreciation and the expressive component (Šahovskij 1980: 32) and because emotivity and expressiveness are usually interdependent (Sokolova 1981: 59). The terms emotive, emotive-expressive, and connotative meaning are often used synonymously, even though the concept of connotative meaning is usually considered broader than the mere emotive meaning (see Ullman 1962: 132; Koller 1979: 188–189; Sokolova 1981: 55). Expressiveness, for its part, has been included in emotivity (see Galkina-Fedocuk 1958: 121). All in all the meaning of the term expressiveness is vague (see Devkin 1986: 69 and 76).

49 Reich (1968: 250) calls them “friend words” (Freundwörter) and “enemy words” (Feindwörter).
concentrated on referential meaning. This is natural, because it is very difficult to find methods for the analysis and classification of such a subjective variable as emotive meaning. An exception is the semantic differential method devised by Osgood. Osgood, who analyzes connotations according to three dimensions, evaluation, potency, and activity, asks his subjects to rate concepts or words on seven-point scales, e.g. on scales such as good–bad, unfavourable–favourable, dislike–like (evaluation); strong–weak, soft–hard, big–little (potency); fast–slow, quiet–noisy, alive–dead etc. (activity). (See Brislin 1976: 37–39). This method has been recommended by Brislin (1976: 39) for the analysis of literary translations, but to my knowledge it has only been used in such related areas as bilingualism research (see Romney & Bynner 1981) and cross-cultural studies (see Tanaka 1967).

Naturally, speaking about the meaning of an individual word is risky and may signify questionable methods of research (see Cassirer 1972: 109): the components of meaning, the semes, are actualized differently in different contexts. I hope, however, that the experiment and the analysis below will give an idea of the differences between the text types and of ways of improving the translations.

9.5.2 Experiment 3: emotivity of words

9.5.2.1 The hypothesis

The emotive meaning of a word or a passage can only be approached psycholinguistically, through the reaction of recipients. Therefore the hypothesis serving as the basis for the following experiment can be formulated as follows: the words in the PTr passages are experienced by the Finnish reader as on the average more strongly charged with emotive elements than the words in the FT passages.

9.5.2.2 The organization of the experiment

The experiment (like experiment 2) is a modification of Osgood's semantic differential method. It combines the two classifications given above: the subjects were asked to evaluate the words as positive/negative and at the same time to define the intensity of their emotive charge. For this
purpose, they were instructed to rate every word according to a minus/plus scale, as follows:

| + + + | = | a very positive word |
| + +   | = | a positive word      |
| +     | = | a somewhat positive word |
| 0     | = | a neutral word       |
| - - - | = | a somewhat negative word |
| - -   | = | a negative word      |
| -     | = | a very negative word |

Because components of meaning are actualized differently in different contexts, the subjects were instructed to rate the words **in the given context**.

Both the material and the subjects were the same as in experiment 2. In order to provide space for the ratings, the words of the texts were now administered vertically.

9.5.2.3 The emotive charge in different samples

Table 8 shows the average amount of positive, negative and total emotive charge of the words of the samples. Positive and negative emotivity were calculated by adding up the pluses/minus in each text and dividing the sums by the number of words and the number of subjects. The total word emotivity is cumulative, covering both positive and negative ratings.
Table 8. Average word emotivity in PTr samples A, B and C, and FT samples 1 and 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Subject group</th>
<th>Average positive word emotivity</th>
<th>Average negative word emotivity</th>
<th>Average total word emotivity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The differences between the PTrs and the FT passages are somewhat smaller than was expected. However, they are consistent: both groups of subjects, which were administered different sets of texts, gave very similar results. According to them, words in the PTr passages are on the average more strongly charged with emotion than words in the FT passages. Consequently, the hypothesis is supported by the test. However, as the passages used in the experiments, according to my intuitive impression, are amongst the most strongly charged passages of the PTrs, there is no guarantee that the result is valid for the whole material.

Table 8 also shows that the differences in total emotivity are based on the differences in positive emotivity. In the PTrs, which deal with the home country of the ST authors (or at least with countries having the same economic system), the emotive charge is naturally concentrated on the positive side.

The positiveness of the PTr vocabulary is partly due to the fact that the majority of words have a weak positive charge. But there are also several words which are experienced as being strongly charged with positive emotion. Such words are especially frequent in text A (see table 9 below), where the mean emotive charge of 1.9 or more is reached by 8 words. Most of these words (urotyö 'heroic deed', kotimaa 'home land', kukoistus 'bloom', kunniakas 'glorious', kruunata 'to crown') are seldom used in Finnish journalistic texts. The words menestykset 'successes' and suurimerkityksinen 'of great importance' are also strange, the former because menestys 'success' is normally not used in the plural, and the latter because of its length and clumsiness (cf. tärkeä, merkittävä, huomattava.)
Table 9. Emotive quality and intensity of words: text A (PTr; 27 subjects)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Finnish words</th>
<th>In English</th>
<th>plus-es</th>
<th>minus-es</th>
<th>positive emotivity</th>
<th>negative emotivity</th>
<th>total emotivity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kansan</td>
<td>The peoples'</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>urotyöt</td>
<td>heroic deeds</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>6</td>
<td><strong>2.0</strong></td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sosialistisen</td>
<td>socialist</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td><strong>0.9</strong></td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kotimaan</td>
<td>home land</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>-</td>
<td><strong>1.9</strong></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kukoistuksen</td>
<td>bloom</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>5</td>
<td><strong>2.1</strong></td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lisäämiseksi</td>
<td>in order to increase</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ovat</td>
<td>are</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puolueen</td>
<td>the party's</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td><strong>0.4</strong></td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>johdollan</td>
<td>under the leadedship</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suuria</td>
<td>great</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ja</td>
<td>and</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuniakkaita,</td>
<td>glorious</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>5</td>
<td><strong>2.0</strong></td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ne</td>
<td>they</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kruunaavat</td>
<td>crown</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>3</td>
<td><strong>1.9</strong></td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>viisivuotiskauden</td>
<td>the five-year-period's</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tulokset,</td>
<td>results</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taloutemme</td>
<td>our economy's</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaikki</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saavutukset</td>
<td>achievements</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ja</td>
<td>and</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>menestykset</td>
<td>successes</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>6</td>
<td><strong>1.9</strong></td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ja</td>
<td>and</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tekevät</td>
<td>make</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niistä</td>
<td>out of them</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suurimerkityksisen</td>
<td>of great importance</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>3</td>
<td><strong>1.9</strong></td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poliittisen</td>
<td>political</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td><strong>0.7</strong></td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiton.</td>
<td>victory</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>3</td>
<td><strong>2.0</strong></td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Mean</td>
<td></td>
<td>636</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The distribution of emotive charge on different words in the FT passages is illustrated in table 10. The positive emotivity values over 1 have been boldfaced. The same applies to negative emotivity values substantially exceeding the positive value of the word.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Finnish words</th>
<th>In English</th>
<th>pluses</th>
<th>minus- ses</th>
<th>positive emotivity</th>
<th>negative emotivity</th>
<th>total emotivity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Suomi</td>
<td>Finland</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ja</td>
<td>and</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neuvostoliitto</td>
<td>the Soviet Union</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vaihtavat</td>
<td>exchange</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ensi</td>
<td>next</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vuonna</td>
<td>year</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tavaroida</td>
<td>goods</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ja</td>
<td>and</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>palveluksia</td>
<td>services</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arvoltaan</td>
<td>in value</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suunnilleen</td>
<td>approximately</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saman</td>
<td>same</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>verran</td>
<td>amount</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuin</td>
<td>as</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tänä</td>
<td>this</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vuonna:</td>
<td>year</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vaihto</td>
<td>exchange</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nousee</td>
<td>reaches</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noin</td>
<td>approximately</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>viiteen</td>
<td>five</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miljardiin</td>
<td>milliard</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ruplaan</td>
<td>roubles</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eli</td>
<td>or</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nykyhinoin</td>
<td>at present-day-prices</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The relative neutrality of text 1 rated in table 10 is due to the fact that it only contains two words which are felt to be relatively strongly positive (moreover, unanimously): the words Suomi 'Finland' and nousta 'to rise, to reach' (positive values 1.5 and 1.7 respectively). There are no words competing in positive value with the strongly charged words of passage A above. Neither does the passage contain strong minus-words. The strongest are sosialistinen 'socialistic', rupla 'rouble', riippua 'to depend', pieni 'small', aleneminen 'the decrease', välttyä 'to avoid' and tuskin 'hardly' (about the two first see below).

The mean emotivity value of text 1 is, however, raised by the presence of quite many words which have been rated as moderately positive, though the reason for the positive rating is often difficult to see. There would seem to be nothing inherently positive (or negative) in the words sen 'its', vuonna 'in the year', suunnilleen 'approximately' vaihto 'exchange', vaihtaa 'to exchange' or nykyhinnoin 'at present-day prices'. Perhaps the explanation lies in the pleasantness of the general impression made by the text. However, these rather unmotivated positive ratings
throw doubts on the reliability of the method used.

The experiment also shows that certain words whose Russian equivalents most obviously are positively charged make a negative impact on Finnish readers. E.g. such strongly positive words as *voimakas 'strong', täydellisemmin 'more perfectly', suurenmoinen 'magnificent', and paremmuus 'superiority' were rated as negative by several subjects (beside 53–70 pluses, these words were given 10–20 minuses each). Presumably, they were felt at least by some subjects to be too positive. This is one more point in favour of there really being a connection between the excessive positiveness and the negative general impression made by the texts.

Another word type evidently meant to make a positive impression, but often having the opposite effect are the “ideological terms” connected with communist/socialist ideology, i.e. words having positive connotations (allegedly) shared by the whole Russian linguistic community (see 7.5). These words often lose their positive connotations when translated. E.g. the words *sosialistinen 'socialist' and *puolue 'party' were given more minuses than pluses, and the word *viisivuotiskausi 'five-year-period' was rated as practically neutral (see table 9). Table 11 illustrates the change in emotivity of the ideological terms of texts B and C:
Table 11. Emotivity of ideological terms in translations B and C

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Finnish words</th>
<th>In English</th>
<th>pluses</th>
<th>minus- ses</th>
<th>positive emotivity</th>
<th>negative emotivity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Text B (27 subjects):</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sosialistinen</td>
<td>socialist</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neuvostokansa</td>
<td>Soviet people</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>työ</td>
<td>labour</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leniniläiset</td>
<td>leninist</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sosialismi</td>
<td>socialism</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perustuslaki</td>
<td>Constitution</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text C (36 subjects):</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tieteellis-tekninen</td>
<td>scientific-technological</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kumous</td>
<td>revolution</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sosialistinen</td>
<td>socialist</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yhteiskunta</td>
<td>society</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>potentiaali</td>
<td>potential</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Consequently, the alleged uniformly positive connotations of the ideological terms connected with Soviet society are not present in the translations. On the contrary, the Finnish equivalents have considerably more negative than positive connotations.

Incidentally, negative connotations tend to attach themselves to words connected with Soviet ideology even in the FTs, where e.g. the apparently neutral words Neuvostoliitto 'the Soviet Union' and rupla 'rouble' were mostly rated as negative (see table 10 above). These negative ratings point to many students having a predisposition to hostility towards themes connected with the Soviet Union.

Moreover, it is possible that the amount of negative ratings of positively-meant words in the PTr passages could have been bigger, had the instruction given to the subjects been unambiguous. As it is, there was uncertainty among the subjects about whether they were asked
to rate the words according to their own feelings or to make inferences about the intentions of
the writer, i.e. about whether the word was intended to be negative or positive.

Besides this evident weakness in the experimental procedure, there is also an important
factor which enhances the reliability of the results. This is the choice of subject matter for the
experimental passages. Even though the FTs’ common theme, Finnish-Soviet trade, is less
ideological than that of the translations (economic growth and welfare in the Soviet Union), it is
as close to the Russian texts as could be arranged. Consequently, also the FTs contained words
which received negative ratings because they referred to Soviet concepts. This in turn probably
ruled out some of those differences between PTr and FT ratings which were not connected with
linguistic factors but with subject matter, i.e. with factors outside the scope of translation
criticism.

All in all, it is evident that the negative impression made by the PTr passages can be
explained not only on the text level, i.e., among other things, by the general over-emotivity of
their vocabulary, but partly also on word-level, by the fact that some Russian plus-words, e.g.
ideological terms, get a negative emotive charge in the translations.

9.5.3 Neutralization of vocabulary

Methods of neutralization are first illustrated by example 10 and table 12. Example 10 suggests
an alternative translation for passage A. In table 12 the same passage is juxtaposed with passage
A. For purposes of illustration, the word order of the ATr passage has been changed according to
the word order in passage A.

(10 ATr) Kansa on kommunistisen puolueen johdolla tehnyt suurenmoista työtä
isänmaansa parhaaksi. Tämä kruunaa viisivuotiskauden taloudelliset saavutukset ja
tekee niistä suuren poliittisen voiton.
Table 12. An example of neutralization of translation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text A</th>
<th>The alternative translation (ATr)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kansan</td>
<td>Kansa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>urotyöt heroic deeds</td>
<td>työtä work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sosialistisen</td>
<td>socialist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kotimaan home land</td>
<td>isänmaansa for its fatherland's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kukoistuksen bloom</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lisäämiseksi increase</td>
<td>parhaaksi best</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ovat are tehnyt done</td>
<td>kommunistisen communist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puolueen the party's</td>
<td>puolueen party's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>johdollla under the leadership</td>
<td>johdollla under the leadership</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suuria great suurenmoista magnificent</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ja and kunniakkaita glorious</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ne They Tämä This</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kruunaa vat crowns</td>
<td>kruunaa crowns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>viisivuotiskauden the five-year-period's</td>
<td>viisivuotiskauden the five-year-period's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tulokset, results,</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taloutemme our economy's</td>
<td>taloudelliset economic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaikki all</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saavutukset achievements saavutukset achievements</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ja and menestykset successes</td>
<td>*</td>
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<tr>
<td>ja and ja and</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>tekevät make tekee makes</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>niistä out of them niistä out of them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suurimerkityksisen of great importance suuren great</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poliittisen political poliittisen political</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiton. victory.</td>
<td>voiton. victory.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As illustrated by table 12, there are fewer emotive words in the ATr than in the PTr. Instead of three roughly synonymous words, i.e. *tulokset* 'results', *saavutukset* 'achievements', and *menestykset* 'successes', one word – *saavutukset* – is used. *Urotyöt* 'heroic deeds' is modified by one word rather than two: *suuria* 'great' and *kunniakkaita* 'glorious' are replaced by *suurenmoisia* 'magnificent'.

Also the intensity of some equivalents is lower than in the PTr. The word *urotyöt* 'heroic deeds', which relates to battlefields rather than economics, has been replaced by *työ* 'work, labour'.

The ideological term *sosialistinen* 'socialist' has been left out. Its informative value is nil, because everybody knows that the Soviet Union is a socialist country. The word appears in the source text with the sole aim of creating patriotic emotion.

One “ideological” word has been added, namely the adjective *kommunistinen* 'communist'. Speaking about “the party” without specifying it may be natural in a one-party system, but it seems odd in a country with a dozen parties and without a uniform and government-imposed system of values.

Consequently, at least the following methods can be suggested for neutralizing vocabulary:

### 9.5.3.1 Elimination of emotive words

Some positively charged Russian words can be left untranslated. This concerns e.g. such coordinated constructions where the word is used more for reasons of rhythm and style than for conveying information. Instead of, e.g., *sosialismin pääpiirteet ja lainmukaisuudet* 'the principal characteristics and laws of socialism' one can simply write *sosialismin periaatteet* 'the principles of socialism'. Similarly, it is sufficient to simply “develop the national economy” (*kansantalouden kehittäminen*), instead of “developing and reinforcing the national economy” (*kansantalouden kehittäminen ja vahvistaminen*).

Many “ritual” epithets (see 9.6.1) can also be left out, because they do not really carry much information. The epithet is often unnecessary in expressions like *dynaaminen kasvu* 'dynamic growth', *intensiivinen kehitys* 'intensive development', *kaikinpuolinen hyväksikäyttö* 'comprehensive utilization', *vankka pohja* 'a firm basis', etc.

Some ideological epithets can be left untranslated, especially when used ritually: e.g. in the
expressions *sosialistinen tuotanto* 'socialist production', and *yhteiskunnallinen tuotanto* 'public production' the epithets are mostly unnecessary.  

(11 ST) Повысилось благосостояние народа. Высокими темпами развивалось социалистическое производство ---. (5:4–5)

(11 PTr) Kansan hyvinvointi on lisääntynyt. Sosialistinen tuotanto on kehittynyt nopeaa vauhtia ---.

(11 ATr) Elintaso kohosi. Tuotannon määrä lisääntyi ripeästi --- .

(12 ST) Учитывая задачи повышения эффективности общественного производства, в перспективе будет расти потребление в СССР в частности высокопроизводительных машин и оборудования, которые позволяют обеспечить максимальное брожение сырьевых, топливных, энергетических, трудовых ресурсов. (12:20)

(12 PTr) Koska tehtäväksi on asetettu yhteiskunnan tuotannon tehostaminen, tulee Neuvostoliitossa kasvamaan mm. sellaisten huipputehokkaiden koneiden ja laitteiden käyttö, joilla voidaan säästää mahdollisimman paljon raaka-aine-, poltoaine-, energia- ja työvoimavaroja.

(12 ATr) Koska tuotantoa pyritään tehostamaan, tulee erityisen suuri menekki Neuvostoliitossa olemaan sellaisilla koneilla ja laitteilla, joiden avulla pystytään säästämään raaka-aineita, energiaa ja työvoimaa.

9.5.3.2 Substitution of more neutral words for emotive words

Neutral or weakly charged words can be substituted for strongly charged words. A typical representative of the latter word type is *hyvinvointi* 'welfare', 'well-being' (благосостояние), which often (see example 13) seems to imply the existence of prosperity in the Soviet Union. In the ATrs, the word *elintaso* 'standard of living' has been used instead: this word as such is neutral; it can be used not only with positive but also with negative attributes, e.g. *alhainen elintaso* 'a low standard of living'.

(13 ST) --- это пятилетка качества и высокой эффективности во имя дальнейшего роста экономики и народного благосостояния. (6:12)
kyseisen viisivuotiskausi on talouden kasvuun ja kansan hyvinvoinnin lisäämiseen tähtäävä laadun ja suuren tehokkuuden viisivuotiskausi.

Tämä on laadun ja tehokkuuden viisivuotiskausi, jolloin lisätään entisestäänkin taloudellista kasvua ja kohotetaan elintasoa.

Another typical emotive word which has been consistently avoided in the ATrs is *саavutukset* 'achievements' (достижения). The ATrs often use the word *tulokset* 'results', which does not necessarily imply something great and laudable or create the impression of exertion:

Nакопленный положительный опыт свидетельствует, что различия в общественном строе не препятствуют обмену достижениями человеческой деятельности в самых различных ее сферах. (2:7)

Карттунут myönteinen kokemus todistaa, että yhteiskuntajärjestelmän erilaisuus ei ole esteenä inhimillisen toiminnan saavutusten vaihdolle tämän toiminnan mitä erilaisimmilla aloilla.

Se, että tämä yhteistyö on myös onnistunut hyvin, osoittaa, että yhteiskuntajärjestelmän erot eivät estä maita vaihtamasta eri alojen työn tuloksia.

При разработке новых тракторов, сельскохозяйственных машин используются последние достижения науки и техники --- (19:9)

Усовершенствование --- traktoreita, maatalouskoneita ja tiekoneita suunniteltaessa käytetään hyväksi uusimpiä *saavutuksia* ---

traktoreita, maatalouskoneita ja tiekoneita suunniteltaessa käytetään hyväksi uusimpiä tutkimustuloksia.

The ATrs also avoid the word-for-word equivalents of *полный*, *полностью*, *совершенствовать*, and *совершенствование*, i.e. the words *täydellinen* 'perfect', *täydellisesti* 'perfectly', *täydellistää* 'make perfect', and *täydellistäminen* 'making perfect', which belong to the favourite vocabulary of the PTr translators. The weaker emotive words *paremmin* 'better', *parantua* 'to become better', *parantaa* 'to make better', *kehittää* 'to develop', etc. are used.

Народнохозяйственные планы будут ориентированы на дальнейшее углубление социалистической экономической интеграции, более полное
использование преимуществ международного разделения труда. (6:11)

(16 PTr) Kansantaloussuunnitelmat suunnataan sosialistisen taloudellisen yhdentymisen jatkuvaan lisäämiseen sekä kansainvälisen työnjaon suomien etujen entistä täydellisempään hyväksikäyttöön.

(16 ATr) Niinpä sosialististen maiden taloudellista yhdentymistä kehitetään edelleen, ja kansainvälistä työnjakoa hyödynnetään aikaisempaa paremmin.

(17 ST) Наиболее полно итоги экономического развития характеризует национальный доход страны --- (5:15)

(17 PTr) Taloudellisen kehityksen tuloksia luonnehtii täydellisimmin maan kansantulo ---

(17 ATr) Kaikkein parhaimmin maan taloudellinen kehitys ilmenee kansantulosta ---

(18 ST) Значит, практика строительства социализма совершенствует структуру единонароднохозяйственного комплекса, придаёт ему новые грани? (3:15)

(18 PTr) Sosialismin rakentamiskäytäntö täydellistää niin muodoin yhtenäisen kansantaloudellisen kokonaisuuden rakennetta muuttaen sitä yhä moniulotteisemmaksi.

(18 ATr) Kehitettäessä sosialistista järjestelmää Neuvostoliiton talouden rakenne siis paranee ja monipuolistuu.

(19 ST) В проекте изложена программа дальнейшего развития материального производства, совершенствование его структуры. (5:1)

(19 PTr) Luonnoksessa on esitetty aineellisen tuotannon kehittämisen, sen rakenteen täydellistämisien ohjelma.

(19 ATr) Luonnoksessa on esitetty, miten tuotantoa tulee kehittää ja sen rakennetta parantaa.

The oddity of the verb *täydellistää* and the noun of action *täydellistäminen* in a Finnish text is due not only to emotivity, but also to their low frequency in Finnish texts (be it a journalistic text or any other text; cf. the frequency dictionary by Saukkonen 1979, which does not mention either of these words).

Neutral synonyms can – and often simply must – be substituted for certain word-for-word translations of ideological terms. Among the most disturbing “socialist” expressions used in the
PTrs are the expressions Neuvostovaltio 'The Soviet State' (Советское государство), Neuvostojen maa 'the Land of the Soviets' (Страна Советов), Sosialistinen veljesliitto 'the Fraternal Socialist Union' (Братский социалистический союз), and Kansainvälinen ystävyysliitto 'the International Union of Friendship' (Социалистическое содружество). The neutral (at least in principle, cf. the results of experiment 3) equivalent for the former two expressions is Neuvostoliitto 'the Soviet Union', and for the latter two expressions sosialistiset maat 'the socialist countries'.

(20 ST) Последовательно интернационалистская хозяйственная политика неукоснительно проводилась в жизнь на протяжении всей истории Советского Государства. (3:10)

(20 PTr) Johdonmukaisesti kansainvälistä talouspolitiikkaa on pantu tinkimättömästi täytäntöön neuvostovaltion koko historian varrella.

(20 ATr) Neuvostoliiton talouspolitiikka on aina ollut johdonmukaisen kansainvälistä.

9.6 Translation clichés

In experiment 2, the PTrs were assessed as being not only pompous, unpleasant, and apt to arouse suspicion, but also uninteresting. Even though this impression is probably to a great extent due to subject matter, it has also linguistic reasons: the PTrs contain numerous features which contribute to making the texts dull and dry. Among these features are long sentences and clauses, long chains of attributes, high density of action nouns, and words with little semantic content. However, these features are connected not only with dullness but also with low readability. Therefore, they will be discussed in chapter 10. In this chapter attention will be paid to translation clichés.

A translation cliché does not exactly correspond to what is usually meant by the word cliché, i.e. to the meaning 'a long-established and stale expression'. The expressions I have in mind are not entirely stale. On the contrary, they are unwanted and odd-sounding, and they are not used in authentic texts. On the other hand, they make the impression of being stereotyped:

51 However, Советское государство cannot always be translated 'Neuvostoliitto'. This expression can also refer to the Soviet state as a unit of public administration. Moreover, it can be used about the predecessor of the Soviet Union, i.e. the Soviet state previous to the year 1922.
they are word-for-word translations of Russian clichés, and they are common in translations. In other words, translation clichés are peculiar combinations of oddity and staleness.

9.6.1 An emotive attribute and a noun

The most common translation cliché type in the PTrs is the combination of a head noun and an emotive adjectival (or participial) attribute. The attribute performs the function of emphasizing the head rather than conveying information.

The attributes are usually word-for-word translations of so-called reinforcing expressators (усилительные экпрессаторы’; see Vasil'eva 1982: 100), i.e. ritual epithets also called satellite words (слова-спутники; see Rozental’ 1968: 80; Skvorcov 1982: 56–57).52

The most common attributes are the emotive adjectives aktiivinen 'active', dynaaminen 'dynamic', intensiivinen 'intensive', johdonmukainen 'logical, consistent', kaikinpuolinen 'full, complete, comprehensive', menestyksellinen 'successful', rationaalinen 'rational', sopusuhtainen 'harmonious', täydellinen 'perfect', vaka 'firm', and voimakas 'strong' (cf. активный, динамичный, интенсивный, последовательный, всемерный, успешный, рациональный, гармоничный, полный, устойчивый, and сильный).

The most common head nouns are kasvu 'growth', kehitys 'development', perusta 'basis', pohja 'ground', käyttö 'use', and hyväksikäyttö 'utilization' (cf. Рост, развитие, база, основа, and использование ).

Also in authentic Finnish texts certain adjectival (or participial) attributes may be used as "steady companions" of nouns: ilmeinen tosiasia 'an evident fact', päivänpolttava kysymys 'a burning', hämäärä aavistus 'a faint inkling', jyrkkä vastalause 'a strong objection', väistämätön seuraus 'an inevitable consequence' etc. However, Finnish texts of the past few decades do not try to force ready-made judgements upon their readers by means of ample use of adjectives. Such established attributes are in fact viewed with disfavour by specialists in Finnish. (See Rintala 1979: 198–199). The FTs of my corpus contain practically no such clichés. Their amount in comparison with the STs has been reduced in the ATrs by various methods. The attribute is often left out, and the head noun is often rendered with a verb. Sometimes this verb also includes the meaning of the Russian attribute (e.g. järkeistettävä, cf. рациональное использование in

52 Reich (1968: 252) calls such words, which are common in the GDR, epitheta ornantia.
Постоянное расширение номенклатуры и увеличение выпуска сельскохозяйственной техники позволяет нам успешно механизировать производство различных культур. (20:6)

Maatalouskoneiden tuotanimikkeistön laajeminen ja maatalouskoneiden tuotannon kasvu edistävät erilaisten hyötykasvien viljelyteknikan koneistamista.

Мааталоскуонедени туотанимиккейстё лааженье, ja samallay myös туотанто касвяа. Монет viljelyyöt ovatkin kokonaan koneistettu, ---

Мааталоскуонедени туотанимиккейстё лааженье, ja samallay myös туотанто касвяа. Монет viljelyyöt ovatkin kokonaan koneistettu, ---

Главная задача пятилетки – обеспечение дальнейшего благосостояния нашего народа на основе устойчивого, поступательного развития народного хозяйства, ускорения научно-технического прогресса и перевода экономики на интенсивный путь развития, более рационального использования производственного потенциала страны, всемирной экономии всех видов ресурсов и улучшения качества работы. (15:15)

Viisivuotiskauden tärkein tehtävä on turvata kanssamme hyvinvoinnin jatkuvu kasvu. Se perustuu seuraaviin tekijöihin: kansantalouden vakaaseen kehitykseen; tieteellis-tekniisen edistyksen nopeuttamiseen; talouselämän siirtämiseen intensiiviseen kehitysvaiheeseen; maan tuotantovoimien entistä rationaaliseampaan käyttöön, kaikkien luonnonvarojen tarkkaan hyväksikäyttöön; työn laadun parantamiseen.

Niiden mukaan alkavan viisivuotiskauden tärkeimpänä tavoitteena on entisestään kohottaa elintasoa. Jotta tähän päätteeseen päästäisiin, on talouselämää kehitettävä, tieteellis-tekniistä kehitystä nopeutettava, tuotantopotentialin käyttöä järkeistettävä, resursseja säästettävä ja työn laatua paranettava.

Often, however, the attribute contains necessary information, but the PTr choice of words is unnatural. In such cases the ATr retains the attribute, but unlike the PTrs does not stick to the word-for-word equivalents. E.g. in example 23, the ATr, instead of the PTr word sopusuhtainen 'harmonious', 'proportional' (пропорциональный), which is in Finnish most often used when speaking of the human body, uses the word tasapuolisesti 'evenly, even-handedly'.

In example 24 ATr, neither the attribute nor the head noun have been translated with their "closest equivalent": instead of the PTr translation cliché vahva tieteellinen pohja 'the firm scientific basis', the translation tehokas tutkimustöö 'effective research work' has been used.

Even though Finnish newspaper texts do not favour clichés, it may sometimes be better to
Occasionally it is possible – and useful – to eliminate the whole cliché. This has been done in example 26 ATr, where the fixed expression about the “rational utilization of the mutually profitable international division of labour” has been left out. This was done because, firstly, the expression is just another way of saying what was said already (that foreign trade has to be developed), and, secondly, most Finnish readers would not really know what is meant by *kansainvälinen työnjakoh* 'international division of labour'. This expression could be used in a text book on economics, but not very well in the Finnish press.

(26 ST) Расширение экономических и научно-технических связей с
9.6.2 A pleonastic attribute and a noun

The PTrs also contain some pleonastic attributes, i.e. attributes whose meaning is actually subsumed in the head noun and which are therefore superfluous. The most common of such attributes is laadullinen 'qualitative' (качественный), which occurs together with the nouns muutos and hyppäys (изменение, сдвиг, скачок). Russian texts refer to the opposition of качественные /количественные изменения 'qualitative/quantitative changes'. But in Finnish it is superfluous to qualify the word muutos in this way, because it goes without saying that the word refers to qualitative change. For quantitative changes, other words (kasvu 'growth, increase', väheneminen 'decrease' etc.) would be used.

(27 ST) Качественные изменения внешнеэкономических отношений СССР повлекли за собой дальнейшее расширение деятельности Палаты --- (17:18)

(27 PTr) Laadulliset muutokset Neuvostoliiton ulkomaisissa taloudellisissa suhteissa ovat laajentaneet kuappakamarin toimintaa.

(27 ATr) Neuvostoliiton ulkomaisten taloussuhteiden kehittyessä myös kaappakamarin toiminta on laajentunut.

Another pleonastic attribute common in the PTrs is keskinäinen 'mutual' (взаимный). If used together with the noun yhteistyö 'collaboration', this attribute is superfluous, since mutualness is a central semantic component of the concept of collaboration. (See example 28.)

In Finnish it is also superfluous to use the participle karttunut 'accumulated' to qualify the noun kokemus 'experience': it is natural that existing experience must have been accumulated, one need not state it explicitly (see example 29). In such cases the golden rule of Finnish factual
prose should be followed: where one word is enough, two words are too many.

(28 ST) Система взаимного сотрудничества в рамках СЕВ демонстрирует этим странам реально функционирующую модель международных отношений, эффективно способствующих решению этой задачи. (9:18)

(28 PTr) SEV:n puitteissa tapahtuvan keskinäisen yhteistyön järjestelmä osoittaa näille maille tämän tehtävän ratkaisua edistävien kansainvälisten suhteiden toimivan mallin.

(28 ATr) SEV-maiden yhteistyöstä näillä mailla saavat toimivan mallin sellaisista kansainväisistä suhteista, jotka eivät ole ristiriidassa riippumattomuuspyrkimysten kanssa.

(29 ST) Накопленный опыт показал, что торговь с Советским Союзом выгодно --- (2:25)

(29 PTr) Karttunut kokemus on osoittanut, että kaupankäynti Neuvostoliiton kanssa on edullista ---

(29 ATr) Ne ovat huomanneet, että Neuvostoliiton kanssa käytävää kauppa on edullista ---

9.6.3 An emotive adverb and a verb

A cliché group very close to the attribute + noun type is the combination of a verb + adverb semantically corresponding to “reinforcing expressators”. If the adverbs are purely ritual, the corresponding ATrs may simply leave them out. Often, when the structure of the ATr sentence is very different from the ST and the PTr, such ritual words could not even be included:

(30 ST) Последовательно интернационалистская хозяйственная политика неукоснительно проводилась в жизнь на протяжении всей истории Советского государства. (3:10)

(30 PTr) Johdonmukaisesti kansainvälistä talouspolitiikkaa on pantu tinkimättömästi täytäntöön neuvostovaltion koko historian varrella.

(30 ATr) Neuvostoliiton talouspolitiikka on aina ollut johdonmukaisen kansainvälistä.

(31 ST) Действительность убедительно опровергает оба тезиса. (10:5)
(31 PTr) Todellisuus kumoaa vakuuttavasti kummatkin teesit.

(31 ATr) Todellisuus on kuitenkin perin toisenlainen ---

In those cases, on the other hand, when the adverb is semantically “loaded”, but its collocation with the verb is odd, a more natural-sounding adverb can be substituted:

(32 ST) Успешно развиваются наши отношения с ФРГ --- (2:16)

(32 PTr) Suhteemme Saksan liittotasavaltaan ovat kehittyneet menestyksellisesti ---

(32 ATr) Myös Neuvostoliiton ja Saksan liittotasavallan suhteet ovat kehittyneet suotuisasti ---

(33 ST) Наиболее полно итоги экономического развития характеризуют национальный доход страны --- (5:15)

(33 PTr) Taloudellisen kehityksen tuloksia luonnehtii täydellisimmin maan kansantulo ---

(33 ATr) Kaikkein parhaiten maan taloudellinen kehitys ilmenee kansantalostu ---

(34 ST) На путях социалистической экономической интеграции эти страны успешно решают свои важнейшие народнохозяйственные задачи. (2:3)

(34 PTr) Sosialistisen talousintegraation pohjalla nämä maat ratkaisevat menestyksellisesti kansantalouden tärkeimpää tehtävää.

(34 ATr) Talousintegraation ansiosta SEV-maiden taloudellinen kehittäminen on onnistunut hyvin.

9.6.4 A verb and a noun

Odd-sounding translation clichés consisting of a verb and a noun are also quite common in the PTrs. The noun most often functions as an object, but it may also be the subject of the sentence or an adverbial adjunct: syventää yhteyksiä 'to deepen contacts with s-g', suunnata tuotantoa 'to direct the production of s-g', turvata lisää 'to ensure an increase', ohjelma edellyttää rakentamista 'the program presupposes the building of s-g', myötävaikuttaa kehitykseen 'to contribute to the development of s-g' etc. The unnaturalness of these expressions is often due
simply to odd collocation. Consequently, the flaw can be eliminated by changes in the vocabulary:

(35 ST) ГКЭС решает следующие основные задачи: расширяет и укрепляет экономическое сотрудничество с социалистическими странами, устанавливает и углубляет экономические связи с развивающимися странами, обеспечивает выполнение обязательств СССР по строительству объектов в капиталистических странах. (1:18)

(35 PTr) GKES ratkaisee seuraavia perustehtäviä: laajentaa ja vahvistaa taloudellista yhteistyötä sosialististen maiden kanssa, luo ja syventää taloudellisia yhteyksia kehityismaihin ja turvaa Neuvostoliiton sitoumusten täyttämisen rakennettaessa kohteita kapitalistisissa maissa.

(35 ATr) Valtionkomitean päätehtävät ovat seuraavat: se laajentaa ja vahvistaa sosialististen maiden kanssa tehtävää yhteistyötä, lujittaa suhteita kehityismaihin ja huolehtii siitä, että kapitalistisiin maihin rakennettavat kohteet valmistuvat sopimusten mukaan.

Another important reason for the unnaturalness of verb + noun clichés may be the fact that they mostly either contain or are determined by action nouns, which together with their qualifiers and determiners complicate the construction. Because of this, such clichés are connected not only with standardazation but also with reading difficulties. Thus, they will be discussed in more detail in 10.8.5.2.3. The most common verb in such clichés, a kind of trade mark of the PTrs, is *turvata* 'to ensure, guarantee', which can be regarded as an emotive word: it has the same root as the noun *turva* 'safety, protection, security, shelter' (example 37):

(36 ST) Динамичный рост экономики стран СЭВ служит материальной основой упрочения их позиций в мировом хозяйстве, создаёт предпосылки для всё более широкого участия их в международном разделении труда.(9:3)

(36 PTr) SEV-maiden talouden dynaaminen kehitys muodostaa aineellisen perustan niiden aseman lujittamiselle maailman talousjärjestelmässä ja luo edellytykset niiden yhä laajemmalle osallistumiselle kansainväliseen työnjakoon.

(36 ATr) SEV-maiden nopea talouskasvu on lujittanut niiden aseman maailmantalousessa ja parantanut niiden edellytyksiä osallistua maailman maiden väliseen työnjakoon.

(37 ST) Предусматриваются меры, обеспечивающие дальнейшее повышение надёжности и долговечности машин, улучшение их эксплуатационных качеств. (5:32)
Ryhdytään toimiin, jotka **turvaavat koneiden käyttövarmuuden lisäämisen**, niiden käyttöönni **pidentämisen** sekä niiden käyttöominaisuuksien **parantamisen**.

Myös koneiden **luotettavuutta, kestävyyttä ja käyttöominaisuuksia parannetaan**.

9.6.5 A genitive attribute and a postposition-like

The PTrs are to some extent vitiated also by clichés consisting of a genitive attribute and a head noun like *alalla* 'in the field', *pohjalla* 'on the basis', *puitteissa* 'in the framework', *puolesta/suhteen* 'in regard to, in respect to', etc. The head nouns resemble postpositions, but they are not so delexicalized. They usually function as word-for-word equivalents for Russian so-called new prepositions (see e.g. Skvorcov 1982: 57), i.e. for secondary prepositions (see Mitrofanova 1976: 58) like в области, на основе/на базе, в рамках, по вопросу, в направлении, в деле etc. The most common of these near-postpositions is *pohjalla* (*pohjalta, pohjalle*), the equivalent for на основе or на базе.

The function of the corresponding ST clichés is apparently to contribute to the impressiveness of the text by making it sound weighty and official. The word-for-word translations in the PTr, however, are inflated and ponderous. The reason may lie not only in the use of a cliché as such (this cliché type can be used also in authentic Finnish texts), but also in the half-Russian choice of words. Clichés of this kind have been consistently avoided in the ATRs:

(38 ST) «Интерэлектро» ставит своей главной задачей содействие наиболее полному удовлетворению потребностей стран-участниц в электротехнической продукции высокого качества, максиальное использование преимуществ международного разделения труда на основе добровольности и соблюдения взаимных интересов. (18:6)

(38 PTr) Interelektron päätehtävänä on edesauttaa sopijamaiden tarpeiden mahdollisimman täydellistä tyydyttämistä korkeakvalkaisilla sähköteknisillä tuotteilla sekä käyttää parhaalla mahdollisella tavalla hyväksi kansainvälisten työnjaon etuja vapaahdeoisuuden ja keskinäisten etujen kunniaittamisen pohjalta.

(38 ATTr) Interelektron tehtävänä on edistää laadukoiden sähkölaitteiden tuotantoa jäsenmaissa käyttämällä mahdollisimman tehokkaasti hyväksi näiden maiden välistä
työnjakoa. Toiminta on luonnollisesti vapaaehtoista, ja siinä otetaan huomioon kaikkien jäsen maiden edut.

(39 ST) На прочной договорно-правовой основе осуществляется деловое сотрудничество СССР с Францией, которое охватывает многие области. (2:26)

(39 PTr) Neuvostoliiton ja Ranskan välillä liikealalla tapahtuvaa, monet alat kattavaa yhteistyötä harjoitetaan kestävällä sopimuus oikeudellisella perustalla.

(39 ATr) Neuvostoliitolla on monipuolista sopimuksi perustuvaa yhteistyötä myös Ranskan kanssa.

(40 ST) Проводимая партией политика в области доходов и потребления, как и прежде, исходит из того, что главным путём повышения доходов населения является рост оплаты по труду --- (6:18)

(40 PTr) Puolueen politiikka tulojen ja kulutuksen alalla perustuu siihen, että väestön tulojen lisäämisen pääkeinoa on työpalkan korottaminen ---

(40 ATr) Tulo- ja kulutuspolitiikassa kommunistinen puolue noudattaa edelleen sitä periaatetta, että kansalaisten tuloja lisätään pääasiassa --- palkankorotuksin.

(41 ST) --- позитивный опыт решения проблемы государственности в рамках интеграции стран СЭВ имеет огромное международное значение. (9:16)

(41 PTr) SEV-maiden integraation puitteissa on saatu myönteistä kokemusta valtiorakneongelman ratkaisusta, ja tällä on suuri kansainvälinen merkitys ---

(41 ATr) SEV-maat sitä vastoin ovat yhdentetyssä säilyttäneet jäsenvaltioidensa itsemäärijämisöikeudet.

Another noun somewhat resembling a postposition is the word oloissa 'in the conditions', in the circumstances' (в условиях): kapitalismin oloissa 'in the circumstances of capitalism', energiakriisin oloissa 'in the circumstances of an energy crisis', etc. Such expressions sound so entirely alien that one would not expect to see any of them in a Finnish text. In the ATrs в условиях has therefore always been rendered by other means (see also Vehmas-Lehto 1985: 193):

(42 ST) Огромное историческое значение имеет тот факт, что на базе социалистического общественного строя созданы и реально функционируют совершенно иные, чем в условиях капитализма, международные отношения. (9:8)
(42 PTr) Suuri merkitys on sillä tosiseikalla, että sosialistisen yhteiskuntajärjestelmän pohjalta on luotu ja reaalisesti vaikuttavat aivan toisenlaiset kansainväliset suhteet kuin kapitalismin oloissa.

(42 ATr) Sosialistisilla mailla on myös aivan toisenlaiset suhteet muihin valtioihin kuin kapitalistisilla mailla.

(43 ST) По словам фермеров многих стран, он не имеет равных в своём классе по топливной экономичности – важнейшее достоинство в условиях экономического кризиса. (19:11)

(43 PTr) Monissa maissa viljelijät pitävät sitä saman luokan traktoreista vähiten polttoainetta kuluttavana, mikä energiakriisin oloissa on varsin tärkeä etu.

(43 ATr) Viljelijät ovat monissa maissa sitä mieltä, että tämän luokan traktoreista se kuluttaa ylivoimaisesti vähiten polttoainetta. Tämä on energiakriisin aikana tietysti suuri etu.

9.7 Discussion

Theoretically, the PTrs could be even more faithful in copying the emotive devices of the STs. This can be illustrated by the rates of word-for-word translations of the most common cliché type, the adjectival attribute and the head noun. The translation equivalents of 74 of the 271 ST clichés of this type (i.e. 27 %) differ from the ST clichés either syntactically, semantically or in both respects. In practice, however, it is doubtful whether any translations could follow the ST syntactic and semantic structure more faithfully than this.

Incidentally, there seems to be no difference between the translations made in the Soviet Union and most translations made in Finland. The only exception is provided by translations 11–15, which have been edited by the publishers of “Prospekti”. The percentage of word-for-word equivalents for the attribute and head noun clichés in these translations is only 54 %, while it is 78 % in other translations made in Finland and 79 % in the Soviet translations.

Regarding emotive devices, the ATrs are closer to authentic Finnish texts than the PTrs are: they contain fewer emotive words, translation clichés, coordinations, and nominal sentences, and their emotive vocabulary is weaker than in the PTrs. In other words, the ATrs do not always render the ST emotive meaning of words and passages. They seek to follow the principle that a text should impress by its content, not by imposing the author's opinions on the readers. In other
words, they seek to perform the persuasive function through referential meaning (or “denotative content”, see Latyšev in 2.4.4) rather than through emotive meaning.

Nor do the ATrs necessarily render all ST referential meaning, either, thus departing from the principle of semantic equivalence (see 2.2, and 3.2.2). Like Newmark (1981: 42) I assume “that whilst a semantic translation is always inferior to its original, since it involves loss of meaning, a communicative translation may be better, since it may gain in force and clarity what it loses in semantic content”.

One more argument in favour of neutralization of the translations is the possibility that the STs may in fact be less emotive than their emotive devices lead one to believe. This is because their emotive devices are standardized and the same types of expressions are used repeatedly. Such expressions are usually affected by “the law of diminishing returns” (Ullman 1962: 139): an emotive word or expression becomes less effective the more often it is repeated. According to Devkin (1986: 70), “expressemes” (i.e. expressive semes), if used frequently “lose their aesthetic strength (эстетичность) and their power of expression (яркость) and turn into clichés and thus into stylistic errors. --- Hollow and false pathos and the endeavour to turn banality into impressiveness are suspicious enough as such, but if they also result in schematic and dry language, expressiveness disappears, and – worst of all – these features degrade the content of the writing, even if it were worthy of the reader's respect”. (Devkin 1986: 70; transl. I V-L.)

If expressiveness is understood as 'enhancing the effect of an expression' (see Devkin 1986: 69), much of the expressiveness (emotivity) of the STs may in fact be pseudo-expressiveness (псевдоэкспрессия).\(^{53}\) Such expressiveness should not be transferred into a translation, or else there will be a distortion (Devkin 1986: 76).

To sum up, the persuasive function remains even in the modified translations. Only the means of its realization are adjusted to the needs of a Finnish audience by making them fresher and less emotive. Because such devices make a more positive impression on Finnish readers, they succeed better in performing the persuasive function. Consequently, neutralization makes the translations more persuasive.

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53 Devkin (1986) uses the term *pseudo-expressiveness* (псевдо-экспрессия) when talking about *terms* which have lost their expressiveness. However, the scope of the word can be broadened.
According to Koller, the time of difficult-to-read translations is over even in belles-lettres. “A translation has to be readable, cost what it may.” (Koller 1981: 273; transl. I V-L). And indeed, a good or at least a reasonable readability level is nowadays one of the general requirements for translations. The receptor mostly needs to understand the message not only correctly, but also quickly and easily.

But a good readability level is especially important for translations intended for the press. Firstly, press articles are addressed to the general public. Consequently, they should be understood not only by well educated people, but also by people with an average or low educational level. Secondly, readers of press articles are probably not willing to waste much time and energy on working out the message contained in obscure sentences. If the readability requirement is not met, the article will probably be left unread.

However, as remarked by Nida, translators very often unconsciously follow the forms of the source language, and translations thus contain rare word forms, unusual syntax, strange words or word combinations, and unfamiliar themes. The resulting lack of redundancy adds to the “communication load” of the translations, i.e. reduces their comprehensibility. (Nida 1964: 129–142; see also Latyšev 1981: 241–243 about the “literality” of translations). According to Latyšev (1981: 191–192), an important factor contributing to deficient comprehensibility in translations is neglect of the TL usus.

Besides linguistic factors, the readability level of a text can depend on various other features, e.g. the typographic characteristics of the text (legibility) and its interestingness, which is connected with its content (see Platzack 1974: 18; Mackovskij 1977: 126; Rainio 1974: 56; Wiio 1975: 87). But the present study will be concerned only with the linguistic (also called stylistic) aspect of readability.

10.1 Research on readability

There was research on the readability of (authentic) texts as early as the 19th century (Platzack 1974: 11), but in the proper sense of the word readability has been studied only since the 1920's (Wiio 1969: 87). The majority of readability studies to date deal with English, the most well-
known among them being the studies of Flesch (e.g. 1948; 1949). The readability indexes constructed on the basis of these studies have been widely used in the USA as guidelines in writing e.g. schoolbooks and newspaper articles.

Although there are other readability indexes besides the Flesch index (see Wagenaar & al. 1987), the Flesch-type indexes have been the most popular. Consequently, most readability studies have been performed with quite simple methods, by counting letters, syllables and words, and by calculating the average length of clauses and sentences.

Also experimental methods have been used both in order to establish the readability level of texts and the factors affecting readability. The most popular of these methods has been the Cloze test, i.e. a test which measures the percentage of deliberately omitted words that can be filled in correctly by the subjects (for criticism see 4.4.3 above). Another well-established method is the investigation of reading rate (see e.g. Björnsson 1968: 186–191; Carver 1983).

Little attention has been paid to complexity of structure, even though it seems to be the most important factor influencing readability (however, see Kintsch & Keenan 1973; Cirilo & Foss 1980). In many cases the index obtained with a readability formula and the scores obtained from the empirical tests have actually given opposite results (Gustafsson 1982: 28).

The problems connected with readability of translations are even more complex than those connected with authentic texts. Perhaps this is why translation researchers have been disinclined even to use the word *readability* (Lesbarkeit, lisibilité). To my knowledge, this term has been used in connection with translations only by Dye (1971), Koller (1981; see above) and Tatilon (1978). The latter, without actually studying readability, emphasizes its importance in the translations of advertisements.

Readability indexes have been applied to translations only by Dye (1971). Moreover, his study, which deals with the English translations of certain French texts, was performed rather inexpertly. As a result, it only succeeded in showing that English words are on the average shorter in written form than French words. What it did not show was that this difference makes the English translations easier to read than the STs. This is because readability, in connection with e.g. structural aspects, is not necessarily based on identical factors in different languages. Consequently, indexes designed to measure readability in one language cannot be applied to texts written in another language.

However, reading problems connected with translations have been given attention under a
different name, i.e. under the name of comprehensibility (see e.g. Nida 1964: 129–142; for comments on comprehensibility problems in Finnish translations see Äikiä 1975; Tirkkonen-Condit 1982a: 57–59; and Vehmas-Lehto 1984: 37; 1985: 187). The response-based studies reported on above (4.4.3) were mainly designed for the measuring of translation comprehensibility: Cloze techniques, hesitation counting, performance tests, reading rate experiments etc. Some of these methods, e.g. answering questions based on the translation, are less mechanical than simply applying readability indexes. However, it seems that though experimental methods make it possible to establish the readability/comprehensibility level of a translation, the reasons for the reading difficulties yield to experimental methods only with the greatest of difficulty (for criticism of experimental methods see 4.4.3).

The present thesis will study the readability of translations by a combination of methods. Firstly, the readability level of different Finnish text types will be established by a readability experiment (see 10.2). Secondly, the reasons for the translations' low readability level will be studied mainly on the basis of previous knowledge about the readability factors of Finnish texts.

The terms readability and comprehensibility will be used as synonyms.

10.2 Intuitive impressions of the readability level of the translations

The PTrs give – in varying degrees – an overall impression of being difficult to understand. Example 44 PTr below illustrates this quite convincingly:


Kymmenenen viisivuotiskauden päätähtävänä on kansan elin- ja kulttuuritoason kohottamiseen tähtäävän kommunistisen puolueen linjan johdonmukainen toteuttaminen yhteiskunnallisen tuotannon dynaamisen ja määräsuhtaisen kehityksen pohjalta samoin kuin sen tehokkuuden lisäämisen, tieteellis-teknisen edistyksen nopeuttamisen, työn tuottavuuden kasvun sekä kansantalouden kaikkien osien työn laadun kaikkinaisen parantamisen pohjalta.

Kymmenen viisivuotiskausi on uusi vaihe puolueen sosiaalis-taloudellisen kehityksen ja laajenevan tieteellis-teknisen perustan rakentamisen pitkän aikavälin ohjelman toteuttamisessa. Tämä on uusi vaihe sosialististen yhteiskuntasuhteiden ja neuvostoliittolaisen elämäntavan kehittämisessä samoin kuin maamme turvallisuuden varmistamisessa. (6:1–4)
This impression of mine was supported by subjects' comments in experiment 1 (see 8.2 above): reading problems were the most commonly mentioned characteristics of the translated passages used in the experiment. Moreover, the comments were spontaneous: the subjects were not given any suggestions about possible types of comments. In this connection, it is worth mentioning that the investigations performed by Wagenaar & al. (1987) revealed a close correlation between subjective assessments of readability and Cloze scores, Flesch indexes and all measures of reading speed.

However, another experiment, specifically designed to measure readability, was conducted.

10.3 Experiment 4: the readability of the Finnish text types

10.3.1 The experimental procedure

The methods of testing translation readability had turned out to be more or less unsatisfactory (see 4.4.3 above). Therefore another method seemed necessary. Methods based on reading rate were considered, but rejected. This was partly because reading rate experiments would have required many more subjects and material than seemed reasonable to employ, considering that they would not help to establish the reasons for the obviously low readability level of the PTrs. Moreover, it was uncertain whether reading rate measures would even reveal significant differences between the text types: according to Carver (1983: 206), people typically read at a constant rate rather than adjusting their rate to the difficulty level of the material.

As it was probable, however, that reading difficulties were reflected in the quality of understanding textual content, a method measuring reading comprehension was chosen. The subjects were asked to identify in a series of made-up assertions those which corresponded to the content of the text.

The material consisted of six texts. Two of them were PTr passages (PTr 9 and PTr 16), two were the corresponding ATr passages (ATr 9 and ATr 16), and the other two were authentic Finnish passages (FT 5 and FT 10). The subjects were naturally not told to which category the texts belonged. None of the texts had been used in the three experiments reported
on in the earlier chapters. The 66 subjects, on the other hand, were the same high-school students as in the other experiments. The subjects worked in 6 groups. Each subject was given one text only.

The number of words in the ATrs is smaller than in the other texts. Consequently, the ATrs are not comparable with the other texts in terms of word number. On the other hand, they contain the same information as the corresponding PTrs. The PTrs and the FTs, in their turn, are comparable in terms of word number, but they contain different information. However, subject matter in all texts is similar, COMECON. The numbers of words in the passages were as follows:

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PTr 9</td>
<td>359 words</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PTr 16</td>
<td>358 words</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ATr 9</td>
<td>303 words</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ATr 16</td>
<td>331 words</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FT 5</td>
<td>347 words</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FT 10</td>
<td>372 words</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Each subject was given a text and a list of assertions consisting of 15 four-item sets. The subjects were asked to pick the (one) correct item in each set. Three of the items were assertions about the content of the text; the fourth item stated “Not expressed in the text”. E.g. as follows:

The relations of COMECON countries and the capitalist countries have been
a. good
b. bad
c. different from what they were before
d. Not expressed in the text.

As the translations used went in pairs, the PTrs and ATrs in both instances being translated from the same ST, the same sets of assertions were given to readers of both translation variants. In planning the assertions, attention was paid to choosing such vocabulary which would not favour one group of subjects at the expense of the other (i.e. vocabulary either present or absent in both translations).

The experiment took 30 minutes. Both groups with the PTr passages complained vigorously about shortage of time. The other groups made no comments to this effect.
10.3.2 The analysis of the results

Table 13 shows the percentage of right answers in connection with each text:

| Table 13. The readability of translations and authentic texts as reflected by the percentage of right answers to content questions |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Text number | 9 | 16 | 5 | 10 | Mean |
| PTr | 47 | 61 | | | 54 |
| ATr | 59 | 75 | | | 67 |
| FT | | | 82 | 83 | 83 |

The results show that the FTs tested are on the average much easier to understand than the PTrs. Moreover, the fact that the values for the ATrs are midway between those of the PTr and FT passages shows that translations can be made somewhat easier by changing the linguistic means used. However, when appraising the results, the difference in word number between the passages has to be kept in mind. As the ATr passages are shorter than the FTs, the difference in readability between these text types may be bigger than shown by the table.

The differences between the text types are clear. Moreover, as all the passages used in the experiment deal with the same theme, COMECON, the differences cannot be due to the subjects' unfamiliarity with the subject matter. In spite of all this, the results are in one sense disappointing. As I had made all the linguistic readjustments I considered in my power, and also some pragmatic changes (connected with emotivity) in order to make the ATrs clear, I had expected them to rate higher in readability than they actually did. But apparently the ATr passages still were in some respects unsatisfactory. A re-examination of ATr 9 produced several observations about details which could be improved.

54 The expression *maailman maiden välinen työnjakon* 'division of labour between the countries of the world' is long and alien. *Maailmankauppa* 'world trade' could be used instead, even though there is a slight semantic difference. The abbreviation *SEV* should be used consistently for COMECON, and the expression *Keskinäisen taloudellisen avun neuvosto* should be avoided. Otherwise some readers may be misled to think that they are two different organisations.

There are too long sentences in the first paragraph. The second sentence could be halved. It is not necessary to sum up the whole content of the first paragraph at the beginning of the second paragraph. It would be enough to take up the main idea, the firm position of the socialist countries in the world economy, and go
But it seems also that the PTrs' low readability scores are due not only to purely linguistic factors, but also to the STs' textual strategy, i.e. the way and order of expressing the subject matter. Consequently, in order to make the translations really successful in a Finnish context, or at least more successful, they should be modified in a more fundamental way, in fact rewritten.55

Only the linguistic factors affecting readability will be discussed in the sections below.

10.4 Potential linguistic reasons for the low readability of translations

It is obvious that one factor lowering the readability level of translations is the presence of overt errors. They misdirect the reader's attention from the message. Also the covert errors discussed in chapter 9, i.e. coordinate parts of a sentence, emotive words and clichés, have a negative impact on readability. This is because Finns are used to reading simple and matter-of-fact texts with few unnecessary words. However, these factors are not the only linguistic features causing reading difficulties; other covert errors must be found.

An obvious source of information about potential reasons for low readability are studies of authentic texts. If a certain linguistic feature was shown to cause reading problems in authentic texts, it probably has the same effect in translations.

Unfortunately, however, empirical information about readability of Finnish texts is scarce. Readability tests have, to my knowledge, only been performed by Wiio (1968; see also e.g. Wiio 1968a; 1969; 1975), who on their basis – adapting American prototypes – developed readability formulae applicable to Finnish texts. Other writings on the readability of Finnish texts have been based on the results presented by Wiio (e.g. Louhija 1972).

Wiio (see 1969: 90–91) divided the factors influencing the readability of Finnish texts into word factors and sentence structure factors. Presented in a slightly simplified manner, these factors are the following:

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55 E.g. the comprehensibility of text 16 could be further improved by reducing the degree of the so-called semantic packing (the term is Niemikorpi's, 1989), e.g. by leaving out the confusing names of the economic programs, plans and agreements.
Word factors:
- average number of syllables in a word
- number of words of foreign origin
- number of easy words
- number of common words;

Sentence structure factors
- “modification ratio”, i.e. the ratio of the sum of adjectives and adverbs to the sum of verbs and nouns,
- number of sentences per 100 words.

According to Wiio, long words and words of foreign origin reduce the readability of the text. On the other hand, easy words and common words improve it. A high modification ratio signifies a difficult text. The same applies to a text with a small average number of sentences per 100 words, i.e. with a big average sentence length. The most important word factor is word length, and the most important sentence structure factor is the modification ratio. (Wiio 1969: 90–91). Because Wiio's studies were based on journalistic language (articles in periodicals), his results should be applicable also to the material of the present study.

It would be interesting to go into the effect of word factors on the readability level of translations. E.g. the PTrs probably contain a smaller number of common words than the FTs do (because of the literal translations of Russian words; see Vehmas-Lehto 1985: 189–190). Because a translator has more opportunity to influence syntactic structure than vocabulary (e.g. economic terminology), the following investigation will, however, concentrate on syntax.

Even though empirical data are scarce, specialists on the Finnish language have repeatedly pointed to certain linguistic factors which, especially when used in abundance, cause reading problems. Among these factors are the following:

2. **Contracted sentences**, i.e. substitutes for clauses (Koivusalo & Huovinen-Nyberg 1981: 47–54; Huovinen-Nyberg 1982: 42)
5. **Left-branching** constructions (see e.g. Itkonen 1972: 376–373; Vuoriniemi 1975: 149), most of all **heavy participial attributes** (Itkonen 1979: 98–102; 1982: 93–96; Huovinen-

(6) **Misleading grammatical cases**, i.e. using the same grammatical case in different functions within one sentence (samasijaisuus; Koivusalo & Huovinen-Nyberg 1981: 38–40; Itkonen 1982: 96).

The influence on the text of most of the factors listed above is above all **quantitative**.

### 10.5 Sentence length and clause length

Sentence length or clause length constitute a part of most readability formulae, e.g. those of Flesch (see 10.1 above). And indeed, in the light of the experiments performed by Coleman (1962), it seems evident that readability (at least that of English texts) can to a certain extent be improved by shortening sentences. For Finnish texts, the negative correlation of readability with the average sentence length is .50–.60 (Wiio 1969: 91).

It is evident that long sentences and clauses are not the fundamental reason for low readability; they only serve to **predict** reading difficulties. The correlation between sentence length (clause length) and low readability is evidently mainly due to the abundance of complex structures in long sentences (for English texts see Coleman 1964: 190, and Schlesinger 1968: 79; for Finnish texts see Kankaanpää 1984: 260). But, at least in English, sentence length is as good a predictor of readability as structural complexity (Macginitie & Tretiak 1970).

#### 10.5.1 Sentence length and clause length in Finnish journalistic texts

In order to discover whether the PTrs' sentence and clause length is appropriate for texts being published in the Finnish press, one has to establish both the actual average sentence length (or clause length) in the Finnish press and the recommendable sentence length as seen by linguists.

Table 14 shows the average word number in sentences and clauses in various Finnish texts. The table contains information from other sources besides the FTs. The theses by Niemikorpi (1974: 17–18 and 33–34) and Niinimäki (1978) specifically deal with journalistic language– the former with newspapers and periodicals in the 1960s, the latter with newspaper

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56 In an experiment performed by Coleman (1962) a textual variant with short sentences turned out to be only 6% easier to understand than the long-sentence variant of the same text.
editorials in 1973. The study by Hakulinen & Karlsson & Vilkuna (1980: 136–138), on the other hand, deals with written standard Finnish, but their material mostly comes from newspapers and periodicals.

When assessing the data in table 14, it must be taken into account that the FT data and the data collected by Hakulinen & Karlsson & Vilkuna are based on a concept of clause somewhat different from that in Niemikorpi's and Niinimäki's studies: in the former, the most important non-finite constructions were also counted as clauses (see Hakulinen & Karlsson & Vilkuna 1980: 10–13).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The study</th>
<th>Sentence length (words)</th>
<th>Clause length (words)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hakulinen &amp; Karlsson Vilkuna 1980</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>6.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niemikorpi 1974</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>7.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niinimäki 1978</td>
<td>14.2</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The FTs</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>7.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The differences between the values presented in table 14 are small. On the other hand, the actual difference in clause length in the FTs' favour is bigger than shown by the table. This is because the FT values were calculated along the lines given by Hakulinen & Karlsson & Vilkuna. The difference substantiates the impression of formality of style, which served as one criterion when picking the FTs. An average sentence length of approximately 13–14 words is given by all sources.

The recommendations of linguists are in harmony with the prevailing practice. It is true that the importance of moderate sentence and clause length has been underlined, e.g. by Wiio (1968a: 222; 1975: 96; 1977: 149), Pulkkinen (1977: 23–24), and Rainio (1981: 22–24), but the recommendations do not differ from actual contemporary Finnish. E.g. Rainio (1974: 64) warns against an average sentence length exceeding 13–14 words. According to Wiio (1968a:

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57 It is interesting that the sentence length of written Finnish, at least that of journalistic texts, has become shorter during the 20th century. According to Niemikorpi (1974: 19), the average sentence length in the first half of the 19th century constituted 19.95 words (half of his material consisted of non-fiction and the other half of journalistic texts). According to Niinimäki (1978), newspaper editorials in 1923 had an average sentence length of 19 words.
222), the most favourable length for an individual sentence is 13 +/- 5 words, and a text is
difficult to understand if its average sentence length exceeds 18 words. This requirement is very
moderate, considering that the average sentence length of the language of law, which is
generally regarded as difficult to understand, is 21 words (see Koivusalo 1981: 36).

The importance of short sentences has not been stressed as heavily in Finland as in the
USA. The relationship of sentence length and readability has not been seen as something simple
and straightforward. On the contrary, even though long sentences clearly are difficult to read,
short sentences do not guarantee easy reading (Wiio 1968a: 222). Moreover, too short sentences
may even have an adverse effect on readability (Rainio 1974: 65–66; 1981: 25–26).

10.5.2 Sentence length and clause length in the different text types

If relatively short sentences are characteristic of Finnish journalistic texts, the STs seem to
abound in long sentences. Also the PTrs' sentences are often rather long. This impression was
commented upon by several subjects in experiment 1 (see 8.2.5 above).

Tables 15 and 17 compare the average sentence length and clause length in the different
text types which form the material of the present study. When counting words and clauses, the
following principles were followed: (1) Short, long-established Russian prepositions like
благодаря, в соответствии, согласно, etc. were not counted as words (contrar etc.); (2)
Russian parenthetical words and expressions (вводные слова и выражения) were included in
the number of words of the clause; (3) Numbers were counted as so many words as there would
have been, had they been written with letters; (4) Abbreviations were counted as one word; (5)
As most Finnish non-finite constructions were regarded as clauses, also Russian gerundial
constructions (but not single gerunds expressing the mode of action) were treated likewise. The
same applies to Russian post-modifying participial attributes (their function corresponds to that
of a subordinate clause; and they are usually translated accordingly).

Table 15 shows clear differences between the text types as regards average sentence
length:

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58 The drawbacks of a great average sentence length have received special attention in connection with the language of
59 Platzack (1974: 111–115) has shown experimentally that very short sentences have a negative effect on the readability
of Swedish texts. A text with an average sentence length of 9 words turned out to be more difficult to understand than a
text with an average sentence length of 13 words.
Table 15. Average sentence length (words)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text type</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Standard deviation</th>
<th>Smallest value</th>
<th>Largest value</th>
<th>Standard error of mean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The STs</td>
<td>19.7</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>29.8</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The PTrs</td>
<td>16.8</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The ATrs</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>11.2</td>
<td>19.7</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The FTs</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>16.1</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Both authentic text types in table 15 have the extreme values, the STs having the greatest and the FTs the smallest sentence length. Both translation types are intermediate between them, the PTrs being closer to the STs, and the ATrs closer to the FTs.

The standard deviation and the standard error of mean for the STs are bigger than those for the other texts. A bigger sample size would have reduced them, but it is more important for the present study to shed light on the relations of the different text types than to examine how well the STs represent their population.  

Instead of the normal distribution, the t-values were used in establishing the significance of the differences between the text types (see table 16). This was because of the relatively small sample size. (See Vahervuo & Kalimo 1975: 183).

Table 16. The t-values of the differences between the text types as regards sentence length

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>The STs</th>
<th>The PTrs</th>
<th>The ATrs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The PTrs</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The ATrs</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The FTs</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to table 16, the differences between all other text types but the ATrs and the FTs are statistically significant (a 5% risk level is applied throughout the study). This means that, as regards sentence length, the ATrs comply with authentic Finnish. In fact, their average sentence length is almost identical with the value given by Niinimäki (see table 14). The difference

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60 The ST sentence length is a little bigger than the sentence length of Russian Foreign Surveys at the beginning of the 1960s, which had an average sentence length of 17.7 words (Sirotinina & al.).
between the PTrs and the FTs, on the other hand, is highly significant (when the FTs are compared with any other text type, the t-values above 2.03 are significant). Consequently, as regards sentence length, the PTrs are covertly erroneous, i.e. quasi-correct.

Table 17 shows that the quasi-correctness of the PTrs extends also to clause length:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text type</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Standard deviation</th>
<th>Smallest value</th>
<th>Largest value</th>
<th>Standard error of mean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The STs</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>16.5</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The PTrs</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The ATrs</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The FTs</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In table 17, the values of the PTrs are – again – quite close to the STs, which have the largest values. The ATrs, on the other hand, are not far from the FTs, which have the shortest clauses. But as shown by the t-values in table 18, also the differences between the ATrs and the FTs, not to mention the differences between other text types, are significant. This means that, as regards clause length, even the ATrs are not entirely similar to authentic Finnish.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The STs</th>
<th>The PTrs</th>
<th>The ATrs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The PTrs</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The ATrs</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>6.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The FTs</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In all, the results comply with expectations. They show that Russian and Finnish journalistic texts differ from each other considerably and that the PTrs’ average sentence and clause length is covertly erroneous.

As for the Finnish texts, the results also support the view that a high average sentence and

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61 On the 5% risk level, the t-values above 2.03 are significant when the FTs are compared with the other text types (the number of the degrees of freedom is 33). When comparing the other text types with each other, the t-value must exceed 2.09 in order to be significant (the number of the degrees of freedom is 19).
clause length signifies low readability. The PTrs, which were shown to be difficult to read both by experiment 1 and experiment 4, have the longest sentences and clauses. The FTs, which were shown to be the easiest to read, have the shortest sentences and clauses.

As for the Russian STs, the fact that they contain the longest sentences and clauses does not prove the presence of reading difficulties. This is because the relationship between readability and sentence length/clause length can be established only within a certain language, not across language boundaries.

10.5.3 Methods of reducing sentence length

As the ATrs' average sentence length does not differ significantly from the FTs, these translations can presumably give hints about how sentence length can be reduced.

The relatively low average sentence length of the ATrs, it is true, can partly be explained by their shorter clause length (the average number of clauses per sentence in both translation types is 1.6). Methods of reducing clause length will be discussed in 10.5.4 below).

But the ATrs also have somewhat more sentences per text than the PTrs or the STs. In other words, the ATrs are not as faithful to the sentence division of the STs as the PTrs are. Sentences have been joined together, or – more often – chopped up. The average numbers of sentences in different texts are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Number of sentences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The STs</td>
<td>27.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The PTrs</td>
<td>27.3 + 2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The ATrs</td>
<td>27.3 + 2.0 + 3.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the ATrs, ST clauses were sometimes detached from the principal clause for no definable reason; it just felt better that way. This pertains especially to non-restrictive relative clauses. Derived from co-ordinate clauses by transformations (Hakulinen & Karlsson 1979: 125), they have a loose connection with the principal clause and are thus easy to detach:
(45 ST) Деятельность Банка успешно развивается, что выражается не только в быстром росте объёма его операций, но также и в увеличении числа стран-членов.(8:12)

(45 PTr) Pankin toiminta kehittyy menestyksellisesti, mikä ilmenee sen liiketoimien laajenemisena ja jäsenmaiden määrän kasvuna.

(45 ATr) MBES-pankin toiminta on kehittynyt suotuisasti. Tätä osoittaa paitsi pankkitoimien nopea lisääntyminen myös jäsenmaiden määrän kasvu.

(46 ST) Большой вклад в выявление новых возможностей сотрудничества вносит постоянная межправительственная советско-финляндская комиссия по экономическому сотрудничеству, которая, по общей оценке сторон, стала организующим и координирующим центром всего комплекса многообразных и взаимовыгодных советско-финляндских связей. (2:15)

(46 PTr) Suuri osuus uusien yhteistyömahdollisuuksien selville saamisessa on Neuvostoliiton ja Suomen pysyvällä hallitusten välisellä taloudellisella yhteistyökäymisellä, joka osapuolten yhteisen arvion mukaan on tullut Neuvostoliiton ja Suomen kaikkia monimuotoisia ja keskinäisesti edullisia yhteyksiä organisoivaksi ja koordinoivaksi keskukseksi.

(46 ATr) Se, että Suomi ja Neuvostoliitto ovat löytäneet aina uusia yhteistyömahdollisuuksia, on paljolti Suomen ja Neuvostoliiton pysyvän hallitustenvälisen taloudellisen yhteistyökäymisen ansiota. Molempien osapuolten mukaan tämä komissio onkin tärkein niistä elimistä, jotka organisoivat ja koordinoivat Neuvostoliiton ja Suomen monipuolisia, kumpaakin osapuolta hyödyttäviä suhteita.

Usually, however, the chopping up of sentences had a clear motive. This was the desire to avoid having too much information in one sentence. The ST and PTr sentences are often rather packed: they may e.g. have new information both in their thematic and rhematic part. E.g. in example 47 ST/PTr, the theme has a list of the charter members of the bank, and the rheme a list of the bank's functions.

It is true that sometimes (e.g. in examples 47 and 48) the information given in the theme may actually be more or less familiar to Soviet readers and thus have a ritual aura. For Finnish readers, however, it may really be new and thus worth more attention. Thus, e.g. in example 47 ATr the new information was divided between two sentences and in both of them located in the rheme. Example 48 ATr, which contains quite a few other modifications, follows the same principle:
Правительства Болгарии, Венгрии, ГДР, Монголии, Польши, Румынии, советского Союза и Чехословакии, создавая МБЭС, поручили ему организацию и проведение расчётов, а также удовлетворение кредитных потребностей в коллективной валюте — переводных рублях, вытекающих из их взаимных экономических отношений, аккумуляцию и хранение свободных средств в переводных рублях, проведение принятых в международной банковской практике операций в конвертируемой валюте и золоте. (8:10)

Kansainvälistä yhteistyöpankkia perustaessaan Bulgarian, Unkarin, DDR:n, Mongolian, Puolan, Romanian, Neuvostoliiton ja Tsekkoslovakian hallitukset asettivat pankin tehtäväksi maksusuoritusten järjestämisen ja hoitamisen sekä maiden keskinäisistä taloussuhteista juontuvien luottotarpeiden tyydyttämisen yhteisen valuutan, siirtoruplan avulla, vapaiden siirtoruplavarojen kasaamisen ja säilyttämisen ja kansainvälisessä pankkitoiminnassa hyväksytyjen liiketoimien suorittamisen vapaasti vaihdettavalla valuuttalla ja kullalla.

MBES-pankin perustajajäseniä ovat Bulgaria, DDR, Mongolia, Neuvostoliitto, Puola, Romania, Tshekkoslovakia ja Unkari. Perustamissopimuksen mukaan MBES
- huolehti maksuliikenteestä,
- myöntää siirtoruplaluottoja SEV- maiden suhteista juontaviin luottotarpeisiin,
- kerää ja säilyttää vapaita siirtoruplia,
- suorittaa muita kansainvälisen käytännön mukaisia pankkitoimia vapaasti vaihdettavalla valuuttalla ja kullalla.

Исходя из того, что земля, её недра, заводы, банки — вся экономика страны — находится в руках одного хозяина, народного государства, программа ГОЭРЛО сформулировала основные принципы планомерного, пропорционального развития индустрии в интересах всех народов, входивших в РСФСР. (3:6)


Sen johtoajatuksena oli, että maa talous (mm. maapohja, kaivannaiset, tehtaat ja pankit) kuuluvat valtiolle ja että valtiossa valta on kansalla. Venäjän federaation teollisuutta tuli kehittää tasapuolisesti maan kaikkien kansojen etujen mukaisesti.

In examples 47 and 48 above, the constructions detached in the ATr version are gerundial constructions, i.e. constructions in many respects resembling clauses. Other clause-like
constructions which often contribute to making sentences packed are the participial clauses. In the ATrs they were sometimes turned into sentences, e.g. if a pre-modifying participial attribute would have been long and heavy (cf. example 49 PTr) and a relative clause clumsy:

(49 ST) Основные направления экономического и социального развития СССР на 1981-1985 годы и на период до 1990 года, утвержденные XXVI съездом КПСС в марте с.г., предусматривает «Осуществлять дальнейшее развитие внешней торговли, экономического и научно-технического сотрудничества с зарубежными странами». (12:5–8)


Some ST action noun phrases, which also have characteristics resembling clauses, were rendered by separate sentences. This pertains especially to sentence-initial action noun phrases carrying new information (example 50, sentence 2; see also 10.8.5.2.1 below), and action noun phrases functioning as adverbials (example 51). In the latter case, chopping up had an additional motive: the desire to get rid of clichés:

(50 ST) Советский Союз располагает значительными запасами топливоэнергетических ресурсов, минерального сырья и других полезных ископаемых.

Ухудшение горно-геологических условий добычи сырья и топлива и перебазирование добычи сырья и топлива в труднодоступные районы севера и востока страны усиливает в известной степени напряжённость в удовлетворении растущих потребностей народного хозяйства в топливе и энергии, но отнюдь не ставит под сомнение экспортные возможности нашей страны. (12:12–13)

(50 PTr) Neuvostoliitolla on merkittävät polttoaine- ja energiavarat, runsaasti mineraalirauaka-aineita ja muita hyötykaivannaisia. Raaka- ja poltttoainetuotannon geologisten olosuhteiden vaikeutuminen sekä tuotannon siirtyminen maan pohjois- ja itäosien vaikeakulkuisille alueille aiheuttaa tiettyjä ongelmia kansantalouden kasvavan polttoaine- ja energiatarpeen tyydyttämisessä, mutta ei suinkaan aseta
kyseenalaiseksi maamme vientimahdollisuuksia.


(51 ST) Главная задача пятилетки состоит в последовательном осуществлении курса Коммунистической партии на подъём материального и культурного уровня жизни народа на основе динамичного и пропорционального развития общественного производства и повышения его эффективности, ускорения научно-технического прогресса, роста производительности труда, всемерного улучшения качества работы во всех звеньях народного хозяйства. (6:2)

(51 PTr) Kymmenennen viisivuotiskauden päätavoite on kohottaa kommunistisen puolueen puoleen linjan johdonmukainen toteuttaminen yhteiskunnallisen tuotannon dynamiisen ja määräsuhtaisen kehityksen pohjalta samoin kuin sen tehokkuuden lisäämis, tieteellis-teknisten edistyksen nopeuttaminen, työn tuottavuuden kasvun sekä kansantalousen kaikkien osien työn laadun kaikkinaisen parantamisen pohjalta.

A new sentence division in the ATrs was sometimes justified also by the wish to avoid lists of co-ordinated phrases. The phrases could be e.g. verbs (example 52), subjects (or subject appositions; example 53), or genitive attributes (example 54). The new sentence division gave the reader more time to digest what he was reading:

(52 ST) Она (Торгово-промышленная палата) устанавливает и постоянно расширяет связи с торговыми палатами и аналогичными организациями зарубежных стран, содействует установлению kontaktov внешнеторговых объединений с иностранными контрагентами, принимает иностранные торгово-промышленные делегации и направляет советские делегации за границу, в еще более широких масштабах организует за рубежом советские выставки. (23:19)

(52 PTr) Se (kauppa- ja teollisuuskamari) solmii ja laajentaa yhteyksiä kauppakamareihin ja vastaaviin oraganisaatioihin ulkomailla, myötävaikuttaa suhteiden solmimiseen ulkomaankauppayhtymien ja ulkomaisten sopimusosapuolten kesken, ottaa vastaan ulkomaisia kauppa- ja
teollisuusvaltuuskuntia ja lähetää neuvostoliittolaisia valtuuskuntia ulkomaaille sekä järjestää yhä laajemmassa mitassa neuvostoliittolaisia näyttelyitä ulkomailla.

(52 ATr) Se laajentaa suhteitaan muiden maiden kauppakamareihin tai vastaaviin järjestöihin sekä kehittää aiempia yhteyksiään. Se auttaa myösulkomaankauppayhtymiä säälimaan lisää suhteita mahdollisiin ulkomaisiin kauppakumppaneihin. Lisäksi se toimii ulkomaisten kauppa- ja teollisuusvaltuuskuntien isäntänä, lähetää neuvostoliittolaisia valtuuskuntia muihin maihin ja järjestää ulkomailla yhä useammin ja yhä suurempea neuvostoliittolaisen tuotteiden näyttelyitä.

(53 ST) Поэтому в наших народнохозяйственных планах определяющее значение приобретают качественные показатели, такие, как снижение удельных затрат сырья, материалов и топлива, лучшее использование производственных мощностей, улучшение потребительских свойств всех видов продукции и их изделий. (6:16)

(53 PTr) Sen vuoksi laadulliset osoittimet ovat kansantaloussunnitelmissamme ratkaisevan merkityksellisiä, esimerkiksi raaka-aineiden, materiaalien ja polttoaineiden kulutuksen alentaminen tuoteyksikköä kohti, tuotantokapasiteetin entistä parempi hyväksikäyttö sekä kaikkien tuotteiden ja valmisteiden käyttöomaisuuksien parantaminen.

(53 ATr) Sen vuoksi seuraavan viisivuotiskautena on tarpeen vähentää raaka-aineiden ja polttoaineiden kulutusta ja tehostaa tuotantokapasiteetin käyttöä. Myös tuotteiden käyttöomaisuuksia on parannettava.

(54 ST) На протяжении пятилетки были увеличены минимальные размеры заработной платы, тарифные ставки и должностные оклады среднеплательщиков, материальных отраслей материального производства на всей территории страны и ряда работников непроизводственной сферы. (5:26)

(54 PTr) Viisivuotiskauden aikana korotettiin koko maassa vähimmäispalkkoja sekä aineellisen tuotannon eri alojen keskituloisten työläisten ja toimihenkilöiden taulukko- ja virkapalkkoja samoin kuin useiden ei-tuotannollisten alojen palveluksessa olevien työntekijäryhmien palkkoja.

(54 ATr) Ansiotason korotukset koskivat mm. minimipalkkoja sekä keskipalkkaisten työntekijöiden taulukko- ja virkapalkkoja. Korotuksista pääsivät osallisiksi paitsi ns. tuottavien alojen työntekijät myös eriäät muut työntekijäryhmät.

Chopping up sentences has certain risks, connected with information structure, referential relations, and conjunction (Tirkkonen-Condit 1982a: 99). Therefore, when forming new sentences, special attention was paid to cohesion. New cohesive devices were added to
compensate for the loss of the ST ones.\textsuperscript{62} Very often this meant explicating the implicit cohesive ties between the ST clauses/phrases.

E.g. in examples 49 ATr and 51–53 ATr the relations of the sentences were explicated by the connectives *niiden mukaan* 'according to them',\textsuperscript{63} *sen vuoksi* 'therefore', *myös* 'also', and *lisäksi* 'in addition'.

Also other cohesive elements were added, e.g. pronouns and lexical devices. E.g. example 50 ATr has the pronoun *tämä* 'this', and example 52 ATr the pronoun *se* 'it'. Example 54 ATr has lexical repetition (*korotukset*), and example 53 ATr contextual synonyms *vähentää* and *parantaa*. The tie between the two sentences in example 47 ATr is based on the expression *perustamissopimuksen mukaan* 'according to the agreement about founding s-g', which was derived from the extratextual situation, common knowledge (when a bank is founded by several partners, an agreement has to be made).

Cohesive devices will be discussed in more detail in 10.10 below.

10.5.4 Methods of reducing clause length

The ATrs, having a significantly shorter average clause length than the STs and the PTrs, can be used also for devising ways of shortening clauses.

The difference between the PTrs and the ATrs as regards clause length is due to at least three factors. Firstly, certain ST emotive elements, most of which are present in the PTrs, were left untranslated in the ATrs (see 9.3, 9.5.3.1, and 9.6 above).

Secondly, the ATrs usually do not contain equivalents for the ST’s semantically poor words, be it functional verbs like *происходить* 'to take place', *проводить* 'to perform', *осуществлять* 'to realize, to carry into effect', etc. (see 10.8.2 below) or nouns like *направление* 'direction', *сфера* 'sphere', *вопрос* 'question, matter', *задача* 'task', *процесс* 'process' etc. (see 10.8.5.1 and 10.8.5.2.3 below).

Thirdly, the ATrs contain more clauses than the other text types. They have on the average 53 clauses per text, whereas the PTrs have 47 and the STs 45 clauses. This is primarily due to the

\textsuperscript{62} Cohesive devices must be added also when chopping up sentences in authentic texts (see Huovinen-Nyberg 1982: 38–39).

\textsuperscript{63} Such connectives, being formed from a pronoun and a postposition, are on the borderline between pronouns and connectives. In this thesis, they were included in the number of connectives.
fact that nominalizations were more often rendered by finite verbs in the ATrs than in the PTrs (see 10.8.5 below). Another reason is e.g. that some Russian attributes were replaced by relative clauses in the ATrs (see e.g. 10.9.3.3 below).

10.6 Sentence structure

Low readability is predicted by long sentences and clauses, but the real reason for it is evidently structural complexity. It would seem natural that long sentences and clauses, like those of the STs and the PTrs, should be structurally more complex than the shorter sentences of the FTs.

However, the STs and the PTrs have a surprisingly simple sentence structure. This is already suggested by table 20, which shows the average clause number per sentence in the different text types (supplemented with some information from Finnish studies). The translations have somewhat fewer clauses per sentence than the authentic Finnish text types:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 20. Average clause number per sentence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The STs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The PTrs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The ATrs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The FTs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Journalistic Finnish (Niemikorpi 1974)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Journalistic Finnish (Niinimäki 1978)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard Finnish (Hakulinen &amp; Karlsson &amp; Vilkuna 1980)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

But the simplicity of the sentence structure of the translations appears even more convincingly from table 21, which shows the percentages of sentences with one, two or several clauses. For the sake of comparison, the table also contains information about the language of the Finnish economic journal “Talouselämä” (Koivusalo 1981: 37) and about standard Finnish (Hakulinen & Karlsson & Vilkuna 1980: 136):
Tables 20 and 21 make a further analysis of sentence structure pointless. The reading difficulties caused by the PTrs cannot be due to complex sentence structure, because their sentences are considerably less complex than those of the other Finnish texts.

The interference from the STs in both translation types is evident: there is no significant difference between the STs, PTrs, and the ATrs.

The STs conform with the normal practice in the Russian press, where the percentage of one-clause sentences has been constantly growing during this century (Sirotinina & al. 1969: 23) so that one-clause sentences are now prevalent (Sirotinina & al. 1969: 22–26; Sergeeva 1979: 189–190; Vasil'eva 1982: 74). The proportion of one-clause sentences is higher in Russian journalistic texts than e.g. in scientific texts, where it varies between 40% and 52.5%.

Utter simplicity of sentence structure is clearly no better for the readability of Finnish texts than structural complexity. This is because a high frequency of one-clause sentences may make the rhythm of the text monotonous and by so doing lessen its interestingness and attractiveness. Finnish journalistic texts are expected to have a flexible sentence length (Rainio 1981: 27; Koivusalo 1981: 31). Apparently the requirement of flexibility can be extended to cover also sentence structure. In any case, the authentic Finnish texts have a more flexible sentence structure than the STs and the translations. Unfortunately the ATrs (because of the interference from the STs) cannot offer help for the accommodation of the translations to authentic Finnish usage.

---

Table 21. Sentences with one, two or several clauses in different text types (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text type</th>
<th>Sentences with one clause</th>
<th>Sentences with two clauses</th>
<th>Sentences with several clauses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The STs</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The PTrs</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The ATrs</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The FTs</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Talouselämä”</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard Finnish</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

64 The percentage of one-clause sentences in Russian scientific texts varies according to different authorities from 52.5% (calculated on the basis of the information given by Mitrofanova 1976: 77) to 49.7% (Kožina 1972: 325) or even 40% (Kožina & Kotjurova 1978: 9).
10.7 The relative frequencies of the principal parts of speech

As the low readability of the PTrs cannot be explained by complexity of sentence structure, there is good reason to assume that it could be due to complexity of clause structure. It seems natural to assume that the long clauses of the PTrs could be syntactically more complex than the shorter clauses of the FTs and the Atrs.

As the syntactic complexity of different texts as such yields to a comparative analysis only with the greatest of difficulty, it seemed best to adopt a circuitous approach. Thus, clause complexity will be approached through the frequencies of the principal parts of speech in the text types. Even though these frequencies do not give direct information about clause structure itself, they make indirect inferences possible. Moreover, as regards the Finnish text types, there exist previous studies about the relationship of readability and the frequencies of the parts of speech (see 10.4 above).

10.7.1 The modification ratio

When studying the relation of readability and the frequencies of the parts of speech in Finnish texts, the term määresuhde, in English modification ratio, has been used. This term, coined by Wiio (1968a: 194; 1969: 91), means the ratio of the sum of the adjectives and adverbs of a text to the sum of the nouns and verbs of the same text. The bigger the ratio, i.e. the more modifiers there are, the more difficult the text. According to Wiio (1969: 91), the negative correlation of the modification ratio and readability is .50–.60.

As the PTrs are difficult to understand, there is reason to believe that their modification ratio is high. Table 22 shows the absolute frequencies of the four parts of speech needed in order to calculate the modification ratio. The parts of speech were counted according to the following principles:

(1) Short, long-established Russian prepositions were not counted as words. Newer prepositions were classified according to what part of speech they had originally belonged to;
(2) Russian words called частіца were classified as adverbs whenever their closest formal equivalent in Finnish was an adverb, e.g. даже 'even', именно 'exactly, just', только 'only' etc.
(cf. *jopa, juuri, vain* respectively);

(3) Russian parenthetical words (вводные слова), e.g. *конечно* 'of course', *вероятно* 'probably' etc., were – like their Finnish counterparts – counted as adverbs;

(4) the Finnish negative word *en, et* etc. was – in spite of its verb-like character – not regarded as a verb (it was, however, counted as a word);

(5) the words *надо, нужно, можно, нельзя*, which represent predicative adverbs (категория состояния), were after their Finnish translation equivalents counted as verbs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 22. The absolute frequencies of the principal parts of speech</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The part of speech</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nouns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjectives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arverbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The total number of words in the texts</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On the basis of table 22, the average modification ratios for the different text types can be calculated:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 23. The average modification ratio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Text type</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The STs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The PTrs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The ATrs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The FTs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to table 23, the modification ratio of the PTrs is, contrary to expectations, a little lower than those of the other Finnish texts. Consequently, Wiio's modification ratio makes of the PTrs the easiest Finnish texts among those examined. This result cannot be correct: both the intuition of the researcher, the shared intuitions elicited by experiment 1, and the results of experiment 4 testify to the contrary. Consequently, Wiio's modification ratio cannot be

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65 The STs' high percentage of adjectives compared to other text types is partly due to structural differences between
applicable to the translations in question.

A reason for this inapplicability is suggested by table 24. It shows that the modification ratios – by giving a deceptively homogenous picture of the Finnish text types – disguise the actual quasi-correctness of the PTrs. In fact there are considerable differences between the Finnish text types, especially between the PTrs and the FTs, but they are levelled down when the frequencies of nouns and verbs, on one hand, and adjectives and adverbs, on the other hand, are added up:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The part of speech</th>
<th>The STs</th>
<th>The PTrs</th>
<th>The ATrs</th>
<th>The FTs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nouns</td>
<td>44.8</td>
<td>45.5</td>
<td>40.2</td>
<td>40.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verbs</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>20.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjectives</td>
<td>18.9</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>7.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arverbs</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>11.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nouns + verbs</td>
<td>55.6</td>
<td>60.5</td>
<td>56.2</td>
<td>61.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjectives + adverbs</td>
<td>22.9</td>
<td>16.8</td>
<td>17.4</td>
<td>18.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>78.5</td>
<td>77.3</td>
<td>73.6</td>
<td>80.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The most important of the differences between the Finnish text types apparently concerns the frequencies of nouns and verbs in the PTrs and the FTs: the former text type contains significantly more nouns and fewer verbs than the latter (the t-values of the differences being 5.3 and 2.8 respectively). The frequencies of the modifiers follow those of the head words: there are significantly more adjectives and fewer adverbs in the PTrs than in the FTs (the t-values being 6.2 and 6.0). Consequently, the style of the PTrs is considerably more "nominal" than that of the FTs.

10.7.2 The noun + adjective ratio

The nominal style of the PTrs in comparison with the FTs is even better illustrated by table 25, which shows the sums of nouns + adjectives and verbs + adverbs, i.e. the sums of nouns + their

Russian and Finnish (see 10.7.3).
In table 25, when we move from the STs towards the FTs, the joint frequency of nouns and adjectives diminishes and the joint frequency of verbs and adverbs increases. The differences between the PTrs and the FTs are considerable. The ATr frequencies are again between these two, their noun + adjective frequency closely resembling that of the FTs.

Consequently, the frequencies of the parts of speech make it possible to create another index, which could be used instead of the modification ratio as a means of checking the readability level of Russian–Finnish translations. This is the ratio of the sum of nouns and adjectives to the sum of verbs and adverbs:

The noun + adjective ratio corresponds to the picture which has taken shape in the course of this study about the mutual relations of the Finnish text types as regards their readability level.

10.7.3 The frequencies of the parts of speech as indicators of interference

Tables 22–26 reveal ST interference in the frequencies of all PTr principal parts of speech. Even the PTr adjective frequency is interferential: the big difference between the STs and the PTrs (7.4 percentage points; see table 24) is partly attributable to a systemic difference between...
Russian and Finnish. Russian relational adjectives (i.e. adjectives referring to place, time, material etc.) are usually rendered into Finnish by the modifying constituent of a compound or a genitive attribute.

Table 27 supports the assertion of interference: all PTr frequencies correlate with the STs on a high significance level. The ATr/ST correlations are somewhat lower, but, excluding the verb correlation, statistically significant.

Table 27. The correlations between the frequencies of the different parts of speech between the STs and the translations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Nouns</th>
<th>Verbs</th>
<th>Adjectives</th>
<th>Adverbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The STs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The PTrs</td>
<td>0.77</td>
<td>0.75</td>
<td>0.55</td>
<td>0.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The ATrs</td>
<td>0.66</td>
<td>0.18</td>
<td>0.51</td>
<td>0.50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On the whole, the PTrs have retained the nominal style of the STs very well, in fact, it seems, as well as the syntactic structure of Finnish allows.

10.7.4 The frequencies of the parts of speech and readability

Tables 22–26 show that the STs have an even more nominal style than the PTrs. However, as frequencies only indicate the level of readability within a certain language, this does not allow for any conclusions about a low readability level in the STs. Moreover, nominal phrases are described by Russian experts as being compact and vivid, i.e. an appropriate device to be used in journalistic language (see Mel'nik 1969: 89). The frequency of nouns in Russian journalistic language has been growing slowly but steadily during this century (Sirotinina & al. 1969: 35–36), and nouns are 4.8 times as frequent in Russian journalistic language as they are in belles-lettres (Mel'nik 1969: 86; Sergeeva 1979: 187).

Evidently successful in Russian journalistic texts, the nominal style, transferred into the PTrs, contributes to their low readability level. It seems that it is not only the number of modifiers as such which is important for the readability of the translations, but also the character of these modifiers.
10.7.5 Methods of changing the frequencies of the parts of speech

In order to make the translations resemble Finnish journalistic texts, the frequency of nouns and adjectives should be reduced and the frequency of verbs and adverbs increased.

In fact, it would be possible to use even more verbs than there are in the FTs. This is because Wiio (1968a: 222) recommends for a readable text a frequency of verbs as high as 24 +/- 5% (the FT verb frequency is 20.6%). Similarly, a lower noun frequency would scarcely harm the translations. According to Niemikorpi (1974: 69), factual newspaper articles contain 36.6% and factual magazine articles 35.3% of nouns. In other words, the FTs’ noun frequency, 40.6%, is quite high.

Experts in the Finnish language recommend reserve in the use of adjectives, because “even such adjective attributes which as such are pertinent may be harmful, because they direct the attention of the reader away from the main argument of the text” (Rintala 1979: 198; transl. I V-L).

The frequency of adjectives can be reduced a little by avoiding emotive or pleonastic adjective attributes (see 9.6.1 and 9.6.2 above). The frequency of nouns, on the other hand, can be reduced by omitting in the translations the semantically poor words of the STs.

However, making a readable translation entails above all frequent class-shifts (see Catford 1965: 78–79), especially shifts of parts of speech. This means that a considerable number of ST nouns and adjectives must be replaced by verbs and adverbs. A great number of examples will appear below in connection with nouns of action (see 10.8) and modifiers of nouns (see 10.9).

10.8 Nouns of action

The PTs, containing significantly more nouns than the FTs, presumably also have a high frequency of nominalizations, e.g. verbal nouns. This would be a clear indication of syntactic complexity on clause level and also offer an important explanation for the reading difficulties connected with the PTs: nominalizations constitute one of those factors which are generally considered to lower the readability level of texts (see 10.4 above).

Of the different types of verbal nouns, the present study will only be concerned with nouns of action. This is because 48% of Finnish verbal nouns belong to this category (Koistinen &
Moreover, these nouns, having more modifiers than the other verbal nouns (e.g. nouns referring to the result of the action or its object, place, agent, or instrument; see Koistinen & Jämsä & Haipus 1976), play an important structural role in clauses. This is due to the fact that they are the least lexicalized among the verbal nouns, i.e. action noun phrases can easily be traced back to clauses.

10.8.1 The frequency of nouns of action in the different text types

Table 28 shows the frequency of nouns of action in the different text types. The concept noun of action comprises here all nouns expressing action, independently of whether they are derived from verbs or serve as root words for verbal derivatives. Also some other nouns, which have no relation to any verb, were included, if they clearly express action, e.g. the noun työ. Otherwise there would be deviations between the text types, because e.g. the Russian equivalents of työ, труд and работа (which are frequent in the STs), are related to verbs.

However, the nouns of action functioning as modifying constituents of compounds were not included. This partly explains the differences between the STs and the Finnish text types: the modifying constituent of a compound is one of the most common translation equivalents for the Russian nouns of action.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text type</th>
<th>Total number of words</th>
<th>Absolute frequency of words of action</th>
<th>Relative frequency of words of action (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The STs</td>
<td>10327</td>
<td>1029</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The PTrs</td>
<td>9756</td>
<td>797</td>
<td>8.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The ATrs</td>
<td>9156</td>
<td>514</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The FTs</td>
<td>6450</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>6.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 28 shows that the assumption of a high frequency of nouns of action in the PTrs is justified: nouns of action in the PTrs exceed nouns of action in the FTs by two percentage points. The t-value of 2.8, presented in table 29, shows that this difference is significant (values above 2.03 are significant). Consequently, the PTrs are once again only quasi-correct. The interference from the STs, evident from table 29, is reflected also in the high correlation, 0.66,
between the ST and PTr frequencies.

The difference between the ATrs and the FTs, on the other hand, is not significant, i.e. the ATrs are in this respect very similar to the FTs.

Table 29. The t-values of the differences between the text types as regards the relative frequency of nouns of action

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>The STs</th>
<th>The PTrs</th>
<th>The ATrs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The PTrs</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The ATrs</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The FTs</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Moreover, the recommendation that the frequency of nouns of action in translations should not exceed the 6.2% frequency of the FTs is very moderate. Due to the formal nature of the FTs (see 5.1.4 above), this frequency is very high in comparison with other Finnish texts. In fact, it exceeds the peak frequency of nouns of action in Finnish texts, the 5.4% frequency in economic literature. As calculated on the basis of the results of Koistinen & Jämsä & Haipus (1976: 10–11), no other Finnish texts reach even 5%. Incidentally, even the total frequency of all verbal nouns in most Finnish text types is lower than the PTr frequency of nouns of action (8.2%).

In fact, it would be good for the translations' readability level to have a little fewer nouns of action than the FTs: the drawbacks of nouns of action have been the cause of much discussion (see 10.8.4 below). Thus, the ATrs, where both the absolute and the relative frequency of nouns of action is somewhat lower than in the PTrs, may give hints as to how the number of nouns of action could be reduced.

10.8.2 Contracted and expanded constructions

The phrases consisting of a noun of action and its possible modifiers (here called action noun phrases) can – following the example of Lariohina (1979: 21–23) – be divided into contracted and expanded constructions (свёрнутые структуры, развёрнутые структуры).

The contracted constructions, originating from clauses, are the result of transformations (see Nilsson 1972: 17–28, 64–71; Vuoriniemi 1975: 128; Hakulinen & Karlsson 1979: 88, 339):
(55 FT) Neuvostoöljyn kallistuminen on hankaloittanut SEV:n sisäisten kauppataseiden tasapainottamista. (FT 9)
- neuvostoöljyn kallistuminen — neuvostoöljy kallistuu (kallistui, on kallistunut, oli kallistunut);
- kauppataseiden tasapainottaminen — 0 tasapainottaa (tasapainotti, on tasapainotattanut, oli tasapainotattanut) kauppataseta.

(56 ST) Динамичный рост экономики стран СЭВ служит материальной основой упрочения их позиций в мировом хозяйстве --- (9:3)
- рост экономики — экономика росла (растёт, будет расти);
- упрочение позиций — позиции упрочивались (упрочились, упрочиваются, будут упрочиваться, упрочатся);

The members of the corresponding kernel sentence mostly function as attributes of the noun of action: the object and usually also the subject as a genitive attribute or a possessive pronoun (in Finnish also as a possessive suffix), the subject sometimes (i.e. if there is both a "subject" and an "object") as an instrumental attribute. The kernel sentence adverbial is usually expressed either by an adjective attribute (example 57) or an adverbial attribute (example 58):

(57) Hän laulaa kaunisesti/Kuulimme kaunisesta laulu;
Он поёт красиво/Мы слышали красивое пение
'He sings beautifully/We heard beautiful singing').

(58) Me kävelemme kadulla/Meidän kävelymme kadulla herätti huomiota
'We are walking in the street/Our walking in the street aroused attention';
Мы гуляем по улице/Нам очень понравилась прогулка по улице
'We are walking in the street/We liked our walk in the street very much').

In other words, contracted constructions still resemble clauses. This has been emphasized e.g. by Nuutinen (1976: 2–3), who regards action noun phrases as contracted clauses (lauseenvastike) and calls their modifiers not attributes but subjects, objects and adverbials. According to Pis²a (1961: 74–75), Czechs have called such constructions semi-sentences (полупредложение).

Mostly, however, nouns of action with their modifiers are regarded as noun phrases.

A contracted action noun construction can perform any syntactic function typical for a noun, i.e. it can function as a subject, object, complement, attribute, adverbial, or appositive. Contracted action noun constructions are an indispensable device for making the text more compact. They serve for adding propositions into the clause, and at the same time for creating a close syntactic and semantic connection between them. Contracted constructions also make it
possible “to refer to clear-cut parts of reality” and at the same time “to describe changing phenomena in a kind of statis” (Koivusalo & Huovinen-Nyberg 1981: 21; transl. I V-L).

In an expanded action noun construction, on the other hand, the verb is as it were expanded. A semantically full verb is replaced by the corresponding noun of action and a semantically poor verb, by a so-called functional verb. The noun of action functions either as the grammatical object or the subject of the clause. In Russian it may also function as the “indirect object”, i.e. it may also appear in other cases besides the nominative and the accusative, either with or without a preposition, e.g. подвергать изменению 'to change (word for word: “to submit to a change”), заниматься рыболовством 'to fish' (“to exercise fishing”), приводить в действие 'to set in motion', etc. (see Lariohina 1979). The semantic content of the construction is concentrated in the noun of action. The verb functions as a formal, grammatical element, thus being a morpheme rather than an independent word:

Functional verbs have, both in Russian and in Finnish, a broad, generalised meaning. Most of them are transitive: вести 'to take', давать 'to give', оказывать 'to show', осуществлять 'to realize', производить 'to perform', проходить 'to go on', происходить 'to happen' etc.; оlla 'to be', tehdä 'to do', suorittaa 'to perform', muodostaa 'to form', osoittaa 'to show', ilmetä 'arise',...
The expanded constructions are somewhere between idioms and free combinations of words (Prokopovič 1969: 48; Dmitrieva 1971: 27; Deribas 1979:4). Some scholars regard them as belonging to the sphere of phraseology (e.g. Vinogradov 1972: 28).

The expanded constructions are necessary – both in Russian and in Finnish – when the noun of action or the whole noun phrase has turned into a fixed term, e.g. Торговая Палата СССР проводит контроль товаров 'Neuvostoliiton kauppa- ja teollisuuskamari hoitaa tavarantarkastuksen. The meaning of an expanded construction may also be different from the meaning of the corresponding full-verb (Prokopovič 1969: 56; Nuutinen 1976: 79), cf. e.g. antaa muistutus and muistuttaa, or toimittaa äänestys and äänestää. Another reason for using expanded constructions may be the wish to avoid explicitly expressing all the factors connected with the action in question, above all its performer and/or object.

In Finnish, functional verbs are needed especially when an adverbial (an adverbial attribute) connected with the noun of action cannot be replaced by an adjective (e.g. “Tämän pisteen yläpuolella tapahtuvat kosteuden vaihdelut eivät sen sijaan aiheuta mitään lujuuden muutoksia”; see Nuutinen 1976: 74–75).

10.8.3 Nouns of action in Russian journalistic language

The fact that nouns of action are more frequent in Russian journalistic texts than in the corresponding Finnish texts – or, incidentally, also e.g. in English (Švejcer 1973: 180 and 203), Polish or Czech journalistic texts (Sergeeva 1979: 193)70 71 – is evidently due to their important stylistic function in Russian: they create stylistic differences between text types (see Šubina 1973: 20). Most Russian expanded constructions could in fact be replaced by the root verb of the noun of action (вести агитацию – агитировать, вести беседы – беседовать, вести сражения – сражаться, вести исследование – исследовать etc.). A high frequency of expanded constructions is typical for the scientific style, the style of official documents and

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70 According to Sergeeva (1979: 193), expanded constructions are 10% less frequent in Polish and 50% less frequent in Czech journalistic texts than in the corresponding Russian functional style. She also remarks that this difference in frequency causes interference in the Russian used by Czechs. According to Garbovskij (1981: 19), Russian military regulations mostly have participial constructions or verbal noun constructions, where the French have subordinate clauses.
71 According to Grimes (1963: 57), a high frequency of verbal nouns is characteristic of the Indo-European languages. On the other hand, Finnish texts contain more nominalizations than Swedish texts (Wäremark 1984).
certain journalistic sub-styles, e.g. the style of editorials (see Prokopovič 1969: 52; Lariohina 1979: 133), whereas the spoken language has hardly any expanded constructions.

The high frequency of nouns of action in Russian journalistic texts is astonishing: one of the ideals of Russian journalistic language is to be comprehensible to all people, and difficult words should thus be avoided. However, by “difficult words” Soviet scholars only mean rare words, e.g. special terms, dialect words, poetic words, idiosyncratic neologisms and often also loan words.

Nouns of action, on the other hand, have in the Soviet Union usually been regarded with favour, even when used very frequently. However, they could easily cause ambiguity. Firstly, they have lost almost all aspectual elements of the root verbs. Secondly, they are void of all temporal meaning (Levin 1941: 24–29; Mitrofanova 1973: 61–63) and also of the oppositions of reflexiveness/non-reflexiveness and transitivity/intransitivity (Mitrofanova 1973: 61–63). E.g. the Finnish word pair *kehittyminen/kehittäminen* ('development') only has one Russian equivalent, *развитие* which corresponds to the kernel sentences 'X develops' and 'Y develops Z'.

The positive attitude towards nouns of action has been explained e.g. by the fact that it is easier to attach modifiers to Russian nouns than to Russian verbs (Mitrofanova 1976: 64–65). Moreover, in expanded constructions, the lack of differentiation is compensated for by the presence of functional verbs. In spite of their semantic “poverty”, they may contribute to the construction's total meaning. Different functional verbs make it possible e.g. to look at the same action from different angles (Žukovskaja 1979: 101–102), i.e. to express converse meanings. E.g. the expressions *испытывать влияние* 'to be subjected to the influence of s-g' and *получать выражение* 'to be expressed' have causative counterparts *оказывать влияние* 'to influence s-g' and *давать выражение* 'to express'. Thus, expanded constructions have been regarded as a manifestation of the elasticity of Russian vocabulary (Moskal'skaja 1972: 40 and 43).

Nouns of action have, it is true, occasionally been criticized. Orlov (1961: 31–33) accuses them for making journalistic language poor, dry, stale, indistinct, heavy, and clumsy.

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72 E.g. in the Russian scientific style, the use of a simple verb instead of an expanded construction is often regarded as a violation of stylistic norms (Lariohina 1979: 134).

73 However, the article of Orlov is not very convincing. In his examples, reading difficulties seem to be simply due either to outright errors or to the lack of context.
According to Skvorcov (1982: 62), the heavy phrases developing around nouns of action blur the content of the text. However, to my knowledge, there have been no studies of the influence of nouns of action on the readability of Russian texts.

10.8.4 Nouns of action in Finnish

Verbal nouns, above all nouns of action, are very unpopular among experts in Finnish (see e.g. Sadeniemi 1963: 127; Numminen 1964; Pulkkinen 1961; 1970; Nuolijärvi 1976; Itkonen 1979a; 1981; 1982: 99–101; Lehtinen 1983). The expression *noun disease* (substantiivilautti),\(^7\) which is generally used about the excessive use of nouns of action, tellingly reflects this negative attitude.

The expression *noun disease* has usually been attached to the excessive use of certain functional verbs (see 10.8.5.1 below) in connection with verbal nouns (see e.g. Ikola 1979: 117), i.e. the attention of scholars has been directed at the “expanded” variety of the noun disease. Some attention has, however, also been paid to the “contracted” type, but under the name of *abstract clause structure* (referring to clauses with nouns of action in key positions; see Vuoriniemi 1975: 148; see also the examples in Itkonen 1982: 99–101).

Nouns of action can be criticized – and have been criticized – for several reasons. Firstly, expanded constructions violate the principle of not using two words where one word is enough. Secondly, a high frequency of nouns of action in general is contrary to the goal of keeping Finnish journalistic style relatively close to the spoken language (see 6.4 above): according to Koistinen & Jämsä & Haipus (1976: 28), the more Finnish texts resemble the spoken language the fewer nouns of action they have. Thirdly, a high frequency of nouns of action can have a negative effect on the style of the text. The most colourful comments about this stylistic effect were expressed by Rainio, who assigns the noun disease to “linguistic devices of self-assertion, like the use of swear words” (Rainio 1981: 108; transl. I V-L).

Nouns of action have also been blamed for causing difficulties in comprehension. Such difficulties have mostly been experienced in connection with nouns with the suffix *-minen*. According to Itkonen, nouns with *-minen* are nowadays, especially in written factual prose, forcing their way into contexts where they complicate and rigidify the text. “It is not always

\(^7\) According to Lehtinen (1983: 442), the expression *noun disease* was imported by E. A. Saarimaa in 1940. This “disease” has not occupied only Finnish scholars, but has been discussed also in other countries, e.g. France (see Lombard 1930), the USA (see Welss 1960), Germany (see Bausch 1964), and Sweden (see Platzack 1977).
merely a question of stylistic nuances. The problem is often whether the reader can follow the author's line of thought easily or perhaps at all”. (Itkonen 1981: 93; transl. I V-L; see also Itkonen 1982: 100).

Also Vuoriniemi (1975: 132–150), complains about the reading difficulties caused by nouns of action. According to him, nouns of action make the text opaque and abstruse. When using an abstract clause structure, “the addressor, in striving for compactness and economy, only makes things more difficult for the addressee ---. It is a misconception that economy and minimal effort go hand in hand. The addressor's economy often means minimal effort for himself, but agony for the addressee.” (Vuoriniemi 1975: 148; transl. I V-L.)

The comprehension difficulties connected with nouns of action have been attributed to the lack of temporal differentiation, the ambiguity of genitive attributes, and the possible absence of explicit relation markers (see Vuoriniemi 1975: 132–150). It has also been remarked disapprovingly that it is easier to bluff and manipulate with those nouns of action which lack relation markers than with the corresponding verbs (Vuoriniemi 1975: 141–142).

The above comments on the comprehension difficulties connected with nouns of action are based on the scholars' intuition. To my knowledge, there have been no experimental studies in this field. A modification of Wiio's readability index, however, gives the correlation of -0.702 between readability and verbal noun frequency in certain Finnish text types (Koistinen 1974: 8–9).

10.8.5 Methods of reducing the frequency of nouns of action

In order to produce more readable and effective translations than the PTrs, the frequency of nouns of action should be reduced. Incidentally, a similar suggestion was made by Švejcer (1973: 180) in connection with certain translations from Russian into English. According to him, action noun phrases often have to be replaced by plain verbs in translations from Russian into English, because they are more common in Russian journalistic language than in the

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75 However, Finnish nouns of action are semantically better differentiated than their Russian equivalents: they retain the reflexiveness, translativeness, causativeness etc. of the root verb.

76 As regards English texts, verbal nouns have been experimentally proved to be more difficult to understand than the corresponding active verbs (Coleman and Blumenfield 1963; Coleman 1964; 1965). However, there have also been opposite results as to the relationship of readability and nominal constructions: according to the experiments performed by Platzack on Swedish texts (1974a, 1977), the combination of a noun and a functional verb (e.g. styrelsen fattade beslut) is – both when heard and read – easier to understand than the corresponding verb (e.g. beslöt).
corresponding English style.

However, cutting down the number of nouns of action is not an end in itself. On the whole, nouns of action are an appropriate and necessary means of expression. Thus, their number should be reduced by eliminating qualitatively inapposite nouns of action. A quantitative change will then be a natural and automatic consequence.

10.8.5.1 Methods of reducing expanded constructions

The criticism of Finnish scholars has mainly been confined to the following functional verbs: *tapahtua* 'to take place', *suorittaa* 'to perform' (see e.g. Pulkkinen 1961; Sadeniemi 1963; Koivusalo & Huovinen-Nyberg 1981: 77–78), *toteuttaa* 'to realize, to carry into effect' (Koivusalo & Huovinen-Nyberg 1981: 78; Lehtinen 1983), *aiheuttaa* 'to cause' (Itkonen 1982: 100), *osoittaa* 'to show, to display' and *ilmetä* 'to manifest itself' (Ikola 1979: 197). These functional verbs appear also in the PTrs, which may partly be due to the influence of the STs. Their number, however, is not very big. In the ATrs these expanded constructions are replaced by full verbs semantically corresponding to the noun of action:

(63 ST) Значительный сдвиг произошел в условиях жизни тружеников села. (5:24)

(63 PTr) Maaseutuväestön elinloissa on tapahtunut huomattavia muutoksia.

(63 ATr) Myös maaseutuväestön elintaso kohosi.

(64 ST) НАТИ проводит теоретические и экспериментальные исследования в области трактора- и мотостроения с целью создания перспективных конструкций тракторов, двигателей и агрегатов. (20:23)

(64 PTr) Nati suorittaa traktoreiden ja moottoreiden teoreettisia sekä kokeellisia tutkimuksia tavoitteenaan entistä parempirakenteisten traktoreiden, moottoreiden koneikkojen suunnittelua.

(64 ATr) Valtion traktorintutkimuslaitoksessa tutkitaan traktorin- ja moottorinvalmistusta sekä teoreettisesti että kokeellisesti sekä suunnitellaan uusia traktorimalleja, moottoreita ja koneikkoja.

(65 ST) Советский Союз осуществлял разработку проектной документации и строительство завода, а ГДР и ПНР участвовали в комплектации его
металлорежущими станками и технологическим оборудованием. (18:20)

(65 PTr) Neuvostoliitto toteutti tehtaan suunnittelun ja huolehti rakennustöistä, ja DDR ja Puola toimittivat tehtaaseen metallintyöstökoneita ja teknisiä laitteita.

(65 ATr) Tehtaan suunnitteli ja rakensi Neuvostoliitto. DDR ja Puola taas toimittivat sinne metallinleikkuukoneita ja erilaisia laitteita.

However, there are also such functional verbs in the PTrs which do not seem to cause problems in authentic Finnish texts. One of them is the verb *olla* 'to be', which is – under the obvious influence of the Sts – quite common in the PTrs. It is true that sentences with the verb *olla*, i.e. nominal sentences (see 9.4 above), have been reckoned to make the text stale or even unnatural, but this verb is usually not mentioned in connection with the noun disease.

It was mentioned above (9.4) that the possible “sharpening” effect which nominal sentences might have is usually counterbalanced by the negative effects of syntactic complexity. This was illustrated by examples 7–9.

Clauses with the verb *olla* and a noun of action may be additionally complicated by the presence of nouns of action both in the subject noun phrase and the complement noun phrase. Moreover, there are often other semantically poor nouns in the sentence – functioning as head words for the nouns of action – like *suunta* 'direction', *osa* 'part', *ala* 'field', *vaihe* 'stage' etc. Instead of the verb *olla* the ATrs often have a full verb corresponding to one or other of the nouns of action:

(66 ST) Основным направлением дальнейшего роста экономики и социального прогресса большинства социалистических государств становится интенсификация общественного производства на основе внедрения новейших достижений науки и техники. (16:3)

(66 PTr) Taloudellisen kasvun ja yhteiskunnallisen kehityksen pääsuuntana tulee useimmissa sosialistisissa maissa olemann yhteiskunnallisen tuotannon voimaperäistäminen ottamalla käyttöön tieteen ja tekniikan uusimpia saavutuksia.

(66 ATr) Talous- ja yhteiskuntelämää kehitetään useimmissa sosialistimaissa etenkin tehostamalla tuotantoa uusimpienten keksintöjen ja tutkimustulosten avulla.

77 Nominal sentences have been regarded as a sign of ineffective style also in the USA. E.g. the failure of Woodrow Wilson as president has been attributed to his abstract and ineffective way of expression, including the frequent use of the verb *to be*. (Rainio 1981: 57).
Other functional verbs which are typical of the PTrs, but uncharacteristic of authentic Finnish texts are the causative verbs edistää ‘to promote’ and turvata ‘to ensure’. They are the “direct” equivalents of the verbs способствовать (содействовать) and обеспечивать,78 which mostly have little else left of their meaning except the causativeness.

The expanded constructions with the verbs edistää and turvata used in the PTrs contribute to the general emotivity of the PTrs. Moreover, they are often stylistically quite unnatural. A closer investigation reveals a reason for this unnaturalness: these verbs, when used in authentic Finnish texts, are usually not functional, but normal, semantically loaded verbs (see Vehmas-Lehto 1987a: 173–179). Thus, they should not be used as functional verbs in the translations, either. The basic method of avoiding the expanded constructions with these verbs is to use the causative verbs corresponding to the nouns of action:

Another “stock decision” is to use a converse construction. In example 69, the construction X способствовало укреплению ‘X promoted the development (strengthening) of s-g’ was replaced by the construction X:n ansiosta Y on kehittynyt 'thanks to X, Y has developed':
Difficulties in understanding reach their culmination when the expanded construction is expanded further. E.g. in example 70 PTr, the verb *tähdätä* 'to aim', which can here also be considered functional, is accompanied by a whole chain of nouns of action: *ponnistukset* 'efforts', *kehitys* 'development', and *turvaaminen*. In other words, the causative element has been not only detached from the word expressing the action itself, but it has been repeated three times before mentioning the action itself (in the verb and in two nouns). In other words, there is a lot of redundancy in the sentence.

The whole four-word rigmarole could have been expressed concisely, elegantly and lucidly in one word, the causative verb *kehittää* (cf. 70 ATr):

Consequently, though the lack of redundancy is one of the factors adding to the communication load of translations (see the beginning of chapter 10) and redundancy in translations is thus principally a positive phenomenon, it is also very important that it is the "right kind" of redundancy, i.e. that it conforms to the patterns of the TL.

79 On the verb *tähdätä* as the equivalent of the verb *направлять* see Vehmas-Lehto (1985: 189).
10.8.5.2 Methods of reducing contracted constructions

Contracted constructions are much more numerous in the STs and the PTrs than expanded ones. Thus, cutting down their number is even more important. However, it is not easy to tell where and how this should be done. The comments of Finnish scholars offer little help, because they are mostly concerned with expanded constructions.

10.8.5.2.1 Sentence-initial action noun phrases

There are some types of contracted constructions in the PTrs which seem regularly to need replacing. One of them is the sentence-initial action noun phrase introducing new information. Such phrases do not conform to the basic pattern of information structure, to the principle of reserving the thematic part for the “given”, i.e. for matters which have been mentioned earlier in the text or which are otherwise familiar.

Sentence-initial action noun phrases in the STs may partly be attributable to the fact that the subject matter presented in them really is familiar to the Soviet reader. On the other hand, they may be used in order to create an impression of self-evidence. When transferred into the Finnish translations, the action noun phrases, however, often are very packed and take time to digest. Their content may also be unknown or at least less familiar to the Finnish than to the Soviet reader. Thus, they should normally be replaced by finite verbs, which will direct more attention on the action in question and give the reader more time for reading and comprehension. Sample 71 ST/PTr was taken from the very beginning of a text (see also example 50 in 10.5.3):

(71 ST) Общесоюзное хозяйствование и централизованное планирование, подчинённые не только отраслевым интересам, но и задачам выравнивания уровней экономического развития ранее отсталых окраин, позволили нашей стране – Союзу Советских Социалистических Республи- на протяжении всех десяти пятилеток рационально подходить к размещению производительных сил --- (15:1)

(71 PTr) Koko valtakunnan laajuinen taloudenhoito sekä niin elinkeinoelämän eri alojen edut kuin aikaisemmin jälkeen jääneiden syrjäseutujen taloudellisen tason kohottamisenkin huomioiva keskitettä taloussuunnittelua ovat mahdollistaneet sen, että Neuvostoliitto on kaikkien kymmenen viisivuotiskauden aikana voinut sijoittaa
tuotantovoimansa järkevästi ---

(71 ATr) Neuvostoliiton talous on yhtenäinen kokonaisuus. Esim. taloussuunnitelmat tehdään siellä keskitetysti, ja niissä otetaan huomioon paitsi eri tuotannonalojen myös valtakunnan eri alueiden erityistarpeet. Päämääränä on ollut saattaa jälkeenjääneet alueet maan muiden osien kanssa samalle kehitystasolle. Talouselämän yhtenäisyyden ja keskusjohtoisuuden ansiosta on Neuvostoliitossa kaikkina kymmenenä viisivuotiskautena onnistuttua sijoittamaan tuotantovoimat järkevästi, ---

Finite verbs make texts more concrete. They also introduce more redundancy – of the genuinely “Finnish” type. E.g. in the last sentences of examples 72 ST and 72 PTr, the time of action (as regards changes in international atmosphere etc.) is expressed only by an adverbial or a participial phrase. In example 72 ATr the time of action appears also from the finite verbs:

(72 ST) В тридцатых годах Советский Союз предоставил долгосрочный кредит в сумме 8 миллионов долларов Турции, --- Масштабы той помощи выглядят сегодня скромно. Но это были первые акты добровольной и бескорыстной поддержки развивающихся стран более развитым государством.

Коренные изменения в международной обстановке после второй мировой войны, образование мировой системы социализма, распад колониальных империй и рождение новых независимых государств создали условия для оказания Советским Союзом более широкого и многопланового экономического и технического содействия. (1:9 – 13)

(72 PTr) 30-luvulla Neuvostoliitto myönsi Turkille kahdeksan milj. dollarin suuruiseen pitkäaikaiseen luoton ---

Tuolloisen avun mittasuhteet näyttävät nyt erittäin vaatimattomilta. Ne olivat kuitenkin ensimmäisiä vapaaehtoisia ja pyyteettömiä toimenpiteitä, joiden avulla kehittyneempi valtio pyrki auttamaan kehitysmaita.

Toisen maailmansodan jälkeen kansainvälisessä tilanteessa tapahtuneet syvälliset muutokset, maailman sosialistisen järjestelmän muodostuminen, siirtomaaimperiumien hajoaminen ja uusien riippumattomien valtioiden syntyminen loivat edellytykset laajemman ja monipuolisen taloudellisen ja teknisen avun antamiselle.

(72 ATr) 1930-luvulla Neuvostoliitto myönsi Turkille 8 miljoonan dollarin pitkäaikaisen luoton ---

1920- ja 1930-luvulla annettu kehitysapu vaikuttaa nykyisin tietysti kovin vaatimattomalta. Joka tapauksessa se oli ensimmäinen vapaaehtoinen ja pyyteetön tuki, jota kehitysmaita saivat.

Toisen maailmansodan jälkeen kansainvälinen tilanne muuttui perusteellisesti. Syntyi sosialistinen maailmanjärjestelmä, siirtomaavalta murtui, ja perustettiin uusia itsenäisiä valtioita. Kaiken tämän ansiosta Neuvostoliitto pyöриi laajentamaan ja
monipuolistamaan antamaansa taloudellista ja teknistä apua.

The damage done to the translations by the compactness of sentence-initial action noun phrases is aggravated by the fact that these phrases often contain long chains of pre-modifiers which make them quite deep and, consequently, difficult to read (see e.g. example 71 PTr above; see also section 10.9 below).

On the other hand, the main purpose of the ST authors may be to impress rather than to convey information. But, however impressive the ST sentence-initial action noun phrases may be, in the PTrs their impressiveness is marred by reading difficulties.

10.8.5.2.2 Nouns of action in connection with abstract verbs

Ineffectual contracted constructions appear not only in sentence-initial positions, but also e.g. as objects or adverbials of certain abstract verbs (see Vehmas-Lehto 1985: 193–194; 1987a: 183–185). The most frequent and also the most damaging of these verbs is edellyttää 'to presuppose, to imply', i.e. the equivalent of the Russian verb предумствовать which seems to be one of the favourite verbs of Soviet journalists.

The verb edellyttää is becoming more and more common – and at the same time more vague – also in authentic Finnish texts. It threatens to turn “from a useful aid into a parasite of expression”, and it should be avoided as much as possible. (Itkonen 1979: 133; transl. I V-L).80

Thus, it should be avoided also in translations.

One way of getting rid of the verb edellyttää is often to use the postposition mukaan or the noun perusteella and a finite verb instead of the noun of action:

Ohjelma/suunnitelma edellyttää jtk. the program/the plan presupposes s-g' → ohjelman/suunnitelman mukaan/perusteella 'according to the program/plan s-g is/was done' (example 73 ATr).

In example 74 ATr, a similar phrase is implied, even though not explicitly expressed (the sentence is about a five-year plan):

(73 ST) В комплексной программе предусмотрено значительное расширение научно-технического сотрудничества --- (16:8)

80 For comprehension difficulties connected with this verb see also Vuoriniemi (1975: 148).
10.8.5.2.3 Nouns of action in connection with clichés

Contracted constructions often appear also in connection with translation clichés. Many translation clichés actually seem to require the presence of a noun of action. This is paradoxical: contracted constructions are used in order to make the text more compact, but clichés contain many unnecessary elements.

The clichés in question can be traced straight back to the STs, where compact nominal constructions and clichés intertwine, forming an inseparable whole (see Vinokur 1929: 184 and 191).

The most common cliché type among those increasing the frequency of nouns of action is the verbal phrase consisting of a verb and an object (or a valency adverbial; see example 79). The nouns of action function as the adverbials of these clichés, e.g. *muodostaa perusta (lujittamiselle), saavuttaa menestystä (kehittämisessä)*.

In the ATrs, the clichés were either eliminated altogether (example 75), or replaced by other means of expression, e.g. by an adverbial of manner (examples 78 and 79) or a necessive verb combination (nesessiivinen verbiliitto; example 80). The nouns of action were then naturally superseded by finite verbs or infinitives (in example 80 the necessive verb combination also covers the meaning of the noun of action):
Динамичный рост экономики стран СЭВ служит материальной основой упрочения их позиций в мировом хозяйстве, создаёт предпосылки для всё более широкого участия их в международном разделении труда. (9:3)

СЕВ-майден talouden dynaaminen kehitys muodostaa aineellisen perustan niiden aseman lujittamiselle maailman talousjärjestelmässä ja luo edellytykset niiden yhä laajemmallle osallistumiselle kansainväliseen työnjakoon. (75 PTr)

СЕВ-майден nopea talouskasvu on lujittanut niiden asemaa maailmantaloudessa ja parantanut niiden edellytyksiä osallistua maailman maiden väliseen työnjakoon. (75 ATr)

Все союзные республики добились крупных успехов в подъёме своей экономики и культуры, в укреплении экономического могущества нашей Родины. (5:6)

Kaikki liittotasavallat ovat saavuttaneet huomattavaa menestystä taloutensa ja kulttuurinsa kehittämisessä, maamme taloudellisen mahdin lujittamisessa. (76 PTr)

Kaikkien neuvostotasavaltojen talous ja kulttuurielämämä kehittyi, ja maamme taloudellinen mahti lisääntyi. (76 ATr)

Опираясь на интернациональное содружество, и прежде всего на бескорыстную помощь русского народа, республики бывших окраин сделали гигантские шаги в развитии экономики и культуры. (3:12)

Tukeutumalla kansainväliseen ystävyysliittoon ja ennen kaikkea Venäjän kansan pyyteettömän apuun entisten reunan maiden tasavallat tekivät jättiläisaskelia taloutensa ja kulttuurinsa kehittämisessä. (77 PTr)

Kaikkien neuvostoliiton kansojen, mutta erityisesti Venäjän kansan, pyyteettömän avun turvin ovat syrjäiset tasavallat kehittäneet talouttaan ja kulttuurielämäänsä erittäin nopeasti. (77 ATr)

В решениях XXIII съезда КПСС, мартовского и сентябрьского (1965 год) Пленумов Центрального Комитета партии было положено начало совершенствованию управления применительно к новым возможностям и требованиям. (7:9)

NKP:n 23. edustajakokouksen sekä puolueen keskuskomitean maalis- ja syyskuussa 1965 pidettyjen kokousten päätöksissä laskettiin alku johtotyön parantamiselle uudet mahdollisuudet ja vaatimukset huomioonottaa. (78 PTr)

Hallintoa ruvettiin kehittämään uusien mahdollisuuksien ja vaatimusten mukaiseksi jo vuonna 1965 pidettyjen NKP:n 23. edustajakokouksen ja
Комитета.

(79 ST) Мы достигли высоких и постоянно растущих показателей производства стали, нефти, цемента, удобрений и другой продукции. (6:14)

(79 PTr) Мы достигли высоких и постоянно растущих показателей производства стали, нефти, цемента, удобрений и другой продукции. (6:14)

(79 ATr) Мы достигли высоких и постоянно растущих показателей производства стали, нефти, цемента, удобрений и другой продукции. (6:14)

(80 ST) Главное теперь – осуществить решительный поворот к более эффективному использованию созданного в нашей стране мощного производственно-технического потенциала --- (6:13)

(80 PTr) Требуется осуществить решительный поворот к более эффективному использованию созданного в нашей стране мощного производственно-технического потенциала --- (6:13)

(80 ATr) Требуется осуществить решительный поворот к более эффективному использованию созданного в нашей стране мощного производственно-технического потенциала --- (6:13)

The clichés supporting the nouns of action in the PTrs may also e.g. have the form of possessive construction. In these constructions the noun referring to the thing possessed is usually abstract and semantically unimportant in the given context, e.g. kokemus 'experience' (опыт), osuus 'share' (доля), or merkitys 'meaning' (значение) in examples 81–83 PTr. The essence of the information is expressed by the attributes of these abstract nouns and by the nouns of action. In examples 81–83 ATr the abstract nouns are eliminated and the nouns of action replaced by finite verbs. The content of the attributes is expressed by adverbials: jo yli puolen vuosisadan ajan, paljolti и ennen kaikkea:

(81 ST) Эти крупные научные центры имеют более чем полувековой опыт создания первоклассных машин и разработки основных направлений их дальнейшего совершенствования. (20:22)

(81 PTr) Наличие ученых тут: науки создали в более чем полувековой опыт создания первоклассных машин и разработки основных направлений их дальнейшего совершенствования. (20:22)

(81 ATr) Наличие ученых тут: науки создали в более чем полувековой опыт создания первоклассных машин и разработки основных направлений их дальнейшего совершенствования. (20:22)

(82 ST) Большой вклад в выявление новых возможностей сотрудничества...
Nouns of action often appear also in cliché adverbials together with postposition-type nouns like *alalla, pohjalla, puitteissa* etc. Such adverbials contain a great deal of information. Thus, in the ATrs they are often replaced by contracted clauses (see example 41 above) or clauses (see examples 38 and 51 above).

10.8.5.2.4 Nouns of action in connection with semantically poor nouns

The PTrs favour nouns of action also in connection with nouns which are semantically empty, or rather half-empty or "poor". In such constructions, the noun of action modifies the poor noun either as a genitive attribute or as a modifying constituent in a compound: *kehityksen kysymykset* 'the questions of development', *teollistamiskysymys* 'the question of industrialization', *parantamistehtävä* 'the task of improvement', *integraatioprosessi* 'the integration process', *tarkastustyö* 'inspection work', *tarkastustoiminta* 'inspection activity' etc. (see also 10.8.4.1, examples 66 and 67).

The semantically poor elements of the PTrs are "direct" translations of the corresponding ST elements.81 Semantically poor nouns like *вопрос* 'question', *проблема* 'problem', *задача* "problem"
'task', работa 'work', процесс 'process', деятельность 'activity', дело 'matter', фактор 'factor', факт 'fact' etc. are frequent in the Sts.

Like functional verbs, semantically poor nouns and compound constituents are grammatical rather than lexical elements. They function as “formal supporters” for the nouns of action following them (see Adamec 1975: 134–136; Prokopović 1969: 54–55). The latter are usually genitive or prepositional attributes. The referential meaning is concentrated in the noun of action or sometimes (see examples 84 and 85) in an adjective derived from a verb.

The communicative function of the poor nouns – like that of clichés – is to make the text impressive; they are not needed for the conveyance of information. An indication of this is their practically total absence from the spoken language (Lapteva 1966: 211). The use of semantically poor words in Russian journalistic language is perhaps attributable to the influence of the style used in government offices (канцелярско-деловой стиль): according to Lapteva (1966: 211), empty words are an inseparable part of this style.

The assertion that Russian journalistic language aims at compactness can again – as in connection with clichés – be questioned. Even though contracted constructions really make the texts more compact, the accompanying otiose elements do the opposite, i.e. inflate them.

In principle, clichés and semantically poor elements could, by reducing the density of information in the translations, counterbalance the negative effects of the too compact syntactic constructions connected with the nouns of action. In practice, however, they seem only to confuse the Finnish reader, who is not used to empty words.

Even the redundancy which is introduced by the semantically poor elements seems to be the wrong kind of redundancy, i.e. the kind which is called “pleonastic” and which is experienced as superfluous and, consequently, negative (cf. Hakulinen & Karlsson 1976: 116). E.g. the compounds integraatioprosessi 'the integration process' and tarkastustoiminta 'inspection activity' quite unnecessarily contain the semantic element 'process' or 'action' in both of their constituents.

However, some poor elements, especially -toiminta 'activity' and -prosessi 'process', are used not only in translations, but also in authentic Finnish texts. Moreover, according to Itkonen (1979a: 162), there are quite a few cases when toiminta, at least seemingly, performs an informative function. But evidently the use of poor elements ought to be avoided as far as
possible.

In the ATrs there are few direct equivalents for the ST poor nouns. Their grammatical functions were usually transferred to the nouns of action (examples 84 and 86), or the noun of action was replaced e.g. by a finite verb (examples 85 and 87):

(84 ST) Экономическое и техническое содействие — это прежде всего комплексное решение проблем – от проектно-изыскательных работ --- до сдачи готовых объектов и гарантии их успешной эксплуатации. (1:19)

(84 PTr) Taloudellinen ja tekninen apu käsittää ennen kaikkea ongelmien kokonaisvaltaisen ratkaisemisen alkaen suunnittelua- ja etsintätoimistaa --- valmiiden kohteiden luovuttamisena ja niiden menestyksellisen toiminnan takaamiseen.

(84 ATr) Taloudellinen ja tekninen apu on ongelmien kokonaisvaltaista ratkaisemista. Siinä kuuluvat suunnittelua, --- kohteiden luovutus ja laatutakuu.

(85 ST) В/о ТРАКТОРОЭКСПОРТ и его зарубежные партнёры используют все формы рекламной работы ---. (19:29)

(85 PTr) V/O TRAKTOROEKSPORT ja sen ulkomaiset kauppakumppanit käyttävät kaikkia mainostoiminnan muotoja ---.

(85 ATr) Traktoroeksport ja sen ulkomaiset kauppakumppanit mainostavat myymiään tuotteita kaikin mahdollisin tavoin ---.

The PTr sentences often have simultaneously semantically poor nouns and other unnecessary elements, e.g. functional verbs (see examples 86 and 87). Such sentences are naturally especially difficult:

(86 ST) Наоборот, она подчинена задачам планомерного углубления и расширения международного социалистического разделения труда и содействует развитию процесса интеграции. (8:9)

(86 PTr) Se on päinvastoin alistettu kansainvälisten sosialistisen työnjaon suunnitelmalliselle laajentamiselle ja se edistää integraatioprosessin kehittymistä.

(86 ATr) Sitä vastoin sillä voidaan suunnitelmanlisesti laajentaa maiden työnjakoa ja edistää niiden yhdentymistä.

(87 ST) На первых этапах своей деятельности по контролю по поручениям иностранных организаций ТПП СССР выполняла в основном работу по контролю сырьевых и продовольственных товаров. (11:20)
All in all, it seems that because of the additional complications caused by other covert errors the drawbacks of contracted constructions are even more obvious in translations than in authentic texts.

10.9 Modifiers of nouns

The most important factor complicating the PTrs is the presence of long and complicated adnominal modifiers, i.e. attributes. Attributes attach themselves most easily to nouns of action. The following sections will, however, be concerned with all attributes, not only with those related to nouns of action. This is because a distinction between action noun phrases and other noun phrases would be artificial: nouns of action often modify other nouns. Moreover, a noun of action often functions as the semantic center of the noun phrase, even though the grammatical center is occupied e.g. by a semantically poor noun (see 10.8.4.2.4 above).

10.9.1 Noun phrases in the different text types

The present section contains quantitative information about the noun phrases in the different text types in the material examined.

When calculating the word numbers and the frequencies, the concept noun phrase was understood as comprising also single nouns without modifiers. Strings of nouns with modified modifiers were counted as one noun phrase. Ellipsis was not taken into account: words which modify several heads were counted as belonging to one noun phrase only, and coordinated attributes were included in the same noun phrase.

83 All modifiers of nouns are here called attributes, though in connection with nouns of action the adverbial attributes could also be called adverbials (see Hakulinen 1954: 88–90; Nuutinen 1976: 24–39) or attributives (Kangasmaa-Minn 1980: 291).
Table 30 shows the average length of noun phrases in the different text types:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text type</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Standard deviation</th>
<th>Smallest value</th>
<th>Largest value</th>
<th>Standard error of mean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The STs</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>0.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The PTrs</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>0.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The ATrs</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>0.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The FTs</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>0.07</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 30 shows that the average noun phrase length in the PTrs exceeds the corresponding FT value by a whole word. This is a very big difference. According to the t-scores, also all other differences between the text types, including that of the ATrs and the FTs, are significant.

The reason for the PTrs’ high average noun phrase length is clearly a strong interference from the STs, which have a very high noun phrase length indeed.\(^\text{84}\) The interference also appears from the high positive correlation of 0.8 between the STs and the PTrs.

The ATrs, on the other hand, are considerably less interferential. Their correlation with the STs (0.2) is not significant.

Because of their high average length in the STs and the PTrs, the noun phrases occupy much space in these text types – even though their average frequency in the STs and the PTrs is somewhat lower than in the FTs (see table 31). The importance of noun phrases for the STs and the PTrs becomes very clear, when all four text types are compared with each other as regards the average total number of words belonging to noun phrases (see table 32).

\(^\text{84}\) Also according to Mel'nik (1969: 87), Russian journalistic texts (editorials) abound in long noun phrases. In his material only 33.2% of the noun phrases have two words (one-word phrases were not included in the calculations), and 21.6% have three words. The values go down slowly so that e.g. five-word phrases constitute 10% and even 11-word phrases 1% of all noun phrases. The longest phrase has 33 words. For the sake of comparison, as many as 69.2% of noun phrases in belles-lettres have two words and only 20.6% have three words. The longest phrase in Mel'nik's material has 11 words.
Table 31. The average frequency of noun phrases per 100 words

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The STs</td>
<td>20.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The PTrs</td>
<td>22.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The ATrs</td>
<td>26.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The FTs</td>
<td>26.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 32. The average total number of words in the noun phrases

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>The average total number of words in the noun phrases</th>
<th>The percentage of words in noun phrases of the text's word number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The STs</td>
<td>416</td>
<td>80.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The PTrs</td>
<td>365</td>
<td>74.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The ATrs</td>
<td>294</td>
<td>64.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The FTs</td>
<td>260</td>
<td>60.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to table 32, the PTrs (under the obvious influence of the STs) have as much as 14.5 percentage points more words belonging to noun phrases than the FTs. Also all other differences between the text types are statistically significant.

The noun phrase length correlates significantly with the average clause length (cf. table 17 above) in all text types except the ATrs (values above 0.44 are significant). This is natural: other factors being equal, the more modifiers there are in a clause, the longer the clause:

Table 33. The correlation of the average clause length and the average noun phrase length

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The STs</td>
<td>0.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The PTrs</td>
<td>0.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The ATrs</td>
<td>0.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The FTs</td>
<td>0.85</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The positive correlations support the view presented above (see 10.5) that though long clauses are not the fundamental reason for low readability, they predict it.
10.9.2 The average noun phrase length and readability

In comparison with all the Finnish text types examined, the Russian STs have all the signs of having a low readability level: a high sentence and clause length, a high frequency of nouns in general and nouns of action in particular, and a high noun phrase length. In spite of this, Russian journalistic texts are usually not considered difficult to read (see 7.6 above).

This can be partly explained by the linguistic structure of Russian. The Russian language favours postmodifiers, i.e. Russian noun phrases basically branch to the right (excluding most adjective attributes, adjectival pronouns and participial attributes without modifiers; see Vehmas-Lehto & Rodima 1984: 207–211). In other words, there is a big difference in word order on phrase level between Russian and Finnish: the latter favours premodifiers, i.e. Finnish noun phrases usually branch to the left (excluding infinitive attributes, attributive subordinate clauses and certain adverbial attributes).

Right-branching (progressive) constructions are generally regarded as easy to understand, even if they are long, whereas left-branching (regressive) constructions are apt to cause reading difficulties (see Nida 1964: 134–135; Itkonen 1972: 376–377; Vuoriniemi 1975: 149; Gustafsson 1982: 27). This idea is based on the work of Miller, the psychologist (1956). According to the experiments performed by him, the so-called short term memory is capable of holding approximately seven figures or words (Miller 1956). Thus, all languages avoid placing a very great number of modifiers before the head, because the receptor has to hold the modifiers in his short term memory until he hears/sees the head. On the other hand, the modifiers which come after the head involve a minimal effort of memory. Consequently, they can be used practically without restrictions. (Yngve 1960: 1961.)

It is no wonder then that even long strings of postmodifiers are not regarded as causing reading difficulties in Russian (Lariohina 1979: 209). On the contrary, they are considered to reinforce in the best possible way efforts to express the subject matter exhaustively and to achieve structural simplicity (Lapteva 1966: 212; however, see also Sirotinina & al. 1969: 19; Skvorcov 1982: 62).

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85 Yngve (1960; 1961) developed the concept *syntactic depth* for measuring constructions. To put it simply, the depth of a noun phrase is equal to the number of words in the string of modifiers preceding the noun (coordinated words excluded).

86 Sowinski (1973: 93–94) considers the expansion of German clauses by means of different modifiers, especially attributes, as a sign of the contemporary “style of time”. Modifiers help to form compact constructions.
10.9.3 Methods of improving the use of attributes

The following sections will be concerned with the questions of which attributes and why are the most likely to lower the readability level of the texts and how the translations could be improved.

Adjective attributes will not be discussed here. This is because the principal covert error type related to adjective attributes, the use of ritual and pleonastic adjectives, was discussed above in connection with translation clichés (see 9.6.1.). It is enough to remark here that ritual and pleonastic adjective attributes should be avoided not only because of their emotivity, but also because they may divert the reader's attention from the main content of the text. Thus, avoiding these attributes also improves the readability level of the translations.

The suggestions contained in the following sections will be very similar to those made above, especially in connection with nouns of action. The angle, however, will be different: attention will be focused on the attributes.

10.9.3.1 Adverbial attributes

As premodifiers may cause reading difficulties in the translations, it is evidently advisable to favour postmodifiers. And indeed, the ST modifiers were in the ATrs sometimes rendered by postmodifiers, e.g. by subordinated clauses (see example 93).

But unfortunately the type of Finnish postmodifiers which are formally equivalent to the Russian prepositional, dative, and instrumental attribute, i.e. the adverbial attribute (including the attributes in the local cases and the prepositional and postpositional attributes),\(^87\) can seldom be used with other than verbal nouns (however, see Hakulinen & Karlsson 1979: 121–122). This causes translation problems, because prepositional, dative and instrumental attributes can in Russian be used without restrictions and are therefore very frequent.

Because of the restrictions imposed on the use of postmodifiers by the structure of the Finnish language, the PTrs contain few adverbial attributes, and those few are usually impeccable. Example 88 PTr, however, shows an erroneous adverbial attribute, caused by the

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\(^{87}\) According to Nuutinen (1976: 48), 76% of the adverbials (ie. adverbial attributes) of verbal nouns with the suffix \(-minen\) are post-modifiers.
ST interference. The attribute *johtamiseen* is placed before the head noun *vetämisen*, where it is very unnatural. But if postponed, it would be separated from the head *johtamiseen* by the noun *tietä* (or *avulla*): *niiden suoran vetämisen avulla sosialistisen tuotannon johtamiseen*. Even though expressions like this (i.e. expressions where the head of an adverbial attribute separates the attribute from its head) are – contrary to recommendations of linguists – occasionally used in Finnish, especially in journalistic language (Nuutinen 1976: 51–52), the expression is odd. In the corresponding ATr the problem was solved by replacing the noun of action by a finite verb, adding an infinitive (*osallistumaan*), eliminating a semantically poor noun (*дело*) and making some lexical readjustments. The attribute then changed into an adverbial:

(88 ST) Опираясь на достижения передовой науки и более чем полувековой практический опыт составления пятилетних планов развития народного хозяйства, партия последовательно проводит курс на упрочение централизованного руководства его демократической основы путём и их прямого вовлечения в дело управления социалистическим производством.

(88 PTr) Nojautuen etummaisen tieteen saavutuksiin ja kansantalouden kehittämisen viisivuotissuunnitelmien laatimiseen, yli puolivuosisataiseen käytännön kokemukseen puolue toteuttaa johdonmukaisesti linjaa, joka on tähdätty keskitetyn johtotyön lujittamiseen ja sen demokraattisen perustan laajentamiseen joukkojen kaipinpuolisen aktivoinnin ja *niiden* sosialistisen tuotannon johtamiseen suoran vetämisen tietä.

(88 ATr) Kommunistisen puolueen tavoitteenä on lujittaa keskitettyä johtoa ja demokraattistaa talousjärjestelmää. Niinpä se aktivoi kansaa ja kannustaa sitä osallistumaan tuotantoelämän hallintoon. Tässä työssä puolue käyttää hyväkseen uusimpia tutkimustuloksia ja yli puolen vuosisadan aikana saamiaan kokemuksia viisivuoittisuunnitelmien laadinnasta.

Because of the restrictions on the use of Finnish adverbial attributes, the ST prepositional, dative and instrumental attributes were in both translation types usually rendered by other means, e.g. by genitive or participial attributes. These attributes contributed strongly to the presence of long and difficult premodifiers in the PTrs. In the ATrs, on the other hand, certain readjustments were made which prevented the noun phrases from becoming all too long and complicated.
10.9.3.2 Genitive attributes

Genitive attributes, some of which can be traced back to Russian prepositional attributes (see examples 93 and 94), or dative and instrumental attributes (example 89), are conspicuously frequent in the PTrs. E.g. in example 89 PTr, 16 of the 35 words of the sentence are genitive attributes (two of them, talouden and tuotannon, being equivalents of Russian instrumental attributes), and 7 more words are in the genitive case for other reasons (mostly concord):

(89 ST) В решениях XXV съезда КПСС, последующих Пленумов Центрального Комитета партии, в выступлениях товарища Л.И. Брежнева определены основные условия решения этой задачи – дальнейшее совершенствование планового руководства экономикой, развитие демократических начал в управлении производством, повышение творческой инициативы трудовых коллективов.

(89 PTr) NKP:n 25. edustajakokouksen ja sen jälkeen pidettyjen puolueen keskuskomitean kokousten päätöksissä, L. J. Brežnevin puheissa on määritelty tämän tehtävän ratkaisun pääehdot: talouden suunnitelmallisen johtoyön kehittäminen jatkaminen, demokraattisten periaatteiden kehittäminen tuotannon hallinnan alalla ja työkollektiivien luovan aloitekyvyn kohottaminen.

The high frequency of genitive attributes in the PTrs is the natural consequence of their frequent use in Russian journalistic texts, where they constitute 36% of the total number of nouns (Golovin 1968: 15). It has been established in several studies (see Jasnickaja 1983: 142) that the genitive is the most frequent case of many Russian functional styles. E.g. in political literature 36–46% of nouns and nominal pronouns are in the genitive case (Nikonov 1959: 47).

Genitive attributes are very common also in Finnish journalistic style. According to Ruohonen (1981: 46 and 70), they are second only to adjective attributes, and they constitute 33.4% of the total number of attributes in the press. But Finnish experts hold the view that conglomerations of genitive attributes make the text monotonous and even unclear (Pulkkinen 1977: 29–30) and that especially strings of genitive attributes tend to make the text difficult to understand or otherwise unnatural or unpleasant ("vastasukaista"; Penttilä 1963: 331; see also Vuoriniemi 1975: 149; 1979: 76).

Thus, it is natural that superfluous genitive attributes should be avoided, both in authentic texts and in translations. This is why several ST noun phrases were replaced by clauses in
example 89 ATr (cf. example 89 PTr above), and one of the instrumental attributes was rendered by the modifying constituent of a compound (talousohjota). This reduced the number of genitive attributes to 8 and the number of other words in the genitive case to 1:

(89 ATr) Se, millä keinoin tavoitteeseen päästään, selviää NKP:n 25. edustajakokouksen ja sen keskuskomitean täysistuntojen päätöksistä sekä Leonid Brezhnevin pitämistä puheista: talousohjtoa parannetaan, tuotantoelämän hallintoa demokraattistetaan, ja työntekijöiden luovutta ja aloitteikkuutta lisätään.

However, reading difficulties connected with genitive attributes are due not only to their high frequency, but also to the use of genitive forms in different semantic functions within the boundaries of one clause. This phenomenon (in Finnish called samasijaisuus) may lead the reader into difficulties (see Koivusalo & Huovinen-Nyberg 1981: 38–40; Itkonen 1982: 96–97) or even mislead him, at least temporarily. The reader first gets the wrong impression and then has to reorganize his thoughts. This requires additional time and energy (see Vuoriniemi 1979: 75).

E.g. example 90 PTr below contains a subjective genitive attribute (puolueen), objective genitive attributes (perustan, ohjelman), and definitive genitive attributes (kehityksen, rakentamisen, aikavälin; see Penttilä 1963: 333). In the corresponding ATr sentence only one of the genitive attributes was retained. The rest disappeared as a result of complex readjustments, which turned two genitive attributes (развития/kehityksen, строительства/rakentamisen) into infinitives and made the other attributes redundant, because the initial cliché was eliminated:

(90 ST) Десятая пятилетка – это новый этап в осуществлении долговременного курса партии в области социально-экономического развития, строительства материально-экономической базы коммунизма в условиях развёртывающейся научно-технической революции. (6:3)

(90 PTr) Kymmenes viisivuotiskausi on uusi vaihe puolueen sosiaalis-taloudellisen kehityksen ja laajenevan tieteellis-tekisen perustan rakentamisen pitkän aikavälin ohjelman toteuttamisessa.

(90 ATr) Kommunistisen puolueen linjana on edelleenkin kehittää maata sosiaalisesti ja taloudellisesti sekä rakentaa kommunismille aineellista ja teknistä perustaa.

There may be misunderstandings e.g. as to the subjective and objective functions. E.g. the words osastojen and kauppa- ja teollisuuskamarien in example 91 PTr are actually subjective genitive
attributes of the modifying constituent of the compound *tarkastustyö*, but they may be – fleetingly – taken as being objective. This is because the genitive attribute of a noun derived from a transitive verb is normally interpreted as objective (Nuutinen 1976: 23). In the corresponding ATr sentence the ambiguity is eliminated by using the noun *toiminta*, which is derived from an intransitive verb:

(91 ST) Управление товарных экспертиз --- координирует работу по контролю отделений Палаты СССР и торгово-промышленных палат союзных республик, проверяет качество работы по контролю, исполняемой её отделениями, ---.

(11:10)

(91 PTr) Tavarantarkastushallinto koordinoi ja valvoo Neuvostoliiton kauppa- ja teollisuuskamariin osastojen ja tasavaltojen kauppa- ja teollisuuskamarien tarkastustyötä, ---.

(91 ATr) Se --- koordinoi eri osastojen sekä neuvostotasavaltojen kauppa- ja teollisuuskamarien toimintaa, valvoo osastojen suorittamien tarkastusten tasoa ---

Misleading genitive attributes in the PTrs arise also when the genitive case is used as the translation equivalent for certain Russian attributes, irrespective of the fact that this case is reserved for some other semantic function in authentic Finnish texts. The ST attribute may be a genitive one (*опыт индустриализации*, example 92 ST), but it may also be a prepositional attribute (*задачи по совершенствованию; тенденции к интернационализации*, examples 93 ST and 94 ST).

E.g. the PTr phrases *teollistamisen kokemus* 'the experience of industrialization' (example 92 PTr), *parantamisen tehtävät* 'the tasks of improvement' (example 93 PTr), and *kansainvälistymisen pyrkimykset* 'the endeavours of internationalization' (example 94), were intended to have semantic functions which could be illustrated by means of the following sentential analogues:

- Y:llä on kokemusta teollistamisesta 'Y has experience of industrialization', Y has experienced industrialization (Y has industrialized);
- Y:n tehtävä on yhteistyön parantaminen 'Y's task is the improvement of collaboration';
- Z pyrkii kansainvälistymiseen 'Z strives to internationalization'

---

88 A verbal noun functioning as the modifying constituent of a compound may have a genitive attribute (see Nikanne 1971: 113).
In other words, *teollistaminen* was meant to be objective, *parantaminen* to have a definitive function, and *kansainvälistyminen* a function somewhere between objective and locative.

But the PTr genitive attributes do not very well convey these meanings. They may be misleading; in any case they are unnatural and confusing. This is because in authentic Finnish, a genitive attribute is mostly subjective in relation to the head nouns *kokemus* 'experience', *tehtävä* 'task', and *pyrkimykset* 'endeavours, efforts': *pojan kokemus/tehtävä/pyrkimykset* 'the boy's experience, task, endeavours'. With these head nouns, other devices have mostly to be used in order to express the meanings of the Russian attributes in question. Possible word-level equivalents would be the compounds *teollistamiskokemus*, *parantamistehtävä*, and *kansainvälistyminspyrkimykset*. In example 92, also a noun phrase with a participial attribute could be used (*teollistamisesta saatu kokemus* 'experience got from industrialization').

The ATrs, however, do not confine themselves to these variants. In example 92 ATr, the word *опыт*, which is semantically rather poor, is omitted and the genitive attribute is transformed into an infinitive. In example 93 ATr, a postmodifying adverbial attribute is used. This is possible because the noun *tavoite* 'aim' was replaced by the noun *tehtävä* 'task'.

Example 94 ATr has a subordinate clause with a finite verb corresponding to the content of the Russian attribute:

(92 ST) Второй – опыт индустриализации в СССР после Великой Октябрьской социалистической революции будто бы «заимствован» у империалистических держав ---. (10:4)

(92 PTr) Toisen teesin mukaan teollistamisen kokemus SNTL:ssa Lokakuun Suuren sosialistisen vallankumouksen jälkeen oli muka “lainattu” imperialistivalloilta ---

(92 ATr) Toiseksi Neuvostoliitto on maata teollistaessaan vain matkinut imperialistisia maita ---.

(93 ST) Важным этапом в развитии сотрудничества явилось принятие Комплексной программы социалистической экономической интеграции, в которой определены задачи по его совершенствованию. (16:5)

(93 PTr) Tärkeä vaihe yhteistyön kehittämisessä oli sosialistisen taloudellisen yhdentymisen kokonaisohjelma, jossa on määritelty yhteistyön parantamisen tehtävät.

89 For more details about translation problems connected with the word *задача* 'task' see Vehmas-Lehto (1984b).
Suuri merkitys tälle yhteistyölle oli sosialististen maiden taloudellista yhdentymistä koskevalla kokonaisohjelmalla, jossa esitettiin tavoitteet yhteistyön edelleen kehittämiseksi.

Внешнеэкономическая линия --- учитывает объективные тенденции к интернационализации общественной жизни. (14:2)

--- ulkopoliittinen linja ottaa huomioon kansainvälistymisen objektiiviset pyrkimykset.

--- ulkopoliittisessa linjassa --- on otettu huomioon, että objektiivisesti ottaen yhteiskuntaelämä kansainvälistyvää.

The erroneous semantic functions of the genitive case in the PTrs could be classified as violations of the TL grammatical norms (see 3.3 above) and, consequently, as overt errors. This is because such use of the genitive case would be erroneous in any Finnish functional style and in any communicative situation. On the other hand, these errors are quite “covert” in the sense that all the genitive functions used in the PTr sentences (objective, definitive, locative) really exist in Finnish; they are simply not used with the specific nouns in question. Thus, the exact reason for the error is difficult to pinpoint.

All in all, genitive attributes should be used with care and moderation. Care should be taken that the semantic functions of the genitive attributes are clear and in harmony with authentic Finnish usage. Superfluous attributes should be replaced by other devices.

One of these compensatory devices, both in translations and in authentic texts, is the use of compounds. They prevent the noun phrases from becoming too deep (Papp 1966: 64). This is because the fact that a compound is stored in the long-term memory as one lexical whole – as if it had no internal structure – disguises the “regressive steps” contained in its structure (Yngve 1960: 454). Another typical device for replacing genitive attributes – especially if they are nouns of action – is to use clauses (e.g. examples 89 ATr and 94 ATr) or contracted clauses (example 92 ATr), the verb of which corresponds semantically to the noun of action.

10.9.3.3 Participial attributes

Long and difficult left-branching constructions in the PTrs are caused not only by genitive, but also by participial attributes: Russian postmodifying attributes are often rendered by participial
attributes, which are premodifiers and thus add to the number of attributes in front-position.

The ST postmodifier rendered in the PTTr by a participle may be a participial attribute\(^9\) (examples 98 and 99), but it may also be e.g. a genitive attribute (examples 97, 100, 103) or a prepositional attribute (examples 95, 96, 102).

The most common ST part of speech to be translated by a participle is the prepositional attribute. As stated above (see 10.9.3.1), the Finnish adverbial attribute, i.e. the formal equivalent for the Russian prepositional attribute, is seldom used with other than verbal nouns. If the head noun is not verbal (and sometimes even if it is), it is necessary to use other devices, mostly participles, in order to join together the head noun and its modifier. Such participles are formed from verbs with a neutral meaning, e.g. *tapahtua* 'to take place', *suorittaa* 'to perform', *toimittaa* 'to perform', *koskea* 'to concern', *harjoittaa* 'to practice', etc. (see Nuutinen 1976: 74–76).

Participial attributes make it possible to have several modifiers in the same noun phrase, e.g. one with a local meaning, another with a temporal meaning, and still another expressing an agent, e.g. *liittokansleri Helmut Schmidtin Moskovaan heinäkuussa 1980 suorittama vierailu* (example 103 PTTr). But the noun phrase may become too heavy – even in authentic Finnish. This makes the text less natural (Ikola 1982: 8–9) and less comprehensible (Itkonen 1982: 93–95).

In translations, the damage caused by heavy participial attributes is even more serious. This is because the noun phrases in translations often contain also other elements which lengthen them and make them muddled: semantically poor nouns, emotive adjective attributes, genitive attributes, etc.

Difficulties are often – even more often than in connection with genitive attributes – multiplied by the presence of identical case forms in different functions. E.g. in example 95 PTTr the noun *muotoja* is first taken as modifying the numeral *kymmeniä*, and in example 96 PTTr the participle *toimivia* as modifying the noun *kulutustarvikkeita*. In 95 ATr the confusing partitive form was avoided by forming the necessary participle from a verb whose object appears in the illative case. In 96 ATr the participial phrase was replaced by a compound:

\(^9\) In Russian, the participles which have no modifiers usually go before the head noun, whereas the participles which have modifiers most often go after the head.
За период 1979 – 1981 г.г. заключены и реализованы или находятся в стадии реализации десятки сделок по новым формам на сумму свыше 10 млн. Руб. --- (14:16)

(95 PTr) Esim. vuosina 1979–1981 solmittiin ja toteutettiin kymmeniä keskinäisen kaupan uusia muotoja soveltavia sopimuksia, joiden arvo ylittää 10 miljoonaa ruplaa.

(95 ATr) Vuosina 1979–1981 tehtiin nimittein kymmeniä uusin yhteistyömuotoihin liittyviä kauppoja yhteensä yli 10 milj. ruplan arvosta.

(96 ST) Во всех республиках появятся новые или будут реконструированы действующие предприятия по выпуску товаров народного потребления, --- (4:30)

(96 PTr) Kaikkialla Neuvostoliitossa perustetaan uusia ja saneanetaan jo toimivia kulutustarvikkeita tuottavia tehtaita ---

(96 ATr) Kaikkiin neuvostotasavaltoihin rakennetaan uusia kulutustavarehtaita, ja vanhoja tehtaita saneanetaan.

In order to shorten the noun phrases, participial attributes were avoided as far as possible in the ATrs. The following examples, presenting certain heavy or otherwise unsuccessful participial attributes in the PTrs and the corresponding ATr suggestions, illustrate how this was done.

Firstly, unnecessary participial attributes were eliminated. Like authentic Finnish texts (see Koivusalo & Huovinen-Nyberg 1981: 43–44), the PTrs often resort to participial attributes even when it is not really necessary. In such cases the modifier can be placed immediately in front of the head noun in the genitive case:

(97 ST) ВИСХОМ координирует работу 36 конструкторских организаций отрасли, участвует в совместном решении основных проблем сельскохозяйственного машиностроения с организациями стран-членов СЭВ. (20:30)

(97 PTr) Vishom koordinoi 36 tieteellisen ja suunnittelujärjestön toimintaa sekä osallistuu SEV- maiden yhteistyöhön maatalouskoneetollisuuteen liittyvien perusongelmien selvittämiseksi.

(97 ATr) Tutkimuslaitos koordinoi 36 suunnittelujärjestön toimintaa ja ratkoo yhdessä SEV- maiden eri organisaatioiden kanssa maatalouskoneetollisuuden tärkeimpä ongelmia.
Secondly, compounds were used instead of participles (see also example 96):

(98 ST) Особенно хотелось бы отметить, что промышленность Советского Союза одной из первых начала массовое производство энергонасыщенных тракторов, предвидя тем самым резкий рост мощностей машин, используемых в сельскохозяйственном производстве. (19:14)

(98 PTr) Haluaisin mainita, että Neuvostoliiton teollisuus aloitti ensimmäisten joukossa suuritehoisten traktoreiden massatuotannon, ennakoivien näin maataloustuotannon käytämien koneiden tehon voimakkaan kasvun.

(98 ATr) Mainittakoon, että Neuvostoliitto oli ensimmäisiä maita, joissa valmistettiin suurtuotantona erittäin tehokkaita traktoreita: näin se varautui maatalouskoneiden tehon jyrkään nousuun.

Last but not least, in the ATrs finite verbs were substituted for potential participles, and Russian attributes could thus be rendered by adverbials. In other words, the number of premodifiers could be reduced.

If there was a participial attribute in the ST, the procedure was simple: the attribute was replaced by a relative clause:

(99 ST) Перед народным хозяйством и советскими внешнеторговыми организациями ставится задача улучшить структуру экспорта, прежде всего путем увеличения производства и поставок продукции машиностроения и других изделий, отвечающих требованиям внешнего рынка --- (12:10)

(99 PTr) Kansantaloudelle ja Neuvostoliiton ulkomaankauppajärjestöille on annettu tehtäväksi parantaa viennin rakennetta. Sen tulee tapahtua ennen kaikkea lisäämällä koneenrakennusteollisuuden ja muiden ulkomaanmarkkinoiden vaatimuksia vastaavien tuotteiden tuotantoa ja toimituksia ---

(99 ATr) Puiteohjelman mukaan Neuvostoliiton talouslämän ja ulkomaankauppajärjestöjen on parannettava viennin rakennetta. Tämä tarkoittaa sitä ennen muuta sitä, että tulevaisuudessa on valmistettava ja markkinoitava aikaisempaa enemmän koneita ja laitteita sekä muita sellaisia vientiartikkeleita, jotka vastaavat ulkomaanmarkkinoiden vaatimuksia.

But if the ST had a prepositional or a genitive attribute, a neutral finite verb had to be inserted. This verb could be the verb of a main clause (example 100) or a subordinate clause (example 101), especially a relative one (example 102):

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91 Cf. Sowinski 1973: 94, who recommends replacing premodifying attributes by subordinate clauses in German in
Каковы главные экономические итоги развития страны в минувшем пятилетии? (5:1)

Миткä ovat maan kehityksessä kuluneen viisivuotiskauden aikana saavutetut tärkeimmät tulokset?

Neuvostoliiton talouselämässä saavutettiin kuluneella yhdeksännellä viisivuotiskaudella erinomaisia tuloksia.92

Перспективы дальнейшего развития экономики республики, как составной части единого народнохозяйственного комплекса страны, вытекают из решений XXVI съезда КПСС. (15:14)


Koska Valko-Venäjä on osa Neuvostoliiton talousjärjestelmää, sen talouden tuleva kehitys perustuu NKP:n 26. edustajakokouksen päätöksiin.

В десятой пятилетке полностью завершится повышение минимума заработной платы, а также ставок и окладов среднеоплачиваемых категорий работников в отраслях непроизводственной сферы --- (6:22)

Kymmenennellä viisivuotiskaudella saadaan lopulliseen päätökseen vähimmäispalkan sekä ei-tuotannollisen alan palveluksessa olevien keskituloisten työntekijöiden palkkojen ja peruspalkkojen korotus ---

Kaikkien niiden keskituloisten työntekijöiden palkkia korotetaan, jotka työskentelevät muualla kuin tuotantoelämän palveluksessa ja jotka eivät tätä korotusta ole aikaisemmin saaneet ---

Sometimes it was also possible – and advisable – to make the forming of participial attributes unnecessary by leaving out some information contained in the ST sentence. This could be done if this information was evident from the context. E.g. in example 103 ATr there is no phrase corresponding to the ST attribute основных направлений сотрудничества СССР и ФРГ 'of the main policies in the collaboration of the USSR and the FRG'. This is because the names of the countries were introduced in the previous context, and from what comes after it is clear that the treaty in question is concerned with the main policies. 'Collaboration' is included in the compound yhteistyöohjelma:
Because both postmodifiers and premodifiers have certain restrictions in Finnish, it is recommendable to use both modifier types sparingly. There are several ways of avoiding them, but the most important of them are the forming of compounds, the elimination of semantically poor and ritual elements, and the replacement of nouns of action and their attributes by verbs and adverbials.

10.10 Intersentential cohesion devices

Lexis and syntax are not the only areas of language connected with low readability. Comprehension difficulties may also be caused by flaws in the use of cohesion devices. The following observations will be confined to certain flaws in cohesion between sentences.

In the PTrs, intersentential cohesion flaws are mostly manifested in a certain insufficiency: the devices used are correct as such, but they are too vague to make the relations between various parts of the text unambiguous.

There seem to be two main reasons for ambiguities. Firstly, there is a tendency for some of the ST cohesive ties provided by linguistic and pragmatic redundancy to get lost in the process of translation (cf. Nida 1964: 120–144). Some of these ties could be retained, but partly the losses are inevitable. This is because “for a source text and its translation there are always differences in the semantic networks that provide for the cohesive ties among chunks of text (sentences, clauses, phrases, lexical items etc.) and in the cultural networks that provide for
pragmatic and situational givenness” (Tirkkonen-Condit 1982a, 31–32). Secondly, even if the ST cohesion devices are transferred to the translation, they are not necessarily capable of fulfilling their cohesive function in the target language.

The first type of inadequacy is illustrated by examples 104 ST/PTr and 105 ST/PTr. In example 104 PTr there is a semantic loss because of which the tie between the matrix (sentence 2) and its elaborations (sentences 3, 4, and 6) can be misinterpreted as additive. The close semantic affinity (hyponymy) between the concept коллективные формы сотрудничества 'collective forms of cooperation' and its species in the following sentences (the founding of the Commission of Currencies and Finance, the International Bank of Economic Cooperation, the International Investment Bank, new currency arrangements) is not transferred to the PTr, because of the unfamiliarity of the concept kollektiiviset yhteistyömuodot for the Finnish reader:

(104 ST) 1. В первый послевоенный период проблемы валютно-финансовых отношений рассматривались и решались странами на двусторонней основе. 2. В дальнейшем, в ходе развития экономического сотрудничества, эти проблемы приобретают многосторонний характер и после создания СЭВ находят решение путём использования коллективных форм сотрудничества. 3. В 1962 году, в дополнение к некоторым другим отраслевым постоянным комиссиям СЭВ, образована Постоянная комиссия по валютно-финансовым вопросам на уровне министров финансов. 4. В 1963 году подписано межправительственное Соглашение о многосторонних расчетах в переводных рублях и организации Международного банка экономического сотрудничества (МБЭС). 5. По договорённости стран-участниц соглашение введено в действие временно с 1 января 1964 года и после его ратификации всеми странами-участницами вступило в силу 18 мая 1964 года. 6. В 1970 году было подписано соглашение об организации Международного инвестиционного банка (МИД).

In example 105, on the other hand, the incoherence of the PTr passage is partly due to the loss of a ST textual feature. Some of the ST sentences are held together by thematic parallelism, which is created by the initial verbs пополнятся, взят and дадут in sentences 9, 10 and 11. The ST word order of these sentences cannot possibly be retained in the translation. This is because sentence-initial verbs in Finnish, unless used in questions or answers, almost certainly have a modal meaning, e.g. that of concession (Ostihan Liisa sen kirjan, mutta ei se mikään hyvä kirja ole) or insistence (Osti hän sen kirjan, vaikket sinä sitä uskokaan; cf. Hakulinen & Karlsson 1979: 310). Consequently, the ST cohesion device is lost, and the PTr sentences seem somewhat detached from each other.

Example 104 PTr above also illustrates the other type of insufficient cohesion device. The ST sentences 3, 4, and 6 are inter-connected by parallel (or iconic) adverbials of time (в 1962 году, в 1963 году, в 1970 году) and by parallel verbs in the passive voice. But even though the PTr passage copies the ST cohesive structure, reproducing the parallelism, its cohesion devices are insufficient. The relations between sentences remain unclear on the first reading, and the intuitive impression of a native speaker is that the passage does not sound quite right.

Unsatisfactory conjunction is especially common between PTr sentences which are, or
should be, additive in relation to each other. The corresponding ST sentences are mostly connected only by semantic relations and pragmatic knowledge, and perhaps additionally by parallel constructions. The Russian reader gets the relationship right, because it is conventional in Russian to base an additive conjunction on such implicit cohesion devices. The Finnish reader is misled, because he expects more explicitness.

E.g. in example 106 PTr the additive conjunction, which is based on pragmatic knowledge (about the importance of foreign trade for the Soviet economy, on one hand, and for the foreign policy of the country, on the other hand), is unclear, or it may give the – nonsensical – impression that the second sentence explains the first one:

(106 ST) 1. Внешнеэкономические связи приобретают растущее значение в развитии народного хозяйства Советского Союза. 2. Они играют важную роль в проведении его внешней политики, направленной на укрепление мирового социалистического содружества, поддержку национально-освободительного движения, обеспечение прочного мира на земле.

(106 PTr) 1. Ulkomaankaupan merkitys Neuvostoliiton kansantalouden kehitykselle kasvaa. 2. Nämä kauppasuhteet ovat tärkeä osa Neuvostoliiton ulkopolitiikkaa, joka tähtää maailman sosialistisen ystävyysliiton lujittamiseen, kansallisten vapautusliikkeiden tukemiseen ja pysyvän maailmanrauhan turvaamiseen.

The inadequacy in cohesion can be explained by interlingual differences between Russian and Finnish. Even though Russian and Finnish, on the whole, use the same cohesion devices in very much the same way (see Hallikainen 1987), there are quantitative differences, i.e. differences in the distribution of cohesion devices. These may be connected, e.g., with the relative frequency of explicit and implicit cohesion devices: Russian journalistic texts seem to contain fewer explicit cohesion devices than Finnish journalistic texts.

The low frequency of explicit cohesion devices in Russian journalistic texts was referred to by Sirotinina (1968: 111). According to her, most sentences in foreign surveys contain no explicit linguistic devices connecting them with the previous context. As regards the number of connectives, Sirotinina’s observations are supported by the analysis of the STs: as shown by tables 34 and 35, the frequency of intersentential connectives in the STs is only 0.1 connectives.

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93 Connectives link clauses and sentences with the rest of the text (usually with the left-hand context). They are closely related to conjunctions, but unlike conjunctions they are regarded as parts of the clause (Hakulinen & Karlsson 1979: 206). According to Enkvist (1978: 90), connectives are an open class, i.e. we can when necessary form new connectives by joining together different elements available in the language.
per sentence or 0.6 connectives per 100 words. The frequency of pronouns, on the other hand, is not especially low: it is approximately 0.2 pronouns per sentence in the STs as in the other text types. Other explicit devices used in the STs are rhetorical questions and metatextual expressions and clauses (on translation problems see Vehmas-Lehto 1989a).

Most cohesive devices in the STs seem to be implicit. They are mostly based on coreference and the semantic network between the words of the text. A typical feature both within and between sentences is also parallelism (see also Švec 1979: 42), which seems to have not only cohesive but also emotive functions (according to Kaufman & Broms (1988: 33) parallelism of themes is a characteristically Eastern mode of expression used for reinforcing myths).

The FTs, on the other hand favour explicit cohesion devices. This manifests itself clearly in the striking difference between the STs and the FTs as to the frequency of intersentential connectives (tables 34 and 35):

| Table 34. The frequencies of intersentential connectives per text and sentence |
|-----------------------------|-----------------|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
|                              | Mean per text   | Mean per sentence | Standard deviation | Smallest value | Largest value | Standard error of mean |
| The STs                      | 3.2             | 0.1             | 0.1             | 0.0             | 0.6             | 0.0             |
| The PTrs                     | 3.5             | 0.1             | 0.1             | 0.0             | 0.6             | 0.0             |
| The ATrs                     | 13.1            | 0.4             | 0.1             | 0.2             | 0.6             | 0.0             |
| The FTs                      | -               | 0.3             | 0.1             | 0.1             | 0.5             | 0.0             |

The information concerning the number of connectives per text in the FTs is not given, because these texts are not commensurable with the other text types as to the total number of words.
As shown by table 34, the frequency of intersentential connectives per sentence in the PTrs is only one third of their frequency in the FTs. In relation to word number the difference between the text types is even bigger (table 35). This is due to there being relatively more sentences in the FTs than in the PTrs.

In other words, tables 34 and 35 show that connectives are under-represented in the PTrs (cf. “over-indulgence” and “under-representation” in section 3.3). Since under-representation is not attributable to what there is in the text but to what there is not, it is perhaps even more covert than over-indulgence, represented e.g. by nouns of action.

Tables 34 and 35 also show that the frequencies of the PTrs are nearly identical with those of the STs, i.e. that the quantitative deviation in the PTrs is evidently once again due to interference from the STs.

An interesting detail of under-representation is the fact that only one PTr, PTr 13, contains enclitics -kin/-kaan 'also', 'either', 'consequently', 'indeed' and -han 'this is because', 'it is a well-known fact that'. This PTr (which has more than one third of all the connectives in the PTrs) contains 6 enclitics, but the other PTrs have no enclitics at all. In the FTs there are 1.3 enclitics per text on the average.

Thus, it seems that quantitative differences between languages make translations quasi-correct also as regards cohesion. This observation is supported also by Kachroo (1984), who found a correlation between the naturalness, “authenticity” of the translations (as assessed by native speakers of the TL) and the degree of their resemblance to authentic TL texts in terms of the distribution of cohesion devices.
Consequently, in order to be able to use cohesion devices in a natural way it is necessary to investigate the similarities and differences in the use of these devices between the languages in question. On the basis of these differences, the translator makes “additional translation transformations” (Klaudy 1986: 36).

As regards the translations examined here, a necessary transformation is e.g. the insertion of connectives. Tables 34 and 35 indicate that a considerable number of connectives were inserted in the ATrs: the ATrs contain nearly 10 connectives more per text than the STs. Some of them, it is true, were used to connect new sentences corresponding to ST clauses and phrases.

If the principle of quantitative conformity with the corresponding TL functional style is followed, translations should contain approximately the same percentage of connectives as the FTs. According to tables 34 and 35, the ATrs, however, contain relatively more connectives than the FTs (the differences are significant, the t-values being 2.7 and 2.9 respectively). Thus, they are in a way hypercorrect.

However, considering the many inevitable losses in cohesion which take place in the process of translation, one might ask whether the Finnish translations would be much worse even if they contained more connectives than the FTs. The point is that connectives, being explicit by nature, are much easier to handle than most other potential compensatory means of cohesion. Moreover, explicitation seems to be a universal strategy inherent in the process of language mediation (Blum-Kulka 1986: 19–21).

Connectives are used in the ATrs, firstly, as compensatory devices for restoring the ST cohesive ties. E.g. in 104 ATr the semantic tie present in example 104 ST but muddled in example 104 PTr is compensated for by means of the connective niinpä ‘thus’:


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95 Quantitative interlingual differences have been established e.g. between Hebrew and English (lexical repetition is far more frequent in the former) and between Portuguese and English (cohesive features in the former reflect a stronger need for clarity and a greater need of specification; see Blum-Kulka 1986: 19).

96 Tirkkonen-Condit (1982a: 154–155), suggests doing the opposite with translations from English into Finnish. This is because, according to her intuitive impression, Finnish tends to use fewer obvious signals of conjunction than English.

In example 105 ATr, there are two compensatory connectives, *myös* 'also' and *niinpä* 'consequently'. They compensate for the loss of the tie created by the sentence-initial verbs *пополнятся* and *дадут* in the corresponding ST:


Secondly, connectives are used as supplements for cohesion devices which are inadequate to link sentences in a translation. Illustrations of this are provided by the two connectives, *taas* 'in turn' and *vielä* 'moreover' in example 104 ATr (supplementing the parallel adverbials of time) and by the connective *-kin* 'thus' in example 105 ATr (supporting the semantic tie created by the words *energia* 'energy' and *kaasujohto* 'gas pipeline'). Example 106 ATr, for its part, has the supplementary connective *myös* 'also', which explicates the additive tie based on pragmatic knowledge:

(106 ATr) 1. Ulkomaankauppa on käynyt yhä tärkeämmäksi Neuvostoliiton talouselämälle. 2. Se on tärkeää *myös* maan ulkopoliitikalle, jonka tarkoitus on lujittaa sosialististen maiden ystävyyttä, tukea kansallisia vapautusliikkeitä ja saada aikaan pysyvä maailmanrauha.

The explicitation of cohesive ties, it is true, has certain risks. This was illustrated also by one of the experiments. In experiment 1 (see section 8.2.3), an ATr passage (text 9; see appendix 1), where connectives were added in all sentence junctions, was experienced by 4 subjects as "disorganised and disconnected" and as proceeding with "leaps and bumps". Perhaps this was because the insertion of connectives made the translation clear enough to allow the readers to
notice that the sentences of the passage (which contained a list of the achievements of the Soviet economy) had little in common. The corresponding PTr was characterized less specifically as “difficult to understand”.

The discrepancy between the PTrs and the FTs as to the frequency of connectives is only one manifestation of the quasi-correctness of the PTrs in the domain of cohesion. A more thorough analysis would undoubtedly reveal more interlingual differences and also more manifestations of interference in the translations. Moreover, preliminary observations suggest that these differences are not confined to the inter-sentential level, but affect also the linkage of higher-level chunks of text, e.g. paragraphs and sections.

10.11 Discussion

According to Wagenaar et al. (1987: 156), who discuss the various methods of measuring the readability of authentic texts, there is no real criterion of readability. If this is true in relation to authentic texts, real criteria of the readability of translations are even more unlikely: translations, representing interlanguage, are even more problematic than authentic texts.

However, the phenomena discussed in the present study give an idea of some of the factors affecting the readability of Russian–Finnish translations. The readability of these translations seems to be largely connected with similar factors to those germane to the readability of authentic texts, e.g. sentence and clause length, the frequency of nominalizations etc. It appears, however, that what is important for authentic texts (e.g. a low modification ratio) is not necessarily the most important factor for translations. This is due to the alien features introduced into the translations by ST interference.

Future research on the readability of translations must naturally utilize the results of research on other texts. The special features of translations must, however, always be kept in mind.

As regards possible fields for research, it seems that the relationship between content and readability would be worth going into – at least as a kind of basic research. This is because complexity – allegedly the most important readability factor – is not dependent only on syntax, but also on content. It would certainly be useful for translators to have a clearer view of content factors and their mutual relations, even though their possibilities of influencing them are limited.
The most promising field for future research would, however, seem to be the relationship between readability and textual factors: even a translator can to a certain extent influence the way content is organized in the text. An especially important field of text linguistics would seem to be cohesion, both at micro-level, i.e. on the level of clause and sentence relations, and at macro-level, i.e. as regards the organization of paragraphs and sections and their mutual relations.

One thing is certain: the factors influencing the readability of translations are very complex. Thus, they can only be investigated and predicted by complex methods.
11 CONCLUSION

Both the intuition of the present researcher and the shared intuitions of other native speakers of Finnish, elicited by experiments, show that the PTrs are not successful in the Finnish linguistic community. They usually render the ST message correctly, but not felicitously or effectively: the translations are difficult to understand and they make a negative impression on the Finnish reader – they are clumsy, uninteresting, unpleasant, difficult to understand, and apt to arouse suspicion.

11.1 Factors influencing the reliability of the experiments

The experiments were performed as a series with the same classes of high school students. The first three of them (on identification, general impression and emotivity of words) were performed during the same 1.5 hour lesson, and the last one (on readability) two days later. It is possible that the experiments performed first, especially the identification experiment, may have influenced the others. On the other hand, the relatively short time allotted for the experiments made it difficult for the subjects to speculate on what kinds of results were perhaps hoped for. The text passages were also different in each experiment (except that the same passages were used in experiments 2 and 3).

The reliability of the experiments is also enhanced by the fact that the results obtained in different subject groups always supported each other: the ratings for the PTrs were regularly at one end of the “scale”, the ratings for the FTs at the other end, and the ratings for the ATTrs (when included in the material) in the middle. Moreover, those differences in the ratings which could have been caused by different subject matter were at least partly ruled out by the fact that all the texts, including the FTs, dealt with the Soviet or COMECON economy. Thus, the predisposition to hostility towards these themes which became evident in experiment 3 influenced the ratings of all the texts.

11.2 Verification of the functional style hypothesis

The working hypothesis set out in section 5 was supported by the experiments and textual
comparisons: the translations evidently need to conform not only to the system and grammatical norms of the TL, but also to the usus of the corresponding (or closest) TL functional style. Violations of the functional style-specific norms of Finnish journalistic language (covert errors) transform the seeming correctness of the PTrs into quasi-correctness.

11.3 Types of covert errors

Covert errors are attributable to two kinds of ST influence. Firstly, there is the influence of the ST journalistic style and conventions. This manifests itself above all in the use of emotive means of expression, which reflect the persuasive main function of the STs. Secondly, there is linguistic interference from the STs. The covert errors are divided into two main categories accordingly: errors connected with emotivity and errors connected with readability.

Errors connected with emotivity are manifested in various phenomena of over-indulgence: the PTrs contain an excessive number of parallel constructions, nominal sentences, emotive words and clichés.

Among errors connected with readability, on the other hand, are the high sentence and clause length and complex clause structure of the PTrs. The latter is reflected e.g. in a high frequency of adjectives and nouns, especially nouns of action, and a high average noun phrase length.

The crucial factor affecting the readability of the PTrs proved to be the difference in word order between Russian and Finnish noun phrases. Russian noun phrases, which basically branch to the right, do not cause comprehension problems. But when transferred into Finnish, these noun phrases, which in Finnish branch primarily to the left, may make the text heavy and difficult to understand. The readability formulae for Finnish texts developed by Wiio unfortunately ignore such psycholinguistic considerations.

The low readability level of the PTrs is apparently due also to flaws in the use of cohesion devices, especially to a low frequency of connectives.

Both error types may be either quantitative or qualitative in character. Quantitativeness and qualitativeness are closely interdependent: quantitative errors result in an overall qualitative deviation, and the seriousness of qualitative flaws is intensified by their recurrence.
11.4 Reasons for covert errors

The quasi-correctness of the PTrs is mainly due to the influence of the STs. This assertion is supported by the quantitative comparisons between the text types: the PTr values are without exception between the ST and FT values, close to the former, often differing from them only insignificantly. Thus, interference is not confined to translations by amateurs or to translations made into a foreign language; it is present also in the output of professionals translating into their mother tongue.

Part of the ST influence, however, is probably intentional, i.e. caused by the translators' following a semantic-formal rather than a communicative principle of equivalence. This may be because modern translation principles have not reached all translators. But it may also be because certain translators (and their employers) regard semantic-formal equivalence as the only acceptable principle for translating political texts.

11.5 Suggested improvements

The study is not confined to criticising the PTrs; it also gives suggestions as to possible improvements. These suggestions are illustrated with extracts from the ATrs: in spite of the fact that these translations are not entirely free of interference, they are closer to the FTs than the PTrs. In comparison with the STs and also the PTrs, the ATrs are both neutralized, freshened up and clarified.

The ATrs are neutralized (and simultaneously freshened up) e.g. by eliminating certain coordinated constructions, replacing nominal constructions by sentences with full verbs, eliminating emotive words, pleonastic attributes and translation clichés, replacing strongly charged emotive words by less charged or neutral words and translation clichés by natural Finnish expressions.

As regards the improvement of readability, the complex syntactic patterns of the STs, characteristic of the written language, were replaced by the relatively simple syntactic structures of Finnish journalistic style. In other words, the ATrs are closer than the STs and the PTrs to the structural patterns of the spoken language.

The ATrs are also both more compact, on one hand, and less compact, on the other hand,
than the STs and the PTrs. The combination of syntactic compactness and lexical superfluity characteristic of the STs was in the ATrs replaced by lexical compactness and syntactic “spaciousness”: superfluous words were avoided, more verbs and less nouns were used and clauses and sentences were chopped up.

11.6 The problem of equivalence

The present study could not give an indisputable answer to whether equivalence can be expected or attained when translating Russian journalistic texts into Finnish. The equivalence of the ATrs to the STs is a matter of opinion.

On one hand, if equivalence is taken to mean the closest possible communicative value translations can have in relation to their STs (see Schmidt's definition of communicative equivalence in section 2.4.6), it is possible to argue that the ATrs are communicatively equivalent to the STs (or at least more equivalent than the PTrs).

Functional equivalence is also possible. Finnish translations of Russian journalistic texts can have approximately the same textual functions as the STs (with only minor modifications according to the needs of the new recipients). Moreover, the ATrs, being communicatively more felicitous, i.e. more adequate than the PTrs, can also perform these functions in an approximately equivalent manner (equivalence naturally presupposes communicative success of the STs in the SL community; proving this was not part of the purpose of the study).

On the other hand, the ATrs can be regarded as non-equivalent to the STs on the ground that they are close to a Finnish functional style whose textual functions differ from those of the ST functional style.

However, the problem of equivalence, i.e. the relationship between the translations and the STs was not the main issue of the study. The focus was on the adequacy of the translations, i.e. on how well the translations succeed in performing their own functions in the TL community. In this respect the ATrs are without doubt better than the PTrs.

11.7 Compromises made in the adequacy of the ATrs

Though the ATrs were neutralized, freshened up and clarified in comparison with the STs, they
could not be totally adjusted to the norms and conventions of Finnish journalistic language. A compromise between semantic equivalence and correspondence of functional styles was necessary. Firstly, culture-bound lexical units (e.g. socialist economic terminology) had mostly to be translated word-for-word. Secondly, textual strategy, e.g. the order of presentation, could not be much altered without entirely rewriting the texts, since changes in textual strategy would have entailed great alterations to semantic content.

It has been maintained that clues to the origin of a translation, especially in the case of political texts, may be useful orientators for the reader. However, even if translations are brought closer to authentic texts, some of the clues always remain (lexical, text-strategic, clues pertaining to the selection of subject matter etc.). Thus, there is no reason to provide such clues on purpose. Moreover, not all kinds of clues are useful. It seems that violations of linguistic norms or textual conventions, by causing clumsiness and reading difficulties, only have an adverse effect on translations.

11.8 Some final words

Translation criticism has neglected covert errors, or rather their existence has seldom been realized. This is natural: since many covert errors are quantitative by nature and connected with syntactic structure, they are more difficult to establish than e.g. morphological and lexical errors. In spite of their inconspicuousness they may cause serious damage not only to the formal elements of the translation, but also to the communication of the message.

I hope that this study, by uncovering some of the typical covert errors of Russian-Finnish translations, will make translators, critics and teachers conscious of the existence of this error type and thus help to improve the quality of translations. The quantitative information contained in the study may also be cautiously used as a basis for translation criticism: if a translation intended for publication in the Finnish press differs greatly from the FTs in relation to one or several variables, there is reason to check what is wrong with the translation.

Now, in the era of “glasnost”, the emotivity of Russian journalistic language seems to be on the decrease. If this is so, translations will need less neutralizing in the future. The syntactic structure of Russian journalistic texts, on the other hand, is unlikely to become much simpler. Thus, it will probably be as difficult to produce readable translations in the future as it has been
to date. If the translators and their employers really want their message to reach its destination, translation problems should be encountered with open eyes, and more time and effort should be dedicated to adjusting the translations to the needs of the new audience.
CORPORA

A. THE SOURCE TEXTS (the STs)

12. Н.Н. Иноземцев: Состояние и перспективы развития внешних экономических связей СССР. Manuscript.
13. Г. Саркисян: Гарантии выполнения продовольственной программы СССР. Manuscript.

B. THE PUBLISHED TRANSLATIONS (the PTrs)

7. A. Kosygin: Talouden suunnitelmallisen johtotyön tärkeä vaihe. Sosialismin teoria ja käytäntö

97 A monthly journal published in the USSR in several languages. Circulated abroad.
C. THE ALTERNATIVE TRANSLATIONS OF THE SAME STs (the ATrs).
Translator: Inkeri Vehmas-Lehto.

D. THE AUTHENTIC FINNISH JOURNALISTIC TEXTS (the FTs):


98 A weekly journal published by the Helsinki office of the Soviet news agency Novosti, also called APN. The translators are Finns.
99 A quarterly journal published in Helsinki by the Finnish-Soviet Chamber of Commerce. The texts are translated in APN, but edited in the Finnish-Soviet Chamber of Commerce.
100 A journal published in several languages in the USSR by the organization Vneštorgreklama.
101 See the note above.

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APPENDIX 1: The passages used in experiment 1 (identification)

Text 1 (PTr)

Käytäntö osoittaa, että SEV-maiden keskinäisen työnjaon ja taloudellisen integraation syveneminen ei ole missään määrin ristiriidassa sosialistisen valtiorakenteen taloudellisten perusteiden lujittamisen kanssa. Enempää sääntöjenmukaisten periaatteiden kuin toimintaluonteensa puolesta SEVillä ei ole mitään yhteistä erilaisten “ylikansallisten” muodostumien ja instituutioiden kanssa. SEV on tasa-arvoisten ja suvereenien kumppaneiden valtioidenvälinen järjestö, joka turvaa asetettujen tehtävien kehittelyn ja toteuttamisen siihen osallistuvien maiden toimesta vapaaehtoiselta ja kaikille osapuolille edulliselta pohjalta.

Text 2 (FT)

Kansainvälisten pankkipiirien suhtautuminen kehitysmaiden 800 miljardin dollarin suuruiseen kokonaisvelkaan on puolessatoista vuodessa vaihtunut synkästä, maailmanlopun tunnelmien sävyttämästä pessimismistä varovaiseksi optimismiksi. Noin kolmenkymmenen maan velkojen onnistuneet uudelleenjärjestelyt viime vuonna saivat pankkiirit huokaamaan helpotuksesta joidenkin heistä jopa uskoessa luottopulmiensa olevan nyt hallinnassa.

Text 3 (PTr)

Kehittyneen sosialistisen yhteiskunnan vaiheessa saavutetaan yhteiskunnallisen kehitysmaiden 800 miljardin dollarin suuruiseen kokonaisvelkaan on puolellaotaista vuodessa vaihtunut synkästä, maailmanlopun tunnelmien sävyttämästä pessimismistä varovaiseksi optimismiksi. Noin kolmenkymmenen maan velkojen onnistuneet uudelleenjärjestelyt viime vuonna saivat pankkiirit huokaamaan helpotuksesta joidenkin heistä jopa uskoessa luottopulmiensa olevan nyt hallinnassa.

Text 4 (FT)


Viennin kasvupohja on tänä vuonna laajentunut. Toimitukset länteen lisääntyvät määrältään noin viisitoista prosenttia, vaikka kysyntä länsi-Euroopassa on ollut melko laimeaa. Menekki Euroopan ulkopuolelle on ollut parempi, mm. toimitukset Yhdysvaltoihin ovat kasvaneet ennätysvauhtia.

Text 5 (ATr)

Neuvostoliiton ja Saksan liittotasavallan yhteistyön kehitystä vauhditti vielä Leonid Brezhnevin vierailu liittotasavaltiotaan viime vuoden marraskuussa. Juuri ennen tätä vierailua allekirjoitettiin useita sopimuksia, jotka koskivat kaasujohdon rakentamista Länsi-Siperiasta Neuvostoliiton

Text 6 (PTr)

Kuluneiden vuosien aikana kansantalouden kasvot ovat muuttuneet huomattavasti. Kansantulo kasvoi yli kaksinkertaiseksi, teollisuustuotanto 2,5-kertaiseksi ja maataloustuotanto 1,4-kertaiseksi. Perusrakennustoimen laajan ohjelman toteuttamisen tuloksena maan perustuotantovarannot kasvoivat kaksinkertaisiksi ja niiden arvo ylitti triljoonan ruplan rajan.

Yhteiskunnallisen tuotannon järkkymätön kasvu mahdollisti kansan aineellisen ja kulttuurisen elintason huomattavan nousun turvaamisen. Vuoteen 1965 verrattuna työläisten ja toimihenkilöiden keskipalkka kasvoi 66 % ja kolhoosilaisten yhteistaloudesta saatavat työtulot yli kaksinkertaisiksi.

Text 7 (FT)


Text 8 (PTr)

Ulkomaankaupan kasvu on ollut mahdollista maan kansantaloudessa viime vuosikymmenen tapahtuneiden suurten muutosten ansiosta. Niiden seurauksena Neuvostoliitto on muuttunut voimakkaaksi teollisuusvallaksi, joka on johtavassa asemassa monilla tieteen ja tekniikan aloilla sekä useiden tärkeiden teollisuustuotteiden tuotannossa.

Tätä nykyä Neuvostoliiton ulkomaankauppa on monipuolinen ja dynaamisesti kehittyvä ala, joka edesauttaa aktiivisesti koko kansantalouden kehitystä. Laajenevat taloudelliset ja tieteellis-tekniset yhteydet ulkomaihin sekä keskinäisesti edullisen kansainvälisen työnjaon mahdollisuuksien rationaalinéen hyvääksiättö ovat tärkeä osa Neuvostovaltion toimintaa. Kaipinpuolinen yhteistyö sosialististen maiden kanssa on keskeisellä sijalla tällä alueella.

Text 9 (ATr)


Myös talousalueiden sijoitus on muuttunut: on alettu hyödyntää myös niitä valtavia alueita, jotka sijaitsevat maan pohjoisosissa ja Uralin itäpuolella.
Romania on jo usean vuoden ajan ehdottanut SEV-maiden ylimääräistä huippukokousta, jossa keskusteltaisiin vakavasti sosialistimaiden taloudellisesta integraatiosta. Tässä hankkeessa Romanialla on ollut vahvasti oma lehmä ojassa: maa on jo pitkään halunnut lisää raaka-aine- ja varsinkin energiatoimituksia SEV-naapureilta, erityisesti Neuvostoliitosta.

APPENDIX 2: Passages used in experiment 2 (general impression)

Text A (PTr)
Kansan urotyöt sosialistisen kotimaan kukoistuksen lisäämiseksi ovat puolueen johdolla suuria ja kunniakkaita, ne kruunaavat viisivuotiskauden tulokset, taloutemme kaikki saavutukset ja menestykset ja tekevät niistä suurimerkityksisen poliittisen voiton.

Text B (PTr)
Kehittyneen sosialistisen yhteiskunnan rakentaminen maassamme on neuvostokansan uhrautuvan työn, leniniläisten aatteiden voiton tulos. Kehittyneen sosialismin päätirteet ja lainmukaisuudet olennoituvat Neuvostoliiton Perustuslaissa.

Text C (PTr)
Moninkertaisiksi kasvaneet mittasuhteet, tieteellis-teknisen kumouksen voimakas kehitys ja koko yhteiskunnallisen tuotannon johdonmukainen suuntaaminen kansan aineellisen ja kulttuurillisen elintason kohottamiseksi on nykyisen taloutemme luonteenomainen piirre.
Sosialistinen yhteiskunta osoittaa yhä täydellisemmin luovat voimansa ja suurenmoisen paremmuutensa. Työtätekevät pystyvät yhä laajemmin käyttämään saavutuksien tuloksia. Tärkeintä täänä on maassamme luodun valtavan taloudellisen potentialin täydellisempi ja järkiäisempi hyväksikäyttö sekä tuotannon tehokkuuden ja työn laadun kaikinpuolisen kohottamisen turvaaminen.

Text 1 (FT)
Suomi ja Neuvostoliitto vaihtavat ensi vuonna tavaroita ja palveluksia arvoltaan suunnilleen saman verran kuin täänä vuonna: vaihto nousee noin viiteen miljardiin ruplaan eli nykyhinnoin 37,5 miljardiin markkaan. Hintojen kehityksestä riippuu, miten käy vaihdon reaaliarvon. Sen pieneltä alenemiselta tuskin voidaan välttää.

Text 2 (FT)
APPENDIX 3. Tables containing the results of experiment 3 concerning texts B, C and 2 (for the results concerning texts A and 1 see section 9.5.2.3)

Table 1. Emotive quality and intensity of words: text B (Ptr), 27 subjects.

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korkealuokkaista | 74 | 1 | 2,1 | 0,0 | 2,1 |
raakaöljyä | 35 | 8 | 1,0 | 0,2 | 1,2 |
ja | 1 | - | 0,0 | - | 0,0 |
raakapuuta. | 35 | 9 | 1,0 | 0,3 | 1,3 |
Myös | 3 | 1 | 0,1 | 0,0 | 0,1 |
kemikaalien, | 21 | 23 | 0,6 | 0,6 | 1,2 |
raaka-aineiden | 25 | 10 | 0,7 | 0,3 | 1,0 |
sekä | 2 | 1 | 0,1 | 0,0 | 0,1 |
koneiden | 26 | 8 | 0,7 | 0,2 | 0,9 |
ja | - | 2 | - | 0,1 | 0,1 |
laitteiden | 26 | 10 | 0,7 | 0,3 | 1,0 |
tuonti | 27 | 9 | 0,7 | 0,3 | 1,0 |
lisääntyy. | 53 | 7 | 1,5 | 0,2 | 1,7 |
Maakaasun | 32 | 4 | 0,9 | 0,1 | 1,0 |
tuonnin | 21 | 8 | 0,6 | 0,2 | 0,8 |
lisääminen | 46 | 2 | 1,3 | 0,1 | 1,4 |
jäi | 2 | 40 | 0,1 | 1,1 | 1,2 |
sitä | 2 | 13 | 0,1 | 0,3 | 0,4 |
vastoin | 2 | 28 | 0,1 | 0,8 | 0,9 |
yhä | 4 | 13 | 0,1 | 0,4 | 0,5 |
avoimeksi | 10 | 38 | 0,3 | 1,1 | 1,4 |
Total | 988 | 449 |
Mean | | | 0,5 | 0,2 | 0,7 |
The texts and options used in experiment 4.

Text 9a (PTr)

SEV-maiden talouden dynaaminen kehitys muodostaa aineellisen perustan niiden aseman lujittamiselle maailman talousjärjestelmässä ja luo edellytykset niiden yhä laajemmalle osallistumiselle kansainväliseen työnjakoon. Tätä edistää myös sosialististen maiden yhteisön tieteellis-teknisen potentiaalin nopea kasvu. Kolmen vuosikymmenen aikana se on saavutunut vaihtavat mitat, ja sitä käytetään yhä suuremmassa määrin keskinäisissä yhteistyössä. (Esimerkiksi 10 viime vuoden aikana SEV-maiden tieteellis-tekninen yhteistyö on kasvanut 5–6-kertaiseksi. Siihen on osallistunut viime vuosina yli 3000 tutkimusjärjestöä, suunnittelutoimistoa ja korkeakoulua, jotka yhteisvoimin tutkivat 400 ongelmaa ja itsenäistä teemaa.)

Sosialististen maiden vaikutus maailman taloudelliseen kehitykseen ei supistu kuitenkaan vain niiden taloudellisen potentiaalin kasvuun ja yhä laajempaan osallistumiseen kansainvälisten taloussuhteiden eri muotoihin. Suuri merkitys on sillä toiseikalla, että sosialistisen yhteiskuntajärjestelmän pohjalta on luotu ja reaalisesti vaikuttavat aivan toisinaisesti kansainvälisten suhteet kuin kapitalismis oloissa.

Käytäntö osoittaa, että SEV-maiden keskinäisen työnjakoon ja taloudellisen integraation syvenminen ei ole missään määrin ristiriidassa sosialistisen valtiorakenteen taloudellisten perusteiden lujittamisen kanssa. Enempää sääntöjenmukaisten periaatteidensa kuin toimintalanteensa vahvuuksa SEVillä ei ole mitään yhteistä erilaisten "ylikansallisten" muodostumien ja instituutioiden kanssa. SEV on tasa-arvoisten ja suuremien kumppaneiden valtioiden valtioiden järjestö, joka turvaa yhteistyön ja toimintayhtymän synnyttävän sosialistisen "ulkokansallisen" muodostumien ja instituutioiden kanssa. SEV on tasa-arvoisten ja suuremien kumppaneiden valtioiden järjestö, joka turvaa yhteistyön ja toimintayhtymän synnyttävän sosialistisen "ulkokansallisen" muodostumien ja instituutioiden kanssa.


Tuo uudentyyppisten kansainvälisten taloussuhteiden periaatteisiin pohjautuvan keskinäisen yhteistyön ja sosialistisen integraation näkökohta on nykyisin erityisen ajankohtainen. SEV-maiden integraation puitteissa on saatu myönteistä kokemusta valtiorakenneongelmaa ratkaisesta, ja tällä on suuri kansainvälinen merkitys oloissa, jolloin taloudelliseen ja teknologiseen paremmuuteen on tarkoitus tukea ja kehittyä myönteisestä kannan pohjalta. Tämä tarkoittaa, että riippumattoman kehityksen tielle astuneiden maiden valtioraktereen lujittamisprosessi on voimistunut viime vuosien aikana.
SEVin puiteissa tapahtuvan keskinäisen yhteistyön järjestelmä osoittaa näille maille tämän tehtävän ratkaisua edistävien kansainvälisten suhteiden toimivan mallin. Sosialististen maiden käytännössä toteutuu Engelsin muotoileva eri kansakuntien vilpittömän kansainvälinen yhteistyön perusedellytys; yhteistyö “on mahdollista vain ehdolla, että jokainen näistä kansoista on täysi isäntä omassa talossaan”.

Text 9b (ATr; see also suggestions as to possible improvements in chapter 10, remark 2)

SEV-maiden nopea talouskasvu on lujittanut niiden asemaa maailmantalousdessa ja parantanut niiden edellytyksiä osallistua maailman maiden väliseen työnjakoon. Suuri merkitys on ollut myös sosialististen maiden tieteellisellä ja teknisellä kehityksellä, joka on viimeisinä 30 vuotena ollut mittavaa ja jonka tuloksia on hyödynnetty yhä enemmän näiden maiden välisessä yhteistyössä. SEV-maiden tieteellis-tekniinen yhteistyö onkin kasvanut 10 vuodessa 5–6-kertaiseksi, ja siihen on viime vuosina osallistunut yli 3000 tutkimuslaitosta, suunnittelutoimistoa ja korkeakoulua. Nämä ovat käsittelleet yhdessä 400 teemaa.

Sosialististen maiden merkitys maailman talouskehitykselle ei kuitenkaan johdu vain niiden talouskasvusta eikä taloussuhteiden laajenemisesta. Myös sosialististen maiden poliittiset suhteet poikkeavat kokonaan kapitalistisista suhteista.

Kokemus on osoittanut, että SEV-maiden työnjako ja niiden taloudellinen yhdentyminen eivät ole ristiriidassa näiden maiden pyrkimysten kanssa kehittää itsenäisesti omaa talouselämäänsä. Keskinäisen taloudellisen avun neuvoston pyrkimyksillä ja toiminnalla ei ole mitään yhteistä erilaisten ylikansallisten muodostumien kanssa. SEV on yhdentävä ja suuremmien valtioiden järjestö, jonka jäsenet tekevät yhteistyötä vapaaehtoisesti ja toisiaan hyödyttäen.

Sosialististen maiden yhteistyö ei siis nyt eikä tulevaisuudessakaan uhkaa valtioiden taloudellista itsemääräämisoikeutta. Yhteistyön tarkoituksena on vain julkisten tuotantomuotojen kansainvälinen koordinaatio, kuten marxismi-leninten klassikot ovat ennustaneet. Tällaisen suunnitelmalisen koordinointi avulla Sevin jäsenmaat voivat kehittää talouselämäänsä ja tyydyttää tärkeitä taloudellisia intressejään.

Se, että sosialististen maiden yhteistyö ja yhdentyminen eivät uhkaa maiden taloudellista itsemääräämisoikeutta, on erityisen ajankohtaisaa juuri nykyisin. Nythän johtavien imperialistimaiden ylikansalliset yhtiöt pyrkivät taloudellisen ja teknologisen ylivoinansa avulla häivyttämään valtioiden rajat. Länsi-Euroopan vaikutusvaltaiset taloudelliset ja poliittiset piirit pyrkivät sitä paitsi laajentamaan EEC:n toimeenpanovaltaa ja sen vaikutusta jäsenmaiden lainsäädäntöön. SEV-maat sitä vastoin ovat yhdenteyessään säilyttäneet jäsenvaltioidensa itsemääräämisoikeuden.

Sosialistimaiden yhteistyön ja yhdentymisen merkitystä lisää vielä se, että maailman nuorissa valtioissa on valtiollinen riippumattomuus viime vuosina koettu yhä tärkeämmäksi. SEV-maiden yhteistyöstä nämä maat saavat toimivan mallin sellaisista kansainvälistä suhteista, jotka eivät ole ristiriidassa riippumattomuuspyrkimyksen kanssa. Ovathan sosialististen maiden suhteet sopuisoinnussa sen Engelsin ihanteen kanssa, että kansat voivat tehdä vilpittöntä yhteistyötä vain, jos jokainen valtio on “herra omassa talossaan”.

224
**Intensiivistä yhteistyötä – dynaamista kauppaan**


Sosialististen maiden tieteellis-tekkinen yhteistyö, tärkeimpien tieteellisten ja tuotannollisten ongelmien yhteinen ratkominen juontaa juurensa yli 30 vuoden takaa. Tärkeää vaihe yhteistyön kehittämisessä on sosialistisen taloudellisen yhdentymisen kokonaishjärjestelmä, jossa on määriteltävä yhteistyön parantaminen. Ohjelmassa on kiinnitettävä melkoista huomiota SEV-maiden tieteellis-tekniiksen yhteistyön pitkääjänteisen strategian muokkaamiseen. SEV:n elimissä on tässä tarkoituksessa laadittu yli 120 tieteellis-tekniikasta ennustetta.

Kokonaishjärjestelmä edellyttää tieteellis-tekniisen yhteistyön tuntuvaa laajentamista hallitusten ja virastojen välisten sopimusten pohjalta. Tällaisia sopimuksia on solmittu kokonaishjärjestelmassa mainittujen tieteen ja tekniikan ongelmien sekä eräiden maihden SEV:n elimissä määriteltyjen ongelmien ratkaisemiseksi. Tämä tapa solmimia yhteyksiä on kehitetty edelleen toteutettaakseen pitkän aikavälin tavoiteohjelmia, joissa yhdistetään toisiinsa taloudellinen ja tieteellis-tekkinen yhteistyö sosialististen maiden talouden tärkeimmillä aloilla.


Suunnitelman mukaisesti laaditaan kokonaisvaltaisia yhteistyöohjelmia, jotka edellyttävät tieteellis-tekniisten ongelmien ratkomista sekä yhteisen toiminnan tulosten käyttöönottoa kansantaloudessa.


**Tieteellis-tekniistä vaihtoa kaupalliselta pohjalta**


**VNESHTECHNIKA** on sopimusten nojalla yhtiöt voivat hankkia uusimpien Neuvostoliitossa kehitettyjen tuotantomenetelmien tekniset asiakirjat sekä koneita ja laitteita. Työtä myy vuosittain eri maihin noin tuhat tällaista asiakirjapakkettia.

**VNESHTECHNIKA** solmii joka vuosi yli 400 sopimusta, joiden nojalla Neuvostoliitosta toimitetaan ulkomaalle uutta teknikkaa, uusia tuotteita ja materiaaleja.
VNESHTECHNIKA suorittaa sopimusten pohjalta myös ulkomaisten laitteiden, kojeiden, tuotteiden ja materiaalien testausta.

Teknisen avun antaminen asiantuntijoiden koulutuksen yhteydessä on tärkeällä sijalla yhtymän toiminnassa. Noin 10000 neuvostoliittolaisista asiantuntijaa on antanut teknistä ja tieteellistä apua kollegoilleen ulkomailla.

Text 22b (ATr)

SEV-maat – yhteistyötä ja kauppa

SEV-mailla on nykyisin erittäin suuret tieteellis-tekniset voimavarat, noin kolmannes koko maailman potentiaalista. Uusien keksintöjen ja tutkimustulosten avulla tapahtuva tuotannon kehittäminen onkin useimmissa sosialistimaisissa taloudellisen ja sosiaalisen kehityksen perusta.

Sosialististen maiden tutkimusyhteistyö jääntää jo yli 30 vuoden takaa. Suuri merkitys tälle yhteistyölle oli sosialististen maiden taloudellista yhdentymistä koskevalta kokonaisohjelmalla, jossa esitettiin tavoitteet yhteistyön edelleen kehittämiseksi. Ohjelmalla pyrittiin mm. tekemään yhteistyöstä pitkäjänteisempää. SEVissä onkin laadittu yli 120 tieteellis-teknistä ennustetta.


Edellä mainitun yhdentymissuunnitelman perusteella laaditaan kokonaisohjelmia tutkimusyhteistyön kehittämisestä ja sen tulosten hyödyntämisestä talouselämässä.

Tutkimusyhteistyö auttaa SEV-maita laajentamaan keskinäistää kauppaansa. Tämä kasvoi vuosina 1971–1980 n. 250%.

Tieteellis-tekninen kauppa


Vneshtehnikan kanssa solmittavien sopimuksen perusteella ulkomaiset firmat voivat myös saada tiedot neuvostoliittolaisen organisaatioiden kehittämistä tuotantomenetelmistä sekä
koneista ja laitteista. Vneshtehnika myy vuosittain n. 1000 tällaista tietopakettia eri maihin.

Vneshtehnika solmii joka vuosi myös yli 400 sopimusta neuvostolittolaisten koneiden ja valmistuiden mallikappaleiden sekä materiaalinäytteiden viennistä. Lisäksi se testaa ulkomaisia koneita, laitteita, valmistuksia ja materiaaleja.

Tärkeä Vneshtehnikan toimintamuoto on yhteistyökumppanien avustaminen asiantuntijoiden koulutuksessa. N. 10000 neuvostolittolaista tiedemiestä ja teknikkoja asiantuntijaa onkin ollut ulkomailla koulutustehtävissä.

Text 5 (FT)

Sosialististen maiden talousjärjestön Sevin johtajat kokoontuvat ensimmäisen kerran 13 vuoteen huippukokoukseen Moskovaan tiistaina. Moskovassa olevat ulkomaiset tarkkailijat eivät odota paljon edistystä jäsenmaiden viime vuosina n. 1000 tällaisilla tietopaketteilla muuttuneessa yhteistyössä. Vuosien aikana kasvaneet ongelmat ovat nimittäin suuret.


Muun muassa Unkari näyttää olevan kova pala. Unkarin taloudellinen hyvinvointi rakentuu säännöllisesti valtiolliseen yhteistyöön ja järjestön pikaisen ongelmassa, mutta pienemmät jäsenmaat ovat usein yrittäneet vastustamaan ratkaisuja, jotka olisivat vahingoilla niille niille itselleen. Tämä on johtanut vaikeisiin kiistoihin järjestöissä.

Romania puolestaan on aina ollut järjestön ongelmalaisi. Romania on ottanut hyväksi, että Sevissä on yhtenäisyys, jotta jäsenmaat tulisivat vähemmän riippuvaltaisiksi länsikaupasta. Muun muassa Unkari näyttää olevan kova pala. Unkarin taloudellinen hyvinvointi rakentuu säännöllisesti valtiolliseen yhteistyöön ja järjestön pikaisen ongelmassa, mutta pienemmät jäsenmaat ovat usein yrittäneet vastustamaan ratkaisuja, jotka olisivat vahingoilla niille niille itselleen. Tämä on johtanut vaikeisiin kiistoihin järjestöissä.

Tänä vuonna on Neuvostoliiton öljyntuotannon vaikeuksista ilmaantunut tietoa, joita on kommentoitu myös Suomessa. Tuotantovaikeudet viittaavat siihen, että vientiin tuskin liikenee enemmän öljyä.


Neuvostoliitoon menettely on taloudellisesti ymmärrettävää, koska ensimmäisen öljykriisin jälkeen maa on jatkuvasti subventoinut liittolaistensa öljylaskua. SEV:n sisällä öljy on myyty hintoihin, jotka vastaavat maailmanmarkkinoiden edellisen vuoden viiden vuoden keskiarvohintaan.


Tšekkoslovakian öljylasku hypähti

Tšekkoslovakian öljylasku näyttää tänä vuonna olennaisesti nousseena. Viime vuonna neuvostööljystä maksettiin kaksi miljardia ruplaa, ja tämän vuoden helmikuussa tehdyn sopimuksen mukaan kuluvan vuoden toimitukset ovat arvoltaan kolme miljardia ruplaa. Molempina vuosina toimitusten määrä on ollut enimmaggina sama, 16,6 miljoonaa tonnia.

öljysopimusta, vaikka se nostaa Tšekkoslovakian öljylaskua huikealta tuntuvalla miljardilla ruplalla, sittenkään voidaan pitää ostajalle kohtuuttoman epäedulliseena.

Luonnollisesti SEV-maat viivästynenä kohdannut öljykriisi lisää ennestäänkin valtavia paineita pienissä SEV-maissa. Unkarissa on laskettu, että kun miljoona tonnia öljyä maksoi ennen ensimmäistä öljykriisiä noin 800 Ikarus-bussia, sama määrä öljyä maksaa nykyisin 2300 bussia. Ei ihme, että erilaiset energiansäästöohjelmat ovat sosialistimaissa jatkuvana puheenaiheena.

INSTRUCTIONS TO ALL SUBJECTS:

Rengasta joka osiosta se vaihtoehto, joka tekstiin mukaan pitää paikkansa. Vaihtoehto (d) tarkoittaa sitä, että minkään edellisten vaihtoehtojen oikeellisuus ei ilmene tekstistä. (In each group of options mark the one which is correct as judged by the text. Choose option (d) whenever you cannot find anything in the text to support the other alternatives.) Options for texts 9a (PTr) and 9b (ATr)

1. Sev- maiden talouskasvu on ollut
   a. nopeaa
   b. hidasta
   c. tuskin havaittava
   d. Ei ilmene tekstistä

2. Sev- maiden asemaan maailmantaloudessa on vaikuttanut
   a. kansainvälinen työnlasku
   b. suhdanteet
   c. Sev- maiden tieteellinen ja tekniinen kehitys
   d. Ei ilmene tekstistä

3. Neuvostoliitossa tieteellinen tutkimus on edennyt
   a. nopeasti
   b. tasaisesti
   c. hitaasti
   d. Ei ilmene tekstistä

4. Sev- maiden suhteet kapitalistisiin maihin ovat
   a. hyvät
   b. huonot
   c. erilaiset kuin ennen
   d. Ei ilmene tekstistä

5. Sosialistiset maat vaikuttavat maailman talouskehitykseen siksi, että
   a. Seviin liittyy yhä uusia jäseniä
   b. sosialistimailla on yhä laajemmat kansainväliset suhteet
   c. Sev- maiden sotilaallinen voima on kasvanut
   d. Ei ilmene tekstistä
6. Sev-maiden taloudellinen yhdentyminen
   a. vähentää niiden valtiollista itsenäisyyttä
   b. lisää niiden valtiollista itsenäisyyttä
   c. ei vaikuta niiden taloudelliseen itsenäisyteen
   d. Ei ilmene tekstistä

7. Sev-maiden taloudellinen yhdentyminen
   a. lisää tarvetta muuttaa maiden valtiollista järjestelmää entistä sosialistisemmaksi
   b. vähentää tarvetta muuttaa maiden valtiollista järjestelmää entistä sosialistisemmaksi
   c. aiheuttaa tarpeen muuttaa maiden valtiollinen järjestelmä entistä sosialistisemmaksi
   d. Ei ilmene tekstistä

8. Ylikansalliset muodostumat
   a. ovat pyrkineet laajentamaan toimintaansa myös Sev-mailhin
   b. ovat yrittäneet luoda kauppasuhteet Sevin kanssa
   c. ovat olleet esikuvana Seviä muodostettaessa
   d. Ei ilmene tekstistä.

9. Seviin liittyminen on sosialistisille maille
   a. pakollista
   b. vapaaehtoista
   c. käytännöllisesti katsoen pakollista
   d. Ei ilmene tekstistä

10. Sosialististen maiden yhteistyön tarkoituksena on koordinoida
    a. Sev-maiden energiankulutusta
    b. tuotantolaitosten sijoitusta eri maissa
    c. Sev-maiden energiantuotantoa, teollisuutta, maataloutta ym. tuotannonaloja
    d. Ei ilmene tekstistä.

11. Tuotannon koordinointi on tärkeää
    a. ennen muuta Neuvostoliitolle
    b. varsinkin pienille Sev-maille
    c. kaikille Sev-maille
    d. Ei ilmene tekstistä.

12. Nykyisin on erityisen ajankohtaisia, että
    a. tuotantoa on kehitettävä
    b. sosialistiset maat ovat keskenään yhteistyössä
    c. Seviin ei ole vaaraa jäsenmaiden taloudelliselle itsemmäräämisoikeudelle
    d. Ei ilmene tekstistä.

13. EEC:n valtaa yritetään Länsi-Euroopassa
    a. lisätä
    b. vähentää
    c. ohjata vaarattomiin uomiin

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d. Ei ilmene tekstistä.

14. Sosialistimaiden yhteistyön merkitystä lisää se, että
   a. ne valtiot ovat voimistuneet, jotka pyrkivät estämään riippumattoman kehityksen
   b. nuoret valtiot pyrkivät lujittamaan valtiollista riippumattomuuttaan
   c. eräiden maiden valtiollinen rakenne on muuttunut
   d. Ei ilmene tekstistä.

15. Sev-maiden yhteistyö on esimerkkinä muille siitä,
   a. miten kansainvälistä yhteistyötä voidaan tehdä pienentämättä siihen osallistuvien maiden
      oikeuksia
   b. miten kansainvälisen järjestön perustaminen tapahtuu
   c. että jäsenmaiden valtiollinen rakenne on riippuvainen yhteistyön laajuudesta
   d. Ei ilmene tekstistä.

Options for texts 22a (PTr) and 22b (ATr)

1. Useimmissa sosialistisissa maissa tuotannon kehitys perustuu
   a. yhteiskunnallisen kehityksen voimaperäistämiseen
   b. uusiin keksintöihin ja tutkimustuloksiin
   c. taloudelliseen kasvuun
   d. Ei ilmene tekstistä.

2. SEV-maat
   a. suunnittelevat ryhtyvänsä tutkimusyhteistyöhön
   b. ovat juuri ryhtyneet tutkimusyhteistyöhön
   c. ovat tehneet tutkimusyhteistyötä jo kymmeniä vuosia
   d. Ei ilmene tekstistä.

3. Sosialististen maiden taloudellista yhdentymistä koskevassa kokonaisohjelmassa on esitetty
   a. millä tavoin yhteistyötä olis tarkoitus kehittää
   b. mitä hyötyä yhteistyöstä toivottiin olevan
   c. mitä ongelmia yhteistyökumppaneilla oli ratkaistavaan
   d. Ei ilmene tekstistä.

4. SEVissä on laadittu ennusteita,
   a. jotta SEV-maiden yhteistyöstä saataisiin pitkäjänteisempää
   b. jotta pienet SEV-maat pystyisivät laatimaan strategian Neuvostoliitonkauppaansa
   c. jotta taloudellisen yhdentymisen kokonaisohjelma olisi helpompi laatia
   d. Ei ilmene tekstistä.

5. Tieteellis-teknisestä yhteistyöstä solmitaan sopimuksia
   a. firmojen välillä
   b. hallitusten välillä
   c. tutkimuslaitosten välillä
   d. Ei ilmene tekstistä.
6. Pitkän aikavälin tavoiteohjelmat ovat
   a. sopusoinnussa tieteellis-teknisten yhteistyösopimusten solmimisen kanssa
   b. olleet osana tieteellis-teknisiä yhteistyösopimuksia
   c. olleet esteenä tieteellis-teknisten yhteistyösopimusten solmimiselle
   d. Ei ilmene tekstistä.

7. Pitkän aikavälin tavoiteohjelmat koskevat
   a. lähinnä koneenrakennuksen ja kemian teollisuuden kehittämistä
   b. laitemyyntiä
   c. taloudellista ja tieteellis-teknillistä yhteistyötä
   d. Ei ilmene tekstistä.

   a. kehittää tasapuolisesti kaikkia tieteen ja tekniikan aloja
   b. keskittyy kehittämään niitä aloja, joista on hyötyä kevyen teollisuuden kehittämisessä
   c. keskittyy kehittämään niitä aloja, joilla tuotantoa voidaan tehostaa
   d. Ei ilmene tekstistä.

9. Yhteistyön tulosten hyödyntämisestä talouselämässä on sovittu
   a. vuosien 1981–1985 yhdentymissuunnitelmassa
   b. vuosien 1981–1985 yhdentymissuunnitelman pohjalta laadituissa ohjelmissa
   c. hallitusten välisillä sopimuksilla
   d. Ei ilmene tekstistä.

    a. väheni
    b. pysyi ennallaan
    c. kasvoi
    d. Ei ilmene tekstistä.

11. Vneshtechnika on
    a. neuvostoliittolainen tutkimuslaitos
    b. elin, joka solmii sopimuksia tutkimusyhteistyöstä
    c. elin, joka auttaa jäsenmaita kansainvälis-oikeudellisissa ongelmissa
    d. Ei ilmene tekstistä.

12. Yhteistyön tuloksena syntyvät keksinnöt
    a. ovat vapaasti käytettävissä
    b. ovat kaikkien SEV-maiden vapaasti käytettävissä
    c. patentoidaan
    d. Ei ilmene tekstistä.

13. Vneshtechnika myy
    a. teknistä tietämystä
    b. raaka-aineita
c. kemian teollisuuden tuotteita
d. Ei ilmene tekstistä.

14. Vneshtechnika testaa
   a. neuvostoliittolaisia tuotteita
   b. vain SEV-maiden tuotteita
   c. ulkolaisia tuotteita
   d. Ei ilmene tekstistä.

15. Vneshtechnika on lähetänyt 10 000 asiantuntijaa ulkomaille
   a. kouluttamaan henkilökuntaa
   b. auttamaan tuotantolaitosten rakentamisessa
   c. harjoittamaan jatko-opintoja
   d. Ei ilmene tekstistä.

Options for text 5 (FT)

1. Sev-maiden yhteistyö on viime vuosina
   a. lisääntynyt
   b. säilynyt ennallaan
   c. vähentynyt
d. Ei ilmene tekstistä.

2. Sev-maiden yhteistyössä
   a. ei ole suuria ongelmia
   b. ei ole lainkaan ongelmia
c. on suuria ongelmia
d. Ei ilmene tekstistä.

3. Sevin sääntöjen mukaan
   a. Neuvostoliitto on johtava valta Sevissä
   b. kunkin jäsenmaan äänioikeus määrityy sen koon perusteella
   c. jäsenmailla on Sevissä yhtäläinen valta
d. Ei ilmene tekstistä.

4. Pienet Sev-maat
   a. ovat järjestössä puolustuskyvyttömät
   b. ovat usein pystyneet pitämään puoliaan
c. ovat järjestössä johtavassa asemassa
d. Ei ilmene tekstistä.

5. Neuvostoliitto pyrkii
   a. lisäämään Sevin länsikauppaan
   b. vähentämään Sevin länsikauppaan
c. lisäämään omaa länsikauppaansa
d. Ei ilmene tekstistä.
6. Unkari on Sev-maista
   a. hyvinvoivin
   b. köyhin
   c. teollistunein
   d. Ei ilmene tekstistä.

7. Sev-maiden maatalousyhteistyö
   a. edistää Unkarin länsikauppaa
   b. vaarantaa Unkarin länsikaupan
   c. auttaa länsimaita markkinoimaan tuotteitaan Unkarissa
   d. Ei ilmene tekstistä.

8. Romanialaisten mielestä neuvostoliittolainen öljy on
   a. halpaa
   b. sopivan hintaista
   c. kallista
   d. Ei ilmene tekstistä.

9. Neuvostoliitto vie Sev-maihin öljyä
   a. vähemmän kuin ennen
   b. yhtä paljon kuin ennen
   c. enemmän kuin ennen
   d. Ei ilmene tekstistä.

10. Ceausescu on vieraillut
    a. Romaniassa
    b. Moskovassa
    c. Berliinissä
    d. Ei ilmene tekstistä.

11. Ceausescun vierailu
    a. vähensi Romanian vaikeuksia
    b. ei vaikuttanut Romanian vaikeuksiin
    c. lisäsi Romanian vaikeuksia
    d. Ei ilmene tekstistä.

12. Sev-maat
    a. ovat kieltäytyneet käymästä kauppaa Puolan kanssa
    b. myyvät tuotteitaan Puolalle alennettuun hintaan
    c. käyvät kauppaa Solidaarisuuden kanssa
    d. Ei ilmene tekstistä.

13. Neuvostoliitto on vähentänyt öljyntoimituksiaan
    a. Puolalle
    b. kaikille Sev-maille

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c. muille Sev-maille kuin Puolalle

d. Ei ilmene tekstistä.

14. Tshekkoslovakian ja Neuvostoliiton taloussuhteissa
   a. ei ole ongelmia
   b. on voittamattomia ongelmia
   c. on vähän kitkaa
   d. Ei ilmene tekstistä.

15. Tshekkoslovakia
   a. valmistaa ydinvoimalavarusteita
   b. suunnittelee Neuvostoliitolle ydinreaktoreita
   c. vastaa Sev-maiden ydinjätteen hävittämisestä
   d. Ei ilmene tekstistä.

Options for text 10 (FT)

1. Neuvostoliiton öljyntuotanto on
   a. sujunut ongelmittta
   b. joutunut hankaluuksiin
   c. kasvanut räjähdyysmäisesti
   d. Ei ilmene tekstistä.

2. Pienemmät Sev-maat
   a. ostavat Neuvostoliitolta öljyä
   b. myyvät Neuvostoliittooön öljyä
   c. myyvät öljyä Länsi-Eurooppaan
   d. Ei ilmene tekstistä.

3. Kirjoittajan mielestä kiintiöiden supistaminen on
   a. häikäilemätöntä
   b. luonnollista
   c. lyhyttä
   d. Ei ilmene tekstistä.

4. Neuvostoliitto on ensimmäisen öljykriisin jälkeen myynnä öljyä
   a. ylihintaan
   b. alihintaan
   c. vain maailmanmarkkinahintaan
   d. Ei ilmene tekstistä.

5. Neuvostoliittolaisen öljyn hinta on viime aikoina
   a. lasketut
   b. pysynyt samana
   c. noussut
   d. Ei ilmene tekstistä.
6. -  
   a. Muut Sev-maat ovat velkaa Neuvostoliitolle
   b. Neuvostoliitto on velkaa muille Sev-maille
   c. Neuvostoliiton ja muiden Sev-maiden kauppa
      on tasapainossa
   d. Ei ilmene tekstistä.

7. 20 miljardin dollarin öljysaatavat on maksettava  
   a. dollareilla  
   b. ruplilla  
   c. clearing-rahalla  
   d. Ei ilmene tekstistä.

8. Tshekkoslovakiaassa öljyn kulutus on viime vuoteen verrattuna  
   a. noussit  
   b. pysynyt samana  
   c. laskenut  
   d. Ei ilmene tekstistä.

9. Tshekkoslovakian Neuvostoliitolle myöntämät luotot olivat arvoltaan  
   a. 60 miljoonaa dollaria  
   b. 60 miljoonaa ruplaa  
   c. 60 miljoonaa saksanmarkkaa  
   d. Ei ilmene tekstistä.

    a. myi öljyä Tshekkoslovakiaan maailmanmarkkinahinnalla  
    b. myi öljyä Tshekkoslovakiaan vuosittain neuvoteltavalla hinnalla  
    c. kuoletti velkaansa toimittamalla Tshekkoslovakiaan öljyä  
    d. Ei ilmene tekstistä.

11. Nyt Tshekkoslovakian öljyjä maksama hinta on nykyisin  
    a. maailmanmarkkinahinnan tasalla  
    b. maailmanmarkkinahintaa suurempi  
    c. maailmanmarkkinahintaa pienempi  
    d. Ei ilmene tekstistä.

12. Tshekkoslovakia voi maksaa öljylaskunsa  
    a. ruplilla  
    b. dollareilla  
    c. omilla tuotteillaan  
    d. Ei ilmene tekstistä.

13. Tshekkoslovakian tämänvuotinen öljylasku on  
    a. maalle ylivoimaisen suuri
b. iso, muttei kohtuuton
   c. on pienenlainen
   d. Ei ilmene tekstistä.

14. Öljykriisi
   a. ei kosketa Sev-maita
   b. on ehtinyt Sev-maihin myöhemmin kuin muualle
   c. on vasta tulossa Sev-maihin
   d. Ei ilmene tekstistä.

15. Sosialistimaissa
   a. ollaan kiinnostuneita energian säästämisestä
   b. katsotaan energian säästäminen tarpeettomaksi
   c. halutaan lisätä energian kulutusta
   d. Ei ilmene tekstistä.