“Mä olin ihan et jeejeejee mä pääsen töihin”

Translating interviews in an academic context

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Skopos-teorian mukaan käännöksen tarkoitus määrittelee kääntäjän toiminnat. Se on erityisen toimiva teoria informatiivisille tekstille, sillä niissä sisältö on usein muotoa tärkeää. Skopokseen vaikuttaa myös käännöksen kohdelukijat, ja tässä tapauksessa oletettavasti kulttuurisesti moninaisen (tutkijataustainen) lukijakunta vaikutta lopputulokseen. Standardinmukaisuuden lisääntymen laa on pääte puhekielisyynen kääntämisissä tutkimisessa varsinkin kirjottetuissa muodoissa akateemisessa kontekstissa.

Analyysin perusteella haastattelusitaatien kieli neutralisoitui. Analyysi kuitenkin osoitti, että käännökset voivat vaihdella kääntäjän prioriteettien mukaan. Tästä huolimatta oli huomattavaa, että haastattelusitaatteja kääntäässä puhekielisyynen vaaliminen ja informaatiosisällön välittäminen ovat usein toisensa poissulkevassa asemassa.

Tutkielman perusteella ei voida vetää kaiken kattavia yleistyksiä, mutta voimaisi ehdottaa, että haastattelusitaattien kääntämisessä tulisi ottaa huomioon 1) kohdeyleisö ja heidän oletettu tieltotaso aiheesta ja/tai olennaisesta erikoiskielestä, 2) haastattelusitaattien käyttötarkoitus (elä tutkimuksen ala), 3) käännöksen skopos kahteen ensimmäiseen kriteeriin perustuen, 4) haastattelusitaattien olennaisin informaatiosisältö ja 5) kuinka paljon puheenomaisuutta halutaan säilyttää käännöksessä.

Avainsanat – Nyckelord – Keywords
Translation, spoken language, interviews, skopos, youth research, retrospective translation analysis

Säilytyspaikka – Förvaringsplats – Where deposited
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**Abbreviations**

ST – Source Text

TT – Target Text

SL – Source Language

TL – Target Language

NS – Native Speaker

NNS – Non-native Speaker

RA – Research Article (/Paper)

LSP – Language for Specific Purposes
1 Introduction

In early 2017 Anniina Wallius (2017) reported on the all-encompassing influence of English as the language of science. The news article discusses how academic studies produced in other languages than English are ignored. Due to this, key information published in Chinese about the influenza pandemic of 2003–2004 was not noticed in time, which delayed organizations such as the WHO from taking action. In the present study I will only lightly touch on the issue of English as a 300-pound gorilla stomping around the academic world, but this is the catalyst for this thesis: small languages, such as Finnish, must continue translating their academic studies into or write directly in English in order to stay relevant. Therefore it is imperative to study different aspects of the translation of academic language. The present thesis will explore the translation of interview quotations in the study “Young People in the Service System.”

Academic texts have their own conventions in terms of writing styles, furthermore every language – and even different variants of that language – have their own writing styles. Although considerable research has been devoted to the differences between academic languages (see Ventola & Mauranen 1996), rather less attention has been paid to the translation of quotes in academic context. The present thesis will explore the aspects of translating spoken language within an academic text by studying my own translation conducted for the Nordic Centre for Welfare and Social Issues during the fall of 2015. The translation is a condensed version of a publication called *Nuoret luukulla – Kolme näkökulmaa syrjäytymiseen ja nuorten asemaan palvelujärjestelmässä* (Ikäheimo, Aaltonen & Berg: 2015). The original report is based on *Nuoret ja palvelujärjestelmät* project (‘Youth and the service system’) conducted by Sanna Aaltonen (the principal investigator), Salla Ikäheimo and Päivi Berg.

In the present thesis, I study the translation of interview quotes in academic texts analyzing my own translation. Interview quotes in academic texts demand the use of
two very different different registers (colloquial and academic language) inside one text. Additionally, because the text is informative in style, the language used must comply with the conventions of the specific academic language, however, the interviews must simultaneously remain true to the original speaker. Moreover the main aim of quotations, especially within an informative text, is not always how something is said but what. This means that the translator’s goal may not be to convey an eloquent speaker, but instead the most truthful rendition of the content of what is being said. In other words, the strategies translators use with interview material are different than, say, translating (simulated) spoken language in fiction or even interviews on radio or television, which have been the topic of many studies (see Pavesi 2008; Nevalainen 2004; Kiiskinen 1995).

While I am examining my own translation, the present thesis is not a “translation thesis,” per se. Instead, it is a retrospective analysis on a specific aspect of academic papers, that is interview quotes. I explore the concept of retrospective translation analysis further in the chapter 2 and aspects of spoken language as well as the practice behind quotations in chapters 3. Because translation is considered to be preferable when conducted from a foreign language into translators' mother tongue (UNESCO 1976, FIT 1994), it is also important to note that the assignment in question has not been along these guidelines. In other words, it was commissioned from Finnish into English and translating into one’s non-native language is discussed in chapter 3.

The aim of this thesis is to elucidate the aspects of spoken language present in interview quotes and how those aspects may be translated. My hypothesis is that in the case of interview quotes within academic texts, the (spoken) language becomes more neutralized due to Toury’s (2012) law of standardization as well as the effect of skopos theory. Reiss and Vermeer’s (1986) concept of skopos theory relates to my translation, because the source text (ST) is an academic text whose audience is different than the ST’s thus its function is changed and the translator must act in accordance to these altered circumstances. It may also be proposed that due to these theories and translation strategies they employ, the target text (TT) will include less
colloquial aspects than the ST. These translation theories are explored further in chapter 3.

The benefits of conducting a retrospective translation analysis on a translator's own translation include the individual level and the universal level. Individual level benefits stem from analyzing one's own translation, which allows translators to become more aware of their own strategies and potential mannerisms and how translators may improve their abilities professionally. Benefits on a universal level stem from the possible results that may apply on translators more generally and removing guess-work from the analysis, because one does not have to propose different possibilities why translators have chosen one solution over another since the translator is also the analyzer.

The interview excerpts I have chosen to examine will also include aspects that are difficult to express in English or otherwise represent so-called “culture bumps” (Archer 1986). In other words, they are so connected to the Finnish language or culture that they require various strategies, such as explicitation, being employed in order to transfer them into another language and culture. Explicitation, or making covert information in the ST overt in the TT, is a particularly salient strategy for this translation because the text is informative in nature and due to the demands of skopos theory, it is imperative that the content is coherently relayed to the TT reader in full. The interest in this lies in the fact that in order to convey natural-sounding language of interviews, translators cannot add too many explanations or use unnecessary jargon to express terms. These issues are discussed further in the Theory chapter 3 as well as Analysis chapter 4.

This thesis presents in the second chapter the translation assignment and the method applied in this thesis, retrospective analysis and explains why that method was chosen over a traditional translation thesis. In the third chapter the theoretical background of the study is explored presenting the status of English in the scientific community and the need to translate into one’s non-native language, thus the significance of academic translation. The third chapter continues on this subject
bridging the gap between the theoretical background and the analysis and presents (representation of) spoken language, interviewing and transcribing. The fourth chapter presents the analysis conducted on the translation followed by the final chapter including discussion and conclusions.
2 Material and method

In the present thesis I discuss my own translation, nonetheless it is not a traditional “translation thesis.” Translation thesis is a specific type of thesis in translation studies which includes (in addition to the traditional formulation of a thesis) three parts: the translation itself, a comment portion and a description of the field of the translation (Vehmas-Lehto 2000: 6–7). My thesis also includes discussion about the field of youth research and academic writing in general, however, diverging from this model, I will not analyze my entire translation, opting to focus my scope on the translation of spoken language (i.e. interview quotes). In addition, I inspect the methods translators must utilize in order to mold texts to correspond with the target culture’s spoken language’s conventions as well as the form of the TL’s academic language, particularly explicitation in the form of addition (discussed further in the Theory as well as Analysis, respectively in chapters 3 and 4).

Therefore, for the purposes of the present study, a more appropriate method of inspection is retrospective translation analysis. With this method, I was able to complete my translation in full and focus the analysis on the most relevant questions regarding the entire process instead of more minute details, often focused on by other introspection methodologies in translation, such as the think-aloud method (see Fraser 1996).

2.1 Retrospective translation analysis

As has been established, instead of a straight-forward translation thesis, the present thesis is a retrospective translation analysis. The benefits of conducting a retrospective translation analysis on a translator's own translation include the individual level and the universal level. Individual level’s benefits stem from analyzing one's own translation, which allows translators to become more aware of their own strategies and potential mannerisms and how translators may improve their abilities professionally. Benefits on a universal level stem from the possible results that may apply to translators more generally. Finally because the translator is also the
Janet Fraser (1996: 66) discusses introspection as a methodology for studying the translation process where translators are asked to translate a text and verbalize their thought process with as much detail as possible either concurrently with the translation process (think-aloud) or at a later time (retrospection). Cohen (2011: 79–81) has discussed verbal reporting from the perspective of language learning, however, these three categories of this methodology can be applied to translators’ work, as well:

- **the self-report** which provides an overview into the translator’s approach to various task-types rather than specific tasks retrospectively (*What I generally do in these situations.*)

- **the self-observation** in which the translator (in general) retrospectively or introspectively (within 20 seconds) inspects their conduct or strategies used in a specific task (*What I just/at the time did.*)

- **the self-revelation** or think-aloud which provides a free-form narration of the various tasks at hand from the translator (*Hmm, I wonder what I’ll do now.*) (Cohen 2011: 79–81)

As one can observe, the self-observation method corresponds with retrospection and the present study’s methodology. Fraser (1996: 67) notes that retrospection is at a disadvantage as it cannot gather information from short-term memory, thus the data yielded is focused less on processes concerning specific tasks and more on the translator’s general strategies which are stored elsewhere in the memory. Simultaneously, Fraser (ibid.: 68) states that immediate retrospection provides a greater insight than concurrent think-aloud method because the translators report their general strategies as well as specific ones, in other words, they provide a mix of self-report and self-observation. Fraser (ibid.: 68) concludes that the think-aloud methodology appears to be more suited for uncovering the strategies used to resolve specific problems and the principles behind these strategies.
While I also analyze specific tasks from the translation, retrospective translation analysis is an apt method for this study as these specific tasks (i.e. How a particular aspect of spoken language is translated?) are indicative of a larger strategy (i.e. How spoken language in general is translated?). This method is applied by selecting passages from my own translation which illustrate different aspects of spoken language and generally how the text has been modified to comply with the conventions of English spoken language as well as academic writing. This analysis is conducted in chapter 4.

2.2 The assignment

In the present thesis, I discuss the translation of spoken language in the context of academic language and furthermore analyze my own translation of a scientific article on youth research from Finnish into English. In the summer of 2015, I was commissioned by Nordic Centre for Welfare and Social Issues to translate a condensed version of a publication called *Nuoret luukulla – Kolme näkökulmaa syrjäytymiseen ja nuorten asemaan palvelujärjestelmässä* (2015). The original report was based on project named *Nuoret ja palvelujärjestelmä* (“Youth and the service system”) conducted by Salla Ikäheimo, Sanna Aaltonen (the principal investigator) and Päivi Berg, and the project took place during 2014 and was funded by the Ministry of Education and Culture. The English translation was largely based on the report's section concerning qualitative interview data.

The translation was conducted between September 2015 and January 2016 and resulted in a 100-paged report with a working title of *Young People in the Service System* subject to change before its publication during 2016. After the translation was completed, the report was reviewed by a native speaker as well as the principal investigator, however, I have focused the scope of my study only on my original translation.
2.2.1 Finnish youth research

Youth research possesses a special position in Finland as it is mainly conducted by Finnish Youth Research Society (alongside Finnish Youth Research Network) which is described on their website as a non-profit organization aiming to “develop youth research and to provide information and expertise on matters relating young people - studies, perspectives, interpretations and political stands” (Nuorisotutkimusseura). The Society was founded in 1988 at the request of the Ministry of Education and Culture, who continue to be a significant financial contributor still today, although the Society and its research are conducted independently. Moreover, the Finnish Youth Research Network (founded in 1999) functions under the umbrella of the Finnish Youth Society, and its purpose is to connect different actors in the field, mostly researchers across Finland. (Hoikkala & Karjalainen 2016: 13)

The FYRS and FYRN publish actively, both electronically and in print. The Society's publication series publishes approximately 10–15 titles yearly, in addition to the quarterly periodical Nuorisotutkimus (Journal Youth Research). Most publications are in Finnish, however each one includes an abstract in English and some titles are published in English (or Swedish). (Youth Research Network: Publication Series)

2.2.2 Young People in the Service System

Sanna Aaltonen, Päivi Berg and Salla Ikaheimo conducted the project Nuoret luukulla and the subsequent report of the same name, however, the condensed approximately 100-paged abstract was compiled by Sanna Aaltonen, and the difference between the original report and the source material for the English translation is mainly the omission of quantitative aspects as well as tables and figures.

The abstract consists of two parts: one discussing social workers' perspectives and the other young people's experiences. The report is qualitative in nature and based on
interview data. This interview data is used liberally in the text either as distinct citations or to add flavor in the text body illustrating expressions the interviewees use to describe social services or other surrounding phenomena.

I found this interview material particularly interesting because it demanded the use of two very different registers – colloquial and academic language – inside one text. Additionally, because the text is scientific in nature, the language used must comply with the conventions of academic language, but the interviews must remain true to the original speaker. This, however, does not mean that the translators’ main aim is to convey an eloquent speaker but instead to relay the most truthful rendition of what the speakers have expressed. In other words, the strategies translators use in the case of interview material are different than, say, translating representations of spoken language in fiction or even radio or television interviews. Concerning novels, translators may take more liberties with the language or even use a variety of TL dialects (Karhu 2008) to signal differences between different speakers. On the other hand, AV translating presents other types of problems mainly concerning condensing and balancing natural and overly colloquial language (Helin 2008: 136–137), depending on the variety of the AV translation in question.

Thus in the present thesis I inspect translating interview material in the context of academic text using as the material my own translation of the report *Nuoret luukulla* (2015). Because the report includes over a hundred citations, in the present thesis I have chosen to inspect only the self-standing citations; hence my analysis does not include any citations that are inserted into the text body.

The interview structure and questions which were translated from Finnish into English and originally attached to the ST are included as Appendix 1 and 2 at the end of the present thesis. This information elucidates how the interviews include both specific questions (*With whom do you live?*) as well as broader subject matters which are introduced without predetermined questions (*Views on: Public debate on youth*)
exclusion). This is significant to this study because it cannot be determined that the interviewees answered in a certain style in order to match a specific questioning style, for example, by providing short answers to short, close-ended questions or yes or no questions. These questions may also provide additional information to some who may be interested in the social aspects of interview processes, that is, for example how the order and style of questions influences the answers provided by interviewees, however, this is not included in the scope of this study.

While earlier studies have inspected the translation of colloquial and spoken language (see Brumme 2014; Koponen 2004; Kiiskinen 1995), little attention has been paid to the translation of interview material in academic texts although they provide a fertile ground for study as it includes aspects of code switching, sociolinguistics, skopos theory, to name a few theories.

2.2.3 Interviews in Young People in the Service System
The data used in the ST, Young People in the Service System (2015), is qualitative interview data gathered from 10 employees in social services and 19 young people between the ages of 18–29 who were clients in these services. The interviews are described in the ST as semi-structured theme interviews, and the questions were included in both the ST and TT, and as Appendix 1 and 2 in the present thesis. According to the ST, the interviews were recorded and then transcribed verbatim by two people, however, more information is not disclosed about the transcription process or focus which is concurrent with research on social sciences, because of the focus of the study is rarely linguistic but instead sociological.

One of the objectives of this study was to influence policy making, which is common in youth research, at least in Finland. “The questions were formed based on the research objectives stated in the research plan, earlier literacy, as well as a desire to improve understanding on some key concepts used in the public debate and the government (social exclusion of youth, social empowerment, expertise by experience).”
The young interviewees were compensated with a movie ticket or a gift card of the same value. It is stated in the ST that the interviewees seemed engaged in the study and were comfortable in the interview process and explaining their life history. Therefore it is reasonable to deduce that all the interviews were under no duress, so the actual quotes in the study are not the result of extreme stress, nervousness or unwillingness to cooperate.

2.2.4 The potential audience

My commission was reasonably limited, which only required UK variant being used (this was stated after I inquired about a preferred variant). However, I did work under some assumptions about the target audience. Since the text was a research article about Finnish youth research, and extremely culturally bound, it would be reasonable to assume that the audience would be (youth) researchers around the world or inside Finland whose native language is not Finnish. Because the scientific community is a highly homogenous group of culturally and linguistically varying people I decided to use mostly “neutral” English, that is, while the spelling would follow UK norms, the language would avoid most overtly culturally bound expressions. As Adab (2005: 232) states, translations into one’s non-native language do not necessarily target native speakers of that language, especially when discussing English or another globally used language.

Similarly, the TL is affected by the shared knowledge of the audience. That is, most readers will potentially be researchers, possibly of youth research or other social sciences, and because the text is operative in nature, it is imperative that the terms used are correct and above all that the content is delivered intact. Conversely, linguistically the text does not need to meet the requirements that literary works, for example, possess. Adab (2005: 233) notes that an audience that is using the TL as a second language, a lingua franca, “may themselves not possess a full range of native speaker competences (linguistic, cultural, textual) but may instead share domain-specific expertise”. That is, while the TT audience may miss some allusions or other
linguistic aspects of the text, their understanding stems from the language of the specific discipline. Adab (2005: 233) continues that on the other hand those non-native readers whose language skills in the TL are restricted may accept more readily some aspects that might appear strange to the native speaker.

2.2.5 My process

Before assigning to this project, I was informed that the text would involve a great deal of spoken language, so I was mentally prepared for two different registers in the translation, and I knew that these aspects of spoken language were to be preserved in the TT. I use the US variant more naturally, but the commissioners requested UK variant to be used hence the text is written in UK variant, however, in my opinion one can still see some US influences in the quotes. My attempt was to use mostly a neutral English throughout the text, but in order to retain the feel of spoken language in the quotes, I believe that it is necessary to use some aspects of colloquialisms which are, of course, tied to a location, hence the quotes have more aspects of US variant than the rest of the report. Additionally, to minimize a harsh contrast between UK academic text and US spoken language, I strode to avoid expressions that would be too identifiable to the USA in favor of ones that would be more universal colloquialisms such as “like,” therefore the language is neutralized through this process, as well.

One of my priorities in translating the quotations was to relay the original information provided by the speakers, but simultaneously to ensure that the quotes would sufficiently sound like their original speakers. In other words, spoken language includes often elements such as repetition and “filler words” (such as “um” or “like”), and to omit these completely would in my opinion misrepresent the speakers as they are as much a part of the speaker’s output as, for example, expressions or idioms they choose to use (more on this in chapter 3). However, it is noteworthy that while the quotes in this report have been transcribed from interviews, they are not used for, say, linguistic studies thus the priority of the transcription has not been to investigate the rhetoric devices of the speakers but
instead the content of the comments (more on transcription and interviewing in chapters 3.3 and 3.4). In other words, these quotes aim to illustrate the findings of the study (and, of course, enable the study) and describe what is being said not how it is said. This results in that these quotes may have undergone already some neutralization as they have been transcribed. For example, I could not be completely sure if all commas and periods represented choices the transcribers or the speakers had made since they are not visible in speech in other ways than different types of pauses possibly. Similarly, one can mix colloquialisms and formal register in their speech for effect, however, when transcribing spoken language into written language the language tends to become more neutral and formal unintentionally because of the conventions of both mediums (see Tiittula and Nuolijärvi 2016). For example, it is difficult to determine if every instance of formal language is intentional or merely the result of transcription (e.g. enemmän vs. enemmä; ollut vs. ollu; näiden vs. näien; semmoinen vs. semmone). In addition, the actual transcribing is often conducted by (several) interns, research assistants or hourly paid workers, which is not to imply that they would not possess sufficient knowledge to transcribe proficiently, however, this may result in inconsistent practices (people may use punctuation and express colloquialisms differently).

My priorities in translating the quotes were (1) to be faithful to the original text and ultimately to the original speakers; (2) to include colloquialisms and remind the reader that these statements were made by real (young) people; (3) to highlight the most pertinent information in the quote, i.e. the reason they were chosen to illustrate to that particular segment. These reasons were all equally important to me and my decision-making process, however, they naturally, at times, completely contradict each other thus I had to weigh the hierarchy of these priorities in each individual case, which is illustrated in chapter 3 and the examples chosen for analysis in chapter 4.
3 Theoretical Framework

In this chapter I will introduce the theoretical background for the study. In chapter 3.1, I discuss different translation theories and strategies, that is, *how* translators conduct their work, which steer the analysis and ultimately the original translation process. Chapter 3.2 focuses on English as the language of science and relevant phenomena, such as translation into one's non-native language, surrounding it. Subsequently, chapter 3.3 inspects aspects of spoken language pertinent to the Analysis (chapter 4). Finally, chapter 3.4 explores interviews as a research method.

3.1 Translation theory

Reiss and Vermeer (1986: 77–78) have suggested the following categorization of translation strategies:

1. Interlinear translation (word-for-word translation) which allows source language (SL) structures to be reconstructed and is visible in second language learning material and early Bible translations. It does not produce TT that is equivalent, or of the same value, to the ST.

2. Word-for-sense translation which differs from interlinear translation in that the TT does not follow the syntax of the SL, in favor of the target language (TL), and is used also in second language learning.

3. Philological translation, or foreignizing, where the translator moves the reader closer to the author, however, this technique also lacks equivalence. Considered the ideal method in the translation of philosophy and literature.

4. Communicative translation which is considered the ideal nowadays. With this method the function must remain untouched but the form may be altered in order to achieve syntactic, semantic and pragmatic equivalence.

5. Reforming translation which is necessary also in communicative translation strategy, however, in this strategy the translator must create new semantic markings, such as concepts or idioms because they do not exist in the target
culture. This strategy is prevalent in technical translations as well as religious and philosophical texts. (Reiss and Vermeer 1986: 77–78)

As the work of a translator is not a mechanic activity that can be recreated exactly, the strategies a translator uses vary according to the situation and specific problem. I would thus suggest that these strategies, too, do not strictly exclude each other, but instead may appear in a translator’s work, either in separate translations or within a single text. In the translation analyzed in this thesis my method corresponds mostly with communicative translation strategy, and furthermore the skopos theory which I will inspect with more detail in chapter 3.1.2.

As stated in the introduction, my hypothesis is that in the case of interview quotes within academic texts, the (spoken) language becomes more neutralized due to Toury’s (2012) law of standardization as well as the effect of skopos theory. Reiss and Vermeer’s (1986) concept of skopos theory relates to my translation, because ST is an academic text whose audience is different than the ST's thus its function is changed and the translator must act in accordance to these altered circumstances. This has meant, among other things, that I have used more explicitation, which is a general translation term referring to additional explanation provided by the translator in order to avoid ambiguity. The next chapters explore these translation theories further, 3.1.1 the law of growing standardization and 3.1.2 the skopos theory.

### 3.1.1 Law of growing standardization

Gideon Toury (2012: 304) introduced the concept of law of growing standardization according to which “in translation, textual relations obtaining in the original are often modified, sometimes to the point of being totally ignored, in favor of [more] habitual options offered by a target repertoire.” In other words, Toury (ibid.) suggests that translations possess a more peripheral position in the target culture (Toury 2012: 307) and that the TL becomes more neutralized and presents less variation in style than the SL (ibid. 305). Toury (ibid.) notes that the translator may not necessarily make these decisions consciously (306), so neutralization may be a by-product of other actions of the translator than a specific choice.
3.1.2 Skopos theory

Reiss and Vermeer (1986: 55) introduced the skopos into translation theory as the supreme rule which stipulated that all translators’ actions are dependent on the function of the translation. In Greek Skopos means “aim” or “purpose” and Reiss and Vermeer’s (ibid. 58) theory aptly emphasizes the purpose of the translation to take precedent over the specific methods utilized thus translations of the same ST may vary according to the skopos. In other words, according to skopos theory the end justifies the means. (ibid. 59) state that in order to define the skopos of the translation, one must define the target audience, which I have discussed in terms of my own translation further in chapter 2.2.4. After the skopos is defined, the translator must weigh the significance of the TT’s contents and based on the hierarchy, form a translation strategy (Reiss & Vermeer 1986: 59).

The general translation theory is comprised of six rules, according to Reiss and Vermeer (1986: 67–68):

1. The TT is subordinate to the skopos.
2. The TT is an information offer of the target culture and language from an information offer of the source culture and language.
3. The TT depicts the ST in a way that is unambiguous and cannot be clearly reversed to the ST.
4. The TT must be internally coherent.
5. The TT must be coherent with the ST.
6. The rules must be followed in their hierarchical order. (Reiss & Vermeer 1986: 67–68)

As stated above, skopos is of the highest importance to which all other rules are subordinate. Reiss and Vermeer (1986: 63) place the coherence rule under the skopos which means that the translator must produce a TT that is coherently interpretable by the TT reader. Thus the ST’s content is relayed if the TT reader can interpret the content, or finds it adequately coherent as well as coherent with their own situation, from which the latter is the more important criterion (ibid.: 63). Under the coherence rule, Reiss and Vermeer (ibid. 65) introduce the fidelity rule which
stipulates that the translation must coherently transfer the ST as much as the skopos allows (or demands). According to this rule, the TT audience does not compare the TT to the ST, instead they receive it as an independent work (Reiss & Vermeer 1986: 66). In order to correspond with these rules, I have used various strategies, including explicitation, that is, adding or modifying an expression in order to add clarity. For example in the ST is a sentence: “…pumppu hakkas ja jotain yli satasta saatto olla…” which I have translated into “…my heart was beating out of my chest…” explicitating the word *pumppu* (as well as its definer to *my*) as well as the opaque expression “jotain yli satasta saatto olla” which refers to the heart rate, but in order to avoid confusion in the reader and using perhaps overly formal medical language, I have expressed it as a heart that was beating out of one’s chest.

Academic texts have been traditionally considered by translation theories to be primarily informative texts which should be translated, for example, using the skopos theory in order to convey the original content instead of focusing on the form of the work. Reiss and Vermeer (1986: 91) note that the referential-semantic aspects of the ST are the priority when translating informative text types. In other words, in academic texts and their translation the form is subordinate to the function. Therefore in academic texts also interview data must conform to this moray unlike in translated literature in which dialogue, for example, must primarily sound natural and mimic the voice of the original speaker (or compose another style altogether). This, however, does not mean that academic texts or possible interview data utilized must be impersonal, dry or unentertaining. The text is like any other translated text in that extralinguistic and intralinguistic problems (i.e. dilemmas outside or within the language) are resolved by the translator using either the strategy of omission, direct transfer, calque (word-for-word translation), cultural adaptation, explicitation, use of superordinate terms or addition, broadly speaking. Hence, translators may, for example, use the strategy of addition in translating colloquialisms by adding colloquial expressions somewhere and omitting other expressions that do not have a natural counterpart in the target culture and language (more on this strategy see Leppihalme 1997).
3.2 English as the language of science

In the present thesis when discussing academic language or academic writing, it refers to the conventions shared by a scientific community, usually of a single language/culture area, formed by research articles or papers. Research articles or papers (RAs) are defined by John Swales (1990: 93) as written texts reporting on an investigation conducted by its author(s).

As the result of globalization, English has become an unofficial lingua franca. This holds true especially in the context of academic publishing, in which most articles are published in English, even in those countries whose official language(s) does not include English (see van Weijen 2012; Amano et al. 2016). As the significance of English in scientific publishing is becoming undeniable, the growing need for other language areas to translate their academic texts or authors to become sufficiently proficient in English in order to express their ideas for the world is underlined. The significance of English has been long established in small language areas where communicating in one's own mother tongue has not been a vital option if one wishes to reach a larger audience. Finland is a good example of this. Finland is a small country in population, yet it has focused its limited resources to education and as a result Finland has succeeded in obtaining a high level of knowledge. Finland's continual excelling in PISA is a good example of this (Yee et al. 2013: 4–5).

Simultaneously a 2014 report on the state of scientific research in Finland conducted by the Academy of Finland states that Finland's levels of scientific research are stable and above average. According to the report “international co-publications have far greater scientific impact than publications written by researchers working in Finland alone.” (Academy of Finland 2015) This observation raises a valid point: a lingua franca enables improved cooperation amongst researchers worldwide.

Due to globalization, English as a working language is useful in most fields, since cooperation is no longer merely national but international sharing of ideas and joint research. For example in the case of youth research, cooperation between the Nordic
countries is prevalent, and the Finnish Youth Research Society has even conducted research exchange with Australia (Griffith University). In this reality, it is merely practical to use English, and as Haarman and Holman (2001: 81) state:

No-one is suggesting that scholars should drop English, or that English should not be used in networks dealing with highly specialized topics that are studied by only a few scholars worldwide. However, the pressures to publish 'internationally' rather than locally are intense, and are seen as applicable to all scholars. 

In other words, English (or another lingua franca, for that matter) may prove useful for specialized fields where it may increase cooperation and free exchange of information, but the increased pressure to publish in international forums may also push all academics to publish in English instead of their native language. Even so, publishing strictly in English is not that simple either. As FYRS’s senior researcher Tommi Hoikkala (Hoikkala & Karjalainen 2016: 18) states: “If one wants to provide research information for policy making in Finland, then it must be done in Finnish. Since the beginning, funding for the FYRN has been provided with an explicit condition that Finnish language is used.” This citation illustrates the situation in Finland well: Finnish policy makers prefer, or even mandate, the use of Finnish, thus it is the relevant language in policy making. On the other hand, researchers should publish their works in English in order to stay academically relevant. Researchers in Finland (and other small language areas) are truly between a rock and a hard place. That is to say, the significance of translation of academic works is increasingly important, especially in Finland, both due to our national language policies and our position as a small country participating in a global discussion.

3.2.1 Translating into non-native language 

Adab (2005: 233) states that most often the commissions which require a translator to translate into their NNL involve “pragmatic (informative, operative) texts, rather than literary (expressive or poetic) texts.” Thus scientific texts are especially relevant in discussing translation practices into one’s non-native language. In translation
theory, it has been a common ideal to only translate from a non-native language (NNL) into one's native language (NL), as stated by UNESCO (1976): “[A] translator should, as far as possible, translate into his own mother tongue or into a language of which he or she has a mastery equal to that of his or her mother tongue,” and Fédération Internationale des Traducteurs, FIT (1994): “The translator shall possess a sound knowledge of the language from which he/she translates and should, in particular, be a master of that into which he/she translates.” However, these strict ideals are often broken by reality in which professional translators habitually translate into their non-native language also. Adab (2005: 227) notes that translating into the translator’s native language may pose difficulties due to the lack of translators who are native speakers of the TL as well as possess similar competences in the SL. She (ibid. 228) continues how this is especially true in the case of Finland where native speakers of foreign languages who are simultaneously proficient in Finnish are scarce, therefore translators who are native speakers of Finnish are expected to translate into their native as well as non-native language.

The need to translate into one’s non-native language is explored further, for example, by Pokorn (2005) and Jääskeläinen and Mauranen (2001) who both note that translating into one’s non-native language is a common practice, although Korpio’s (2007: 90) study concluded that this constituted only a third of the translators’ commissions studied, however, this can be explained by Korpio’s (ibid.) relatively small sampling. More notably Korpio (2007) and Pokorn (2005) state that the quality of translations does not suffer from this, and the process is often strengthened by the use of native speakers for language revision. Revision by native speakers is indeed a common practice among translators who translate into their non-native language. The translation presently inspected was also revised by a NS and while it would pose an interesting subject to study the transformation the text undergoes after this type of revision it falls outside the scope of this study.

Translating into one’s non-native language may also have some advantages, such as strengthening the position of small language areas. If these small languages were not translated into translators’ non-native languages, they may not be translated at all or
the volume would be greatly diminished because it is more probable to find translators proficient in, say, English in a small language area than native English speakers’ sufficiently proficient in those same small languages. Thus those small language areas’ culture and knowledge may not be shared with a larger audience or, more relevant to my study, academics in small language areas may be ignored in their field and their careers may be stalled. As Adab (2005: 229) states, scholars whose native language is other than English may not be internationally recognized unless they publish in English. Publishing in another language than English may also prove to be a matter of life and death as was the case with critical information about avian influenza going unnoticed by international (health) organizations because it appeared in a Chinese language journal (Amano et al. 2016: 4).

3.2.2 The need to translate in order to matter

While English strengthening its ubiquitous position in academic publishing may bring forth some perks, such as lowering the threshold for cooperation between researchers in different countries, and thus adding communication particularly in niche disciplines, this dynamic is clearly detrimental to those who are unwilling or unable to write in English or have their works translated. As Haarman and Holman (2001: 83) express the issue: “The status of English as the benchmarking medium for scientific activity leads to the writing of scholars in other languages being ignored.” In other words, having just one dominant language of communication invariably weakens the position of other languages and scholars who may be completely dismissed in the global conversation.

Finnish youth research provides an interesting example of the need for translation or skills to write in English. Hoikkala (Hoikkala & Karjalainen 2016: 16) states that “Youth research has become a professionally oriented field that involves the publication of internationally and nationally peer-reviewed articles in order for researchers to become academically merited. An impressive list of publications is a prerequisite for a research career.” This view is also shared by Ken Hyland (2009: 84) who emphasizes the effect of English as the dominant language in a university
setting, and states: “Universities in many countries now require staff to present at international conferences and, more crucially, publish in major, high-impact, peer-reviewed Anglophone journals as a prerequisite for tenure, promotion, and career advancement.”. In other words, one must write in English or have their articles translated into English if one wishes to become a professional researcher or a professor. English is the language of science.

The need to publish is also present in legal aspects of university work, that is, in the labor law. According to the collective agreement (Finlex 2014: 101) employees’ research merits are based on scientific or artistic publications (and especially referee publications) as well as international research collaboration. This list contains nine points, however, these two containing allusions to international endeavors (i.e. publishing in English) are the first on the list (ibid.: 101). Moreover, the agreement’s Appendix 2A specifies pay-grades qualifications (ibid.: 28). The system consists of 11 levels which are subsequently divided into four categories, two highest ones require articles being published (ibid.: 28).

### 3.2.3 Translator as an expert of special languages

Thelen (2005: 249) defines special languages as communication between a restricted number of people within a discourse community to describe specific themes. Special language, or Language for Specific Purposes (LSP), is used for example, in medicine, business, law, and academic fields. Thelen (ibid. 249) continues that it is a controlled or a “closed” language, which is connected with a knowledge of a specific discipline, and he (ibid.) notes that studying a particular field provides a chance to become an expert on the accompanying LSP. I would argue that a translator may also fill this student’s place in becoming an expert of a discipline’s LSP.

Nike Pokorn’s (2009) study *Natives or Non-natives? That Is the Question...* explores translation teachers’ native language’s influence on their teaching and concludes:
The results of this experiment thus seem to show that native speakers of the SL are not necessarily in an inferior position compared to that of native speakers of the TL in course units involving translation into the B language, and should therefore not be avoided in educational settings. (Pokorn 2009: 205)

That is, native speakers and non-natives have their own strengths and weaknesses which do not necessarily place one in a higher position but instead produce differing translations (or education, in turn). As discussed earlier in regard to the potential target audience, it may be assumed that many are researchers, focused potentially on youth research or other social sciences, whose native language is not English. Therefore they possess a differing view of the TT than, say, laymen whose NL is English. Adeb (2005: 233) notes that in this type of situation the audience’s domain expertise acts as a leveler ensuring effective communication through translation into a non-native language. Simultaneously, the translator must remember that “sufficient domain-specific expertise and use of approved terminology can also help to enhance acceptability by maximising communicative impact.” (Adeb 2005: 233.)

In this context it is important to note the difference between a translation and a text written by a non-native speaker. While the former is an interpretation of a text expressed in another language written by a language professional, the latter is an original work written by an expert of the subject. Hence one is more in tune with the form and the other with the content. Swales (2004: 56) touches on the issue of a native speaker and a non-native speaker writing academic language:

[D]ifferences in the finished product stem not from non-native language speaker versus a native language speaker, but instead from the experience of the user – or in other words, as a person becomes more familiar with the terminology and conventions of 1) academic language in general and 2) the specific academic field, the language improves, instead of a static inferiority of a NNS to a NS. (Swales 2004: 56)

From this we can deduce that a person with sufficient experience in a certain field is most likely an expert also in the linguistic aspects of academic writing in that field.
This may mean that translators or native speakers are not necessarily in a position of advantage over an author with enough experience in their field of research. However, this may include years and even decades of dedication to a particular field, to gain the level of expertise to which Swales (ibid.) referred above. Yet, for example Ventola and Mauranen (1990: 20) present a counter to this theory as they note that if indeed the scientific community shares universal conventions in which researchers communicate, that language would be possible to be obtained simply by familiarizing one's self with academic literacy. According to Ventola and Mauranen (ibid.) if this premise was in fact applicable in every case, authors writing in a language they use otherwise often (i.e. read texts written in English) should not have any difficulties with its conventions, which they did indeed experience in the researchers' study. (Ventola & Mauranen 1990: 20.) As Thelen (2005: 249) notes, even when one is writing a English LSPs, one must simultaneously possess a strong command of English general language.

Therefore translators are in an advantaged position because they are professionals in linguistics (i.e. writing correctly and in the proper register), cultural knowledge (i.e. translators know which things need which type of appropriation, in short, they recognize and are able to manage culture bumps) as well as research (i.e. translators are jacks-of-all-trades, hence their profession requires them to become “an expert” of every subject they work on). However, it is noteworthy that experts of a particular field (researchers) know with more ease what type of terms are ubiquitous in the field, not necessarily in the language. As an illustration: when I first started working for the Finnish Youth Research Society, I had no experience in youth research and although I find issues pertaining to the field interesting, I had little experience in social sciences in general, so my expertise in youth research was very limited, to say the least. This meant that I had to, in essence, learn a new language and “rely on the kindness of strangers”, that is, the writers of the articles I translated to point out any misunderstandings. The hardest part for me as a translator, translating texts in a field I was not familiar with, was that I could not instantly recognize if a term in the text was a common term originating from a foreign scholarly work (i.e. it would have an English term), or if it was a purely Finnish term (i.e. it may have a commonly used

1Archer's (1986) term “culture bump,” or an allusion, may be translated using various strategies including addition, omission and literal translation, according to Leppihalme (1997: 84).
translation or I must create one). Additionally, if a word was not a term, per se, but instead a new concept created by the writer, I would have to use translation strategies applied to culture bumps. Yet Swales' (2004: 56) theory of the ability of experts to recognize terms connected to the field with more ease does not necessarily remove the need for a translator, as I believe a translator can rise to Swales' (ibid.) expert position. In other words, translators are able to become (with the aid of these senior experts, i.e. their clients as well as research) versed in a specific (or multiple) field(s), if not in the content itself, but knowing the terminology, references, scholars, etc. Hence I pose that the expert to whom Swales (ibid.) refers may also be a translator.

3.3 Spoken language vs. written language

Speech and writing are two different forms of language – the former auditive as an acoustic and vocal medium, while the other is graphic and visual in nature, according to Tiittula and Nuolijärvi (2013: 33). Due to these fundamental differences spoken and written languages possess distinctive features that may not be fully expressed in the other medium (see Tiittula 1992; Tiittula & Nuolijärvi 2013; Miller & Weinert 1998).

According to Tiittula, (1992: 54–55) possibly the most notable differences between speech and writing derive from lexical choices (such as the use of personal pronouns mä, sä). The differences can arise from colloquial expressions and words that are more common in spoken language, but Tiittula (ibid. 54–55) notes that more commonly differences in vocabulary are caused by the length of words and the frequency in the use of different lexical items. In written texts, the feel of spoken language is often achieved by the illusion of colloquialism rather than implementing all aspects of spontaneous spoken language. According to Nevalainen, (2004: 69), spoken language can be expressed in literature by a NS author by, say, using a specific dialect in order to create language that is as realistic as possible. On the other hand, translators operate under a more limited set of tools in order to achieve an illusion of spoken language since their work is tied to the ST unlike authors who can
create freely. Nevalainen (ibid. 83) states that in order to achieve an illusion of spoken language, translations are more inclined to use lexical features, whereas texts originally written in Finnish emphasized phonological changes. Indeed, Nevalainen (ibid. 82) concludes that interjections and speech fillers are more common and appear with more variety in translations, “which suggests that they are an important part of the translator’s strategy of colloquialisation,” although he (ibid. 82) notes that within his study it is impossible to determine if these differences are caused by the translator or the ST.”

When we speak of spoken language in written form, we often speak of the representation of spoken language rather than spontaneous spoken language. According to Tiittula and Nuolijärvi (2013: 18), the representation of spoken language is achieved by the use of colloquial pronunciation, form and vocabulary. The representation of spoken language, however, does not solely rely on these colloquial aspects. Instead, it is also influenced by various phenomena of spoken language and interaction: the representation of spoken language may be created without a single expression of colloquial pronunciation or form, and similarly not all speech acts represent spoken language as understood by sociolinguistic variation analysis. (Tiittula and Nuolijärvi 2013: 18)

3.3.1 Spoken language
According to Tiittula and Nuolijärvi (2013: 33–34) spoken language is marked by vocal features such as intonation, stress and tone, as well as temporal features including rhythm, pauses and the speaker’s style, like rapid speech. In addition, the speech process is often visible in the end product, that is, hesitation and corrections that result from processing the speech act as well as interaction. The conversational nature of spoken language is one of its most central features in addition to temporal and vocal elements. After all, the most important use for speech is in discussion. Discussions are built on interaction which manifests itself in taking turns and overlapping speech. Interaction is also marked by many non-verbal features
including gestures, facial expressions and physical positioning. (Tiittula and Nuolijärvi 2013: 33–34)

As the Finnish online dictionary, VISK (2004: Johdanto: Kielioppi ja normatiivisuus.) notes, spoken language is not homogenous geographically or socially speaking. Standard language has traditionally referred to the written language, and publicly, the Finnish spoken and written languages have been convergent up until the mid-20th century. Comparatively in recent decades the standard spoken Finnish, even the language used publicly, has moved further from the written form, however, there is no one standard spoken language on a national level. (VISK 2004: Johdanto: Kielioppi ja normatiivisuus.)

According to VISK (2004: Johdanto: Puhutun kielen rakenteita.) Finnish spoken language is grammatically similar to written language as it contains sentences and sentence constructions. Similarly, words may be conjugated and organized into clauses in spoken language. The differences between the two are often quantitative, for instance, while pronouns are abundant in spoken language, written language has relatively more lexical clauses, as well as, first and second-person singular verb forms without a pronoun subject. Still, qualitative differences arise from the conversational nature of speech as well its dependency of a specific time and situation. At the heart of the conversational nature of speech is intersubjectivity, i.e. the exchange of thoughts and experiences happening right here and now combined with the desire to be understood and expressing understanding. Grammatically, all this may be achieved by using complete clauses, however, more commonly speech is produced and understanding is controlled with a variety of subtle methods including the use of particles such as oral discourse markers. (VISK 2004: Johdanto: Puhutun kielen rakenteita.)

3.3.2 Spoken language in a written form: transcribing

Heinonen (1997) proposes three basic strategies for transforming speech into writing: transcription, editing, and simulation. The first is used mainly by researchers, the
second by journalists and editors whereas the final one is authors’ strategy. In this chapter I will explore transcription as researchers’ technique further.

Spoken language appears in written form for various reasons, however, we could make a distinction between the aforementioned representation of spoken language and transcribing spoken language. Representation of spoken language include literature and other forms of simulated spoken language. I would also include in this category more informal modern forms of written language, such as email, SMS and instant messaging. According to Hakulinen et al. (2009: 39), in recent decades, many written texts have adopted more aspects of spoken language, and their relationship has changed, because there are more contributors, mediums and needs for the written word. Tiittula and Nuolijärvi (2013: 39) note that these new forms of communication have resulted in novel ways of language use, and email, SMS and online discourse, for example, display conversational aspects comparable to speech.

3.3.3 Colloquialisms

As VISK (2004: Johdanto: Kielioppi ja normatiivisuus) notes, the Finnish spoken language and written language are not convergent any longer and similarly, the spoken language used publicly has moved further from the written form and thus become more colloquial. Tiittula and Nuolijärvi (2013: 41) have formed a list containing these subtle colloquialisms of the Finnish spoken language which are present even in the public discussion:

1. The omission of final vowel (mutta → mut; että → et; uusi → uus)
2. The mutation of word-final -n (jotenkin → jotenki; niin kuin → niinku)
3. The omission of the -t at the end of participles ending (ollut → ollu; hajonnut → hajonnu)
4. The omission of -i in an unstressed syllable (tarkoittanut → tarkottanut; ratkaisu → ratkasu)
5. Personal pronouns (minä → mä; sinä → sä)
These aspects are all present in the data analyzed, however, only some are noteworthy in the context of translation (of interviews), thus the focus of the present study. This distinction between common aspects of the spoken language and the aspects I will analyze stems from elements of spoken language that are firstly visible in a written form and secondly may be meaningfully translated, that is, mä has no equal variant in the English spoken language, thus its translation is not meaningful to inspect in the scope of this study. The next chapter will introduce these aspects of representation of (Finnish) spoken language.

3.3.4 Representation of spoken language

I have adapted a categorization introduced by Tiittula and Nuolijärvi (2013: 43–66) of aspects of the Finnish spoken language as they may be represented in a written form relevant to the present study, thus to language used in transcribed interviews. There are six categories: (1) pronunciation and form aspects; (2) person and referencing; (3) (dis)agreement; (4) syntax; (5) vocabulary and phraseology; and finally (6) organization. (Tiittula & Nuolijärvi 2013: 43–66)

Tiittula and Nuolijärvi (2013: 43) state that the aspects of the Finnish spoken language concerning (1) pronunciation and form are often derived from speakers’ background, that is their regional dialect, age as well as social status. Pronunciation aspects include various assimilations and omissions, and form involves incongruent verb form and the omission of the possessive suffix which will be inspected further in the below paragraph on agreement (Tiittula & Nuolijärvi 2013: 43).
Furthermore, Tiittula and Nuolijärvi (2013: 48) note that spoken language is marked by (2) an abundance of pronouns and pro-adverbs as well as demonstrative pronouns (FI: *se, ne*; EN: *that, those*). Different pro-forms, such as pro-adverbs and pro-adjectives (*täällä, sellainen*) possess similar deictic and anaphoric uses to demonstrative pronouns (VISK 2004: § 721), as they both describe the speaker’s and the listener’s relation to their direct surroundings, and for example, in Finnish the demonstrative pronoun *se* may be used as an antecedent because the speaker assumes that the listener can deduce the meaning from the context whether it is a previous conversation or the current one (ibid. § 722). Moreover, *se* and its pro-adverbial forms are among the most common words in the Finnish language, and they are used thematically as a type of subject (ibid. § 723), such as in: “…ni tieteen *se* on sillä tavalla haastavaa tämmönen toimistotyyppinen ohjaustyö.” Similarly, *sitä* mirrors this, however it is a pronoun turned into a particle, and it is commonly used in sentences with zero-person and passive voice, and less commonly in atypical sentences such as existential or possessive sentences. *Sitä* is used deictically, however, in some instances it may be used in a similar subjectless fashion to zero-person, discussed further below. (Ibid. § 827.)

In addition to the singular and plural forms, the Finnish grammatical person includes the passive voice as well as a generic third-person singular, the so-called zero-person (Tiittula and Nuolijärvi 2013: 48–49). The passive voice traditionally refers to the first-person plural, however, it may be used to replace any grammatical person. Moreover, Hakulinen and Karlsson (1995: 253) state that the generic third-person singular form refers to anyone, and in English, similar effect may be created with the pronouns *you* or *we*, or the more formal *one*. Both strategies, the passive and using zero person, may be considered to leave the subject-referent open, and the latter may even allow the speaker to obscure themselves or the listener. Laitinen (1995), however, emphasizes that zero noun phrases are used in order to communicate, not to avoid communication (338), that is, zero-person allows the formation of a shared experience for the participants to which they may relate (355).
Subject-verb agreement (3), or rather, disagreement is prevalent in the Finnish spoken language. According to VISK (2004: § 1283) in Finnish spoken language, subject-verb agreement varies frequently according to the dialect variant as well as from person to person (e.g. age, status), however, in most variants third-person plural form displays subject-verb disagreement or varies depending on the speaker or situation (ibid. § 1280). In this instance, the subject is plural while the predicate is in singular form. Tiittula and Nuolijärvi (2013: 52) note that omitting possessive suffixes relating to possessive personal pronouns is another prevalent aspect of Finnish spoken language.

Tiittula and Nuolijärvi (2013: 53) continue on to syntax (4), and remark that syntactically speaking, the Finnish spoken language typically consists of short, elliptical sentences which are not a sign of incomplete thoughts or some element that is missing, instead, they result from the conversational nature of spoken language where sentences are completed during the dialectic process and ellipses create cohesion to the speech acts. VISK (2004: § 864) notes that in spoken language sentences and clauses differ greatly, and only some units of speech would be considered as grammatical sentences which is why it is more fruitful to refer to clauses or phrases (FIN: lausuma) when speaking of units of speech. This sentiment is echoed by Miller and Weinert (1998: 30) who prefer the concept of clauses to sentences:

> The central problem is that it is far from evident that the language system of spoken English has sentences, for the simple reason that text-sentences are hard to locate in spoken texts. Clauses are easily recognized: even where pauses and a pitch contour with appropriate scope are missing, a given verb and its complements can be picked out. (Miller & Weinert 1998: 30.)

VISK (2004: § 801) notes that these units of (Finnish) spoken language can be formed into lengthy combinations or dialogues linked by conjunctions or particles, such as et(tä), mut(ta), ja, eli, jos and ku(n). Additionally, according to VISK (2004: § 1003) this linking between phrases or speech acts may be achieved by intonation.
which both are linking strategies mirrored by English spoken language according to Miller and Weinert (1998: 23).

Tiittula and Nuolijärvi (2013: 58) state that vocabulary and phraseology (5) mark the Finnish spoken language, and indeed, the representation of colloquial language is often achieved by the use of colloquial expressions or those from a specific dialect variant. Miller and Weinert (1998: 22–23) remind that spoken language contains a smaller range of vocabulary due to its occurrence in person which allows information to be gathered from additional sources, such as gestures and intonation. Tiittula and Nuolijärvi (2013: 58) also mention that the Finnish spoken language typically includes exaggeration signaled by various intensifiers as well as curse words which generally appear more liberally in speech. As mentioned in association with (4), particles are common in spoken language and according to Tiittula and Nuolijärvi (2013: 59) they assume many important roles, they: are used to provide feedback, modify interaction, express the speaker’s point-of-view as well as the speaker’s status in the discourse.

The final typical aspect of spoken language posed by Tiittula and Nuolijärvi (2013: 64) is the organization of what is expressed (6) which includes hesitation, correction and searching for words, as well as a great deal of repetition (p.). In this category, Tiittula and Nuolijärvi (ibid. 64–66) also include exaggeration by the use of metaphors and other figures of speech, as well as ambiguous expressions which may be specified if necessary and various hedges, such as joku in Finnish and like in English.

Miller and Weinert (1998: 312) discuss at length the role like plays in speech: whether it is merely a filler or possesses a genuine discourse role. They (ibid. 334) pose that like “is a non-introducing, non-contrastive focuser which may focus on new or given information,” and introduce two of the most significant like constructions as clause-initial and clause-final like; the former elucidating previous comments while the latter is used to counter objections and assumptions (Miller & Weinert 1998: 334).
In addition to the uses of *like* discussed above, Miller and Weinert (1998: 309–310) present four that apply especially to my study. (1) *Like* is used as an equivalent to *for example* to signal an apt but selective representation of their subject, such as: “Like, in a year I’ve never woken up on the wrong side of the bed. *Like*, I've always gone out the door feeling good.” *Like* (2) also acts as an interjection that signals that the following text is difficult to “formulate appropriately or precisely” which demands covert thinking (ibid. 309–310). *Like* also serves an (3) organizational role as a filler to hold the speaker’s place while they arrange their thoughts and syntax comparable to “ehm” or “let me see” (ibid. 312). The final usage for *like* relevant to the data is (4) before direct discourse, which Miller and Weinert (1998: 309) note does not indicate exact recreation of the quote but an approximation or a verbalization of an inner monologue or emotion, as shown by the data: “… I was just *like* ‘yes!’ I get to work on Monday, I was just *like* ‘wohoo!’ I get to go to work and other people in my workplace were just *like* ‘ugh, Monday.’”

According to VISK (2004: § 1487) a typical way to express direct discourse is a structure with *olla* verb, often in imperfect and active form, and it could be seen as an adverbial since it is used to describe the quoted person’s emotions and attitude. This type of direct discourse is typical for young people and it is used in the middle of a narrative or in a dialogue preceding a line reacting to something previously said or occurred. Typically this may be formulated with *olla* followed by an adverb or particle expressing style, for example: “*se oli (vaa ~ just) sillee ~ (ihan) niinku et*.” (VISK 2004: § 1487) As shown in the previous paragraph, the data correlates with this: “… (M)ä *olin siis ithan et*, jes et mä pääsen töihin maanantaina, mä *olin ithan et* jeejeejee mä pääsen töihin ja muut on *siel ithan et* "ei, maanantai".”

### 3.3.5 Disfluencies and hedging

Hedging is a particularly apt concept for this study because it is present both in academic and spoken language. So what exactly is hedging? I would define it as the distance put between the speaker and what they are saying. If rhetorics is *how* one
says what they say, then hedging would be how one tries not to say what they are saying. Or as Hyland (1998: 4) states: “In everyday conversation hedges are commonly expressed through auxiliary verbs and by epistemic adjectives, adverbs and lexical verbs.” Hedges include conversational words such as perhaps, I guess, sort of as well as verbal fillers, hesitation and prosody may also be used to express the strength of a statement (Hyland 1998: 4.)

I will not explore hedging in academic context because I will analyze only quotes which represent genuine dialogue rather than academic language. Hyland (1998: 5) also notes how passive voice and tense may act as hedges distancing the writer from their assertion. This is especially true in Finnish in which passive voice is prevalent in academic context, but in the language more generally, as well. Moreover, passive voice is used in Finnish just as Hyland (1998) describes, and many forms of the passive voice can be observed also in the interview quotes (passive tense and zero-person) as is observed in chapter 4, Example 4.

In an interview context, hedges allow the interviewees to soften their opinion, as well as the interviewer to ask direct questions indirectly. Hyland (1998: 9) states that hedging in casual conversation facilitates interpersonal activity and communication. I would argue that hedging is imperative and prevalent in interviewing. As Hyland (1998: 9) states, it promotes “informal or congenial atmosphere, facilitate turn-taking, sustain discussion, show politeness, mitigate face-threats or disguise deficient knowledge or vocabulary” which are all important attributes of successful interviews. This certainly depends on the type of interview being conducted, however, it is clear that people are more susceptible to open up in a non-threatening environment and express their opinions to a stranger with some hedging.

Hyland (1998: 9) also states that hedging signals the distance between a speaker and what is being said as well as discourse statuses and it organizes the speech. Thus in interviews both parties may use hedging to establish that the conversation is not completely natural, they have clear roles, in other words, that what is being asked is
not necessarily the words of the person asking (but another entity behind) and that
the answer may not be (only) the interviewee’s, per se, but instead represent the
people who are in the same role as them. Relevant to this study, this could mean that
the interviewer will use hedging in their question in order to emphasize that the
question is not due to their personal interest but due to the interest of the Finnish
Youth Research Network, youth research or youth policy (making). In turn, the
interviewee may use hedging in order to establish that the opinion/experience they
express is not their own but the opinion/experience of another youth worker/young
person.

Hyland (1998: 5), however also notes that while one may expresses opinion, view-
points, attitudes as well as feelings with a hedge, they may also be expressed without
using a hedge. Hyland (ibid.) states that using his definition of a hedge “any
statement of reservation [is possible] to be examined for its hedging value.” I have
adopted a similar method in my thesis, that is, I will use the terms “hedging” and a
“hedge” to include many different types of distancing and apprehension. (Hyland
1998: 5).

3.4 The science of interviews
The ST describes the method utilized in Nuoret luukulla (2015) as semi-structured
interviews, which were conducted mainly as individual interviews but included also
three pair interviews. Following the classifications presented in Tiittula and
Ruuusuvuori’s (2005: 11) Haastattelu: Tutkimus, tilanteet ja vuorovaikutus the
interviews represent focused interviews and also possibly narrative interviews. While
the structure of the interviews was not a life narrative interview in the sense that it
included many questions (see Appendix 1 and 2) instead of merely one open-ended
question with some follow-up questions, the interviewer is only visible in two
citations (one with employees and one with young people) in the final product, as an
illustration:

Sanna Aaltonen: Well, can you leave something out or tell them “I don't want to
discuss this?”
Interviewee: I think so, yeah.
SA: Or say “I don't want to go to any school,” can you say things like that here?
I: I have said that.
SA: How did they react?
I: Well, what do they usually say, that if you're under 25 you have an obligation to go to a school, but they can't like physically make you go there.

On the other hand, as Tiittula and Ruusuvuori state (2005: 12) it is irrelevant whether an interview is structured or unstructured because all parties in an interview collaborate in producing information. Still, it is noteworthy that no unified set of rules exists for transcribing interviews, but instead their form depends on the study’s focus as well as that of the researchers and transcribers themselves. Two examples of transcribed interviews from Tiittula and Ruusuvuori (2005: 30) illustrates this very well:

(A)

H: Tulitteko Te välittömästi kauppiaaksi tähän vai oliko tässä joku?
V: Ei, olin jo osuuskaupan aikana tässä (myymälän)hoitajana ja minä ostin tämän koko kaupan sitten.²

(B)

H: joo(.) tuota (.) tulitteko te välittömästi (.) sitten kauppiaaksi tähän. vai oliko tässä välissä välissä joku
V: ei ku minähän olin jo osuuskaupan aikana (.) tässä
H: myymälänhoitajana
V: hoitajana juu
H: ahaa
V: ja minä ostin tämän koko (.)
H: kyllä (.) kyllä
V: liikkeen s (.) koko (.)
H: kyllä
V: kaupan sitte. (Tiittula and Ruusuvuori 2005: 30)

²(A) Interviewer: Did You start the store Yourself or was there someone here before You? Respondent: No, I was a store attendant here already when it was a co-op store and I bought the place after that.
These two examples, (A) and (B), describe the same content but in differing forms. (B) represents a formulation of a quote that may appear in social studies or journalism while the second one could appear in a linguistic or sociological study. While the second one could be interpreted as a “more truthful” account of the interview, it may not serve the text’s ultimate intent. In other words, if the purpose of a text is to illustrate different paths to owning one’s own store (the content of the quote) the style of transcription presented in (B) may merely confuse the reader and the issue at hand. Therefore it is imperative for the transcription to reflect the intent of the whole text and not necessarily “the whole truth” of the interview situation.

The reason behind the choice to use a more structured interview model over a highly open-ended interview is that, as Eskola (1967: 160–162) states: unstructured interviews provide limited options to analysis, as it is very laborious to organize the information gained into a form that allows systematic or statistical analysis thus somewhat structured interviews are preferable to statistical analysis. This is true also of the study at hand, because while the ST and thus the TT excluded the statistical section of the original version of the report, it surely affected the method with which the interviews were conducted as well as the answers and thus the quotations in the ST and TT.

As a personal note, I once interned at a radio station where I got the opportunity to help a radio show host to interview, co-host and edit a show. I had no previous experience in interviewing or radio in general, other than from pop culture. I received directions for editing an interview, and the host told me to remove most extra-linguistic noises and she especially mentioned a clicking noise people may make unconsciously. This type of strategy in terms of editing interviews is reasonable and while it is merely a single example it is applicable to all interviewing. Different things are relevant and received differently depending on the context. For example, in the above example, the context of a conversation (while, of course, being recorded differs from unrecorded conversations) is different than listening to an interview from the radio. As one is participating in a discussion, one’s focus is on different things (processing/communicating the question, noticing the surroundings, reading
body language, etc.) than being in the position of a passive listener. Also technology adds another dimension to this. Hearing something live is a different experience than hearing something through a device, such as the radio. Thus it is reasonable to edit texts depending on their forum. Whether the transition is from interviews to narratives or from spoken to written texts.

In addition, the differences between genuine conversations and recorded interviews result in different approaches in the presentation. With this I mean that in a genuine discussion pauses and disfluencies, are ignored in order to find a cohesive statement (see: Tiittula 1992). However, in a recorded and/or transcribed interview, extra-linguistic elements may be perceived as irritating or, more imperatively, distracting. Thus it is reasonable that interviewers will edit the interview in order to clarify the central message.

This point is double-edged sword in itself. I would argue that many people favor edited interviews because it is, after all, essential to journalists’ or researchers’ work: to accumulate a great amount of data and then concentrate and combine the relevant information into an illuminating (and preferably enjoyably consumable) work. On the other hand, editing an interview may have a negative connotation to some, because it may be associated to the misrepresentation or even falsification of data. This idea of “twisting someone’s words” in order to create an interesting, but false answer is troubling because it is rooted in truth: a researcher or a journalist may use their power immorally and to further their own gains instead of adhering to common rules of propriety. That is why it is imperative, especially in the case of scientific studies to conduct one’s actions as transparently as possible and, for example, interview data is instructed to be stored properly anonymized (Meho 2006: 1289).

3.4.1 Transcribing interviews

The style in which one decides to transcribe, just as other forms of academic writing, depends on the discipline, language, as well as the method and focus of the study. Hence not all transcribing is created equal in terms of details. According to Ruusuvuori and Nikander (2016: 63–64) transcribing concerning linguistic studies,
for example, involve more details about language than that in social sciences which study social realities rather than linguistic features. The main issue for transcribing is to facilitate the study and analysis, therefore the specificity of a transcript is dependent on the scope of the study, or as Ruusuvuori and Nikander (ibid. 83) state: what phenomenon interests the researcher, what is their theoretic framework and what questions will they pose for their data?

The purpose of transcription, in addition to formatting the data researchers have gathered in a way that facilitates its analysis, is to illustrate the research process to the audience. Ruusuvuori and Nikander (2016: 67) state that transcription that focuses on demonstrating the main points in the speech differs from a more specified style of transcribing as the latter includes non-verbal aspects of the interaction, overlap, pauses, stress and volume as well as intonation. In this regard the more specified transcribing allows the audience to follow the interaction with more detail. (Ruusuvuori & Nikander 2016: 67.) However, the increased level of detail may hinder the reading process thus remove focus from the content of the speech act which explains the use of detail-oriented transcription method being used on field that study the micro level of speech and language (e.g. “How is something said?”) and more overviewing style being popular in fields that focus on the macro level of human communication (e.g. “What is being said?”).

Because *Young People in the Service System* (2015) falls under social studies, its transcription style is “word-for-word” description, in which, according to Ruusuvuori and Nikander (2016: 69), pauses and minimal feedback are not necessary to explicitate, however, repetition and “filler words” such as *niinku* are included. The rhythm of the speech is also made somewhat visible in this style using punctuation . (Ruusuvuori & Nikander 2016: 69.) These features are also aspects that may be expressed in the TT, and especially punctuation directs the translator’s understanding of the ST. The interviews in *Young People in the Service System* (2015) are discussed in chapter 2 and analysis of the material is in the next chapter 4.
4 Analysis

As discussed earlier in chapter 3, translators must modify the source text (ST) somewhat in order to 1) convey the same message in the other language and 2) ensure that the target language (TL) used is authentic. However, translators also must function according to morality rules, or in other words, translators must behave as a trusted messenger who delivers the content unharmed from the author to the reader. In an extreme instance this might mean that translators utilize an interlinear translation approach where translator follows the structure as closely as possible and translates, in a certain sense, word-for-word. The other extreme is for translators to loosely translate the content modifying, even heavily, the form, or going as far as modifying even the content, which occurs for example in feminist translation strategies.

4.1 Analysis of the material

The original report includes two parts, one illustrating the interviews with social workers and the other the experiences of young people, and these sections are peppered with interview data either inserted in the text body or in separate quotes. I have analyzed only these self-standing quotes both from the employees and the youngsters.

In this analysis, it would have been possible to limit my scope to a single phenomenon, however, due to the lack of research on the translation of quotes within academic texts, I decided that it would be more prudent to showcase some of the variety of interesting phenomena within this “genre.” In the final chapter I discuss possible subjects for further research but in this study, I have chosen to limit the scope to this one translation and the most noteworthy phenomena within this text.

In the report, it becomes clear that the social workers and the young people interviewed have distinct voices. The interviewees live either in Espoo or Kouvola region so that also impacts their vernacular, however, due to interview anonymity the quotations are merely identified as employees or young people (in most instances)
but their origin and location are omitted, so a translator must merely guess which quotations belong to which person of which origin. Therefore it would be impossible for a translator to make distinctions throughout the text between the speakers based on their dialects, for example by using different English accents or expressions.

In all examples, I have used bold and italics to highlight different aspects of either colloquialisms or rhetorics which warrant more inspection and are of special interest concerning the translation of spoken language. I have used the following types of formatting in the Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Bold</strong></th>
<th>signifies the most relevant aspect of spoken language in the example.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Italic</strong></td>
<td>signifies secondary aspects of spoken language in the Example.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ø</strong></td>
<td>signifies an element that is left unsaid, most commonly the presence of generic third-person, or zero-person.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Underlined</strong></td>
<td>signifies clauses or expressions that represent an aspect of spoken language.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.2 **Person and referencing**

As discussed in chapter 3.3.4, spoken language is marked by an abundance of demonstrative pronouns (FI: *se, ne*; EN: *that, those*), different pro-forms as well as passive voice in the form of generic third-person singular (Tiittula and Nuolijärvi 2013: 48–49). Examples 1–4 illustrate these aspects of spoken language and how they are translated.
Example 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ST</th>
<th>TT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Niin tuntu, että ihan turhaa tehny sen 9 euron takia. Mä ajattelin, että se on semmoinen paikka missä mieli virkistyy ja saa vähän sitä ja työnmakuun taas Ø pääsee, Ø ei kyllä ollut ihan semmoinen.</td>
<td>It just felt like the nine euros was all for nothing. I thought that it would be like a place that would knock the cobwebs out of my head and get me back into the working life mentality, so yeah, that didn't really pan out like that.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We can clearly see in Example 1 the abundance of demonstrative pronouns marked in bold, as well as the use of generic third-person singular marked by Ø, however, I discuss zero-person more in chapter 4.3.1, so I will not discuss it further concerning this Example. This lends to a certain sense of opaqueness since the pronouns are not explicated in the ST. For instance, in the first sentence the sen (‘its’) marked in bold does not refer to anything within the quote, however, it can be deduced from the context surrounding the quote, and certainly in the context of the interview that the person refers to the work they had done. In the translation, I decided not to clarify se (‘it’) in the ST referring to the work, instead I decided to emphasize nine euros addition to basic unemployment allowance one receives during job training because of three reasons. First, this specific concept of nine euros has been discussed in the text, thus it may be deduced from the context. Second, the pronoun has not been clarified in the TT, and third, the explanation would have lengthened the TT considerably. Therefore, it can be observed that I have used a determinator the to define nine euros which provides a similar clue to the TT reader as se does to the ST reader that these nine euros are significant and previously mentioned.

Example 1 provides also a clear illustration of what I would call “pruning” method of translation. I use this term as merely a description, not as a value determinator or to
implicate improvement. The ST is merely more robust and branched out while the TT is more simple and straight-forward in style. The ST begins with a particle niin (direct translation: “so” or “yes”). VISK (2004: §811) lists different roles niin may assume in spoken conversations, including as a connector between clauses (one beginning with jos, kun, koska or vaikka); in cleft constructions; in the middle of a sentence if the beginning has included a complex expression; to combine main clauses (often to indicate causality); marking a return to the main topic after a self-correction, for example; or similarly at the beginning of a turn marking a return to the main topic after a sidenote(s). In this context, niin would probably either act as a return to the main topic (from what the speaker has said or where the conversation has diverged) or it may be used to indicate confirmation to something said earlier, however, in this case there would probably be a period after niin. I reasoned that the quote was a section of a longer statement, thus I have omitted the conjunct from the ST, as it possesses hardly any relevant information and may cause confusion in the TT readers, although so may have been an appropriate start, as well.

Another clause I omitted in order to add clarity is “… ja saa vähän sitä…” (direct translation: “and get a little of that”). I would consider this a “nonsensical” aspect of spoken language, or in other words, a disfluency. The speaker has either changed the focus of the statement or they may have expressed the idea using non-verbal cues. Either way, these types of disfluencies have scarcely informational value for the audience and a greater chance to confuse them. Finally, the second sentence culminates in the statement “ei kyllä ollut ihan semmoinen” (direct translation: “it wasn’t exactly like that”) which I have changed somewhat. This change stems partly from the changes in the form of the rest of the sentence, but mostly that these types of subjectless clauses are more problematic in English. Thus, partly to add the feel of spoken language and partly to add clarity as well as in order to mimic the rhythm of the TT, I decided to reformulate the clause as “…so yeah, that didn't really pan out like that.”
Example 2 also illustrates the Finnish use of demonstrative pronouns and how they may be translated.

**Example 2**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ST</th>
<th>TT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mulla oli, <em>no</em> kaks kuukautta oon ollu nyt ilman tota mielialälääkitystä, <em>että sitä</em> oli enemmän haittaa ku hyötyä, <em>et siinä</em> ei ollu mitään järkee, <em>ku</em> ei mulla oo niinku masennusta ollu pitkään aikaan, et <em>se</em> on lähinnä paniikkihäiriötä tai sosiaaliset tilanteet. <em>Ne</em> piristi vähän liikaaki, et hikoilutti, tuli <em>sellanen</em> impulsiivinen Ø, pumppu hakkas ja jotain yli satasta <em>saatto olla</em> ja sit <em>siihen</em> niinku Ø ottaa sellasta lääkettä mikä tasaa sitä pulssii.</td>
<td>I had, well, I've been off antidepressants for two months now, ’cause <em>it</em> was hurting more than <em>it</em> was helping, so there was no point to <em>it</em> because I haven't been depressed for a long time now. <em>It's</em> more like panic attacks or social anxiety. And <em>they</em> were a little too stimulating, like I was sweating a lot, and I got <em>this</em> impulsive <em>[attack]</em>, where <em>my heart was beating out of my chest</em> and then <em>I</em> could take another drug that levelled my heartbeat.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As noted in Example 1, spoken language is marked by an abundance of demonstrative pronouns and Example 2 elucidates this aspect clearly as well as a common way in which demonstrative pronouns are used to create opaque statements in the Finnish spoken language. Just like zero-person and other passive-type expressions, demonstrative pronouns may be used to obscure the speaker, their subject, or the listener, however, they also open the subject to a broader interpretation (Laitinen 1995: 355). In the first sentence of the ST, (which I have broken into two sentences in the TT) the words in bold are the same pronoun *se* and its inflicted forms *sitä* and *siinä*. However, it is interesting that the first two refer to the previous subject, antidepressants or consuming them, but the third one refers to the person’s mental state. The third *se* may require an explanation in brackets,
however, I decided not to explicitate the pronouns even though it would have been a reasonable choice, as well. The fourth it (“It's more like panic attacks…”) in the TT is the only one I feel may have been left too ambiguous and may have benefitted from, at least, a slight clarification, such as: “It's more like panic attacks or social anxiety what I deal with nowadays.” However, this raises the question of how much translators want to or should alter interview quotes. I decided to stay fairly close to the TT in this instance.

The pronoun ne in the ST refers once again to antidepressants, however, the next descriptive pronoun sellanen is noteworthy in this sentence, because it is once again a typical opaque subject. Sellanen (direct translation: “that type of”) normally demands a head, however, due to the spoken nature of the text, one may deduce to what it is referring from the context: a (uncomfortable) feeling. In this instance, I decided to add a subject in brackets, however, I feel that attack may contain too much interference from Finnish, otherwise it clarifies the sentence. Similarly, the interviewee continues to explain the nature of these attacks and I decided to alter the clause: “…pumppu hakkas ja jotain yli satasta saatto olla…” which I have translated into “…my heart was beating out of my chest….” I explicitated the word pumppu (as well as its definer to my) as well as the opaque expression “jotain yli satasta saatto olla.” The latter refers to the person’s heart rate, but in order to avoid confusion in the reader and using perhaps overly formal medical language, I have expressed it as a heart that was beating out of one’s chest. I also explicated the subject (I) in the generic third-person clause “…siihen niinku Ø ottaa sellasta lääkettä…..”

Example 3 illustrates the use of different pro-forms in Finnish spoken language and different methods how they may be translated into English.
In Example 3, the noteworthy aspect of spoken language are the pro-forms marked in bold. The speaker uses pro-forms liberally for different purposes. The first sentence begins with *sitä*: a particle form of pronoun *se* (‘it’). It is used, as is common, in a zero-person sentence, and it is almost in the role of a subject in the clause. Therefore, I have decided to translate the particle as a pronoun *it*. In English there is no identical construct, but *it* possesses similar traits and an indefinite quality. Later in the quote *se* is used thematically as a type of subject “*se* on sillä tavalla haastavaa.” Other uses for *se* and a plural form *ne* are used more typically as pronouns.

This is a good example of transcribed speech that illustrates the differences between spoken and written language. Because spoken language is produced much faster than written language, the planning time (i.e. the time between the thought and
expression) is shorter, or even non-existent compared to written language. Hence, the speaker must constantly observe, guide and correct their speech, and these corrections are visible in speech (literally in the case of transcription). In Example 3, the person uses multiple demonstrative pronouns as well as conjunctions, many of which contribute little to the content but instead may add clarity to the interaction and understanding for the audience. As mentioned in chapter 3, Tiittula and Nuolijärvi (2013: 33–34) state that in speech, these aspects may be imperative, and those aspects that do not add meaning are filtered out by the receiver. However, in transcribed speech, these things remain (largely) in the text, which poses an issue to translators: are these aspects of quotes relevant and how to translate them in a sufficient way. My opinion was to walk in the middle-road, that is, to express the content of the interviewee’s explanation of the issue as clearly as possible but without omitting too many aspects of the actual expression process.

One repetitive element in this quote is the use of tässä (‘here’). Tässä is a pro-adverb, which is used as a thematic placeholder with little content other than modifying the tone of the statement in all of the four instances appearing in this Example. The speaker also cultivates an indefinite style of speaking by using demonstrative pro-adjectives sellasia and tämmönen which direct the focus onto the subject’s properties, as in “sellasia mittareita” and “se on sillä tavalla haastavaa tämmönen toimistotyypin ohjaustyö.” However, I have completely omitted the descriptive pronoun sellaisia (‘that kind of’) defining mittareita (‘meters’). This clause may have required more explicitation, as I am not sure that meters expresses sufficiently clearly what is expressed in the ST. I could have expressed a similar sense of descriptiveness as sellaisia expressed, for example, by formulating the clause as: “It's hard to find meters that can show you how much the youth's situation...” However, I have decided to emphasize the feel of spoken language with more opaqueness and avoided extensive reformulation.
4.2.1 Zero-person

In chapter 3.3.4, the concept of zero person is discussed. The generic third-person singular, or the so-called zero-person is a typical feature of Finnish spoken language alongside the passive voice both of which achieve similar effect of obscuring the speaker or the listener (Hakulinen and Karlsson 1995: 253). Laitinen (1995: 355), however, points out that zero-person allows a shared experience to be formed for the participants. In Example 4, which illustrates well both aspects of zero-person, I have marked with **bold** and Ø to illustrate all instances of zero-person and other non-specific expressions.

**Example 4**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ST</th>
<th>TT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Se on mun mielestä pääasia, että lapsi viihtyy ja sillä on hyvä olla. Kun Ø ei pysty ite takaamaan sille välttämättä kaikkea mitä hän tarvii päivässä, ruokaa ja muuta, että moneen päivään voi olla, että Ø ei muista antaakaan tai on itte niin väsynyt, ettei jotenkin, ei Ø kykene.</td>
<td>That's the main thing, I think, that my child is happy and well. When you're in a place where you're not able to provide everything they need everyday, food and such, that there might be days when you might even forget or you're so tired that somehow you can't.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The interviewee is speaking of a very delicate subject: the possible neglect or general well-being of (their own) child while dealing with mental health issues and receiving help from social services. In this context it is understandable that the speaker may want to obscure themselves as the subject and not emphasizes that they are speaking of their child and experiences. Still, one can still understand that because the interviewee may be thinking that they are representing people in the same situation or parents in general, zero-person and other generalizing expressions do allow
listeners to broaden the statement to apply to themselves and/or to a larger group of people.

Since the English language does not possess a similar zero-person structure, I have decided to use non-deictic second-person you, that is, an equivalent to the more formal personal pronoun one which refers to people generally (Huddleston & Pullum 2005: 103). This achieves in my opinion a similar effect to the use of zero-person: a non-formal way of not referring to any particular person, but simultaneously perhaps to all of them. Nonetheless, I have decided to explicicate one generalizing expression in this quote: non-specific lapsi (“a child”) in the first sentence.

Example 4 illustrates clearly a difference between Finnish and English: specificity and more specifically naming the subject. In this Example a young parent describes their life, and in the first sentence they state: “Se on mun mielestä pääasia, että lapsi viihtyy ja sillä on hyvä olla.” (Direct translation: “I think the main thing is that the child is happy and well.”) So, in the beginning the person exhibits hedging by emphasizing that the following is (only) their opinion and subsequently, they refer only to “a child” instead to one of their own by adding a possessive suffix or a personal pronoun in the possessive form. This format allows hedging and simultaneously it broadens the issue to universal level. That is, by referring to “a child” the person is in a way referring to all children instead of just their own. In Finnish, this type of omission is open to interpretation: it may be interpreted as passive (“all children”) or specific (“my child”). In my translation I have chosen to use the determinator of “my” because of the rest of the quote. In English, I think it would be too lofty to begin a very personal story about the difficulties of being a young parent with a generalization that “all children should be happy and well.” Hence I have limited the possible interpretations present in the ST, however, I feel that a more ambiguous translation of “a child is happy and well,” which would have been more similar to the ST, would not have had the same emotional charge as the ST had.
4.3 Syntax

As noted in chapter 3.3.4, according to VISK (2004: § 801), units of Finnish spoken language can be formed into lengthy combinations or dialogues by linking conjunctions or particles, such as et(tä), mut(ta), ja, eli, jos and ku(n). Example 5 is a prime example of that because it is a single sentence with cohesion between its part created by particles and conjunctions et, mutta, as well as ja, however it is not used to link together clauses so I will not discuss it further in this Example.

Example 5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ST</th>
<th>TT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[Krooninen sairaus] diagnosoitiin viime toukokuussa, et mulla alko oireet jo 8 kk aikaisemmin, mutta se on sellasta hirveetä tappeluu, et otettiin vakavissaan, et sitä haluttiin aina pistää psyykkisen piikkiin, et ollut dissosiaatio ja keskittymishäiriö, mikä tahansa, kukaan ei suostunut uskomaan, et vois olla, niinku, ihan [oikeasti] joku häiriö.</td>
<td>[A chronic illness] was diagnosed last May, even though I was showing symptoms for eight months before that, but it's just a constant battle to get them to take me seriously, because they just wanted to chalk it up to a psychological problem, so yeah, it wasn't a dissociative problem or attention deficit disorder or anything like that, nobody believed to me that it could be, like, a [real] disorder.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Example 5, the interviewee omits almost all personal pronouns in their speech, and uses conjunctions and particles to link together phrases instead of beginning new sentences (however, as stated before e.g. in chapter 3.4 and 4.1, these sentence structures may also be the result of the transcriber’s interpretation).
I decided to explicate this quote quite heavily. This was due to the nature of English language in which omitting subjects is problematic and not as common as in Finnish. Moreover, I decided to add clarity by using a variety of conjunctives which have created additional sense of cohesion and cause-and-effect to translate *et* and *mutta*.

Another possible translation strategy would have been to use *like* as a linking word. In this instance, clause-initial use of *like*, as discussed in chapter 3.3.4, could have been employed, since it may be used as a non-contrastive focuser elucidating previously said things. Since the structure of the ST is that the speaker gives the premise in the first clause (that the person was diagnosed with a chronic disease last May) and every subsequent clause provides more information from different perspectives on the first statement. This strategy may have preserved the feel of the ST even better, however, it may be an advantage for an academic text to be as clear as possible and perhaps lose some “authenticity” in the process.
While, according to Tiittula and Nuolijärvi (2013: 58), colloquialisms or expressions from a specific dialect variant are used in (order to represent) spoken language. Alongside these geographical language groups we may also include language groups formed by people belonging to a specific, identifying marker, such as a university, a job, or in this case, social services, as employees, researchers and the customers themselves to having a specific variant of spoken language. I discuss the use of idioms and a type of community jargon in Examples 6–8.

**Example 6**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ST</th>
<th>TT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maanantaina mä tuun tänne [etsivän työn työntekijän] kaa hoitaa jotain asioita, tiistaina niil on se ryhmä, keskiviikkona mä meen työkkäriin, torstaina mä meen soskuun, perjantaina mä meen Kelaan.</td>
<td>On Mondays I come here to take care of things [with an outreach worker], on Tuesdays they have that group thing, on Wednesdays I go to TE offices, on Thursdays I go to social services and on Fridays I go to Kela.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Example 6 contains the combination of specialized jargon as well as specialized colloquialisms. In other words, the interviewee is listing their activities during the week (concerning social services) which includes työkkäri (‘employment services’), sosku (‘social services’) and Kela (‘Finland’s Social Insurance Institution’). Kela is a well-known social institution in Finland which fits well in the Finnish vernacular as it is already an abbreviation and thus it is rarely modified to become more colloquial. Työkkäri on the other hand is a dated and very ingrained colloquial name for the TE offices as the services were previously known as työvoimatoimisto (“employment offices”). Työkkäri is very common expression in the Finnish spoken language. Conversely, sosku is a term for the social services, at least, I had not heard before. Sosku is a well-established colloquial term for social services or social workers,
however, the Finnish Urban Dictionary (Urbaanisanakirja 2015) reveals that it is a Lahti-based colloquial term for social services.

All these terms pose an issue for the translation because they are all relatively easily accessible for any Finnish person, not to mention a social science researcher or other people who are the target audience for the ST. The translation, however, will be presumably read by a multicultural group of researchers who may or may not be familiar with the Finnish social system, let alone the Finnish language. Since the text describes the Finnish system (combined with the fact that the audience may be non-native English speakers representing a wide range of cultures) it would be unwise to use a corresponding English colloquial term. In other words, sosku could be translated by using the term DSS which is an acronym for the USA’s Department of Social Services, however, using colloquial terms was one possible strategy I considered. In my opinion, the issue is that it is sufficiently problematic to translate references to government services by using their Finnish official names, but it is even more challenging to translate these types of terms in an equally colloquial style that is still universally understandable. The former strategy is problematic because the official translations of these services are often aimed at non-Finnish speaking people residing in Finland and not people outside Finland hence the names are quite official and close to the original name so they may not reveal much about the service to people outside Finland as well as relate a very official tone. The latter, on the other hand, poses difficulties since colloquial terms may not be easily accessed by a multicultural audience.

In this instance, I decided to use specific Finnish institution names (TE offices, Kela) combined with a more general term (social services). I felt confident in not explicitating the terms any further since they were used often in the text and were clear to the reader at that point (or they could find the definitions easily). Still, it is obvious that the ST loses some of its illusion of representing authentic spoken language, however, I tried to replace some of that feeling by adding more indefinite expressions with “that group thing.”
In Example 7, I have placed colloquial aspects in italics and specific expressions in bold.

**Example 7**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ST</th>
<th>TT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vuoteen ei oo, <em>niinku</em>, ikinä herännyt aamul, <strong>huonolla tuulella</strong>. <em>Et</em>, mä oon aina lähtenyt hyvillä filikisillä liikenteeseen. <strong>Tietenkin</strong> toi sairasloma oli vähän <em>raskaampi</em>, kun se osu myöskin <em>siihen kaamosaikaan kaiken lisäksi</em>, mut <em>et</em> kyl siitkin selvis, ei tullut mitään tosi akuuttia ja toisaalta etekkin ymmärs, et tää on <em>ihan ymmärettävää</em>, <em>et työtön</em>, sairaslomalla, pimees ja <em>yksinäinenkin</em>, koska moni oli koulus tai työelämäs kavereist niin kuitenkin ymmärs, et tää on vähän raskaampaa eikä oo vaan, <em>niinku</em>, suupielet ylöspääni.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Like</em>, in a year I've never <em>woken up on the wrong side of the bed</em>. <em>Like</em>, I've always <em>gone out the door feeling good</em>. Obviously being on sick leave was a bit <em>tougher</em>, especially because it was during <em>the winter</em>, but I got through it, I didn't have any acute problems and on the other hand, I got that it is understandable that when you're unemployed, on sick leave, <em>literally</em> in the dark and lonely because a lot of my friends were studying or working, but still I understood that it is a little bit harder now, and I don't have to pretend to be all, <em>like</em>, <em>happy-go-lucky</em>.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Example 7, it is easy to see how the language is neutralized even though there has been an effort to combat this effect. The first section in bold, *huonolla tuulella*, is a common Finnish metaphor (direct translation e.g. “in a bad mood”), which I decided to amplify with an English metaphor “woken up on the wrong side of the bed” in order to use a common translation strategy: addition. In other words, with addition, the translator attempts to add color in other places in the TT to replace ST idioms which have been neutralized elsewhere. Obviously this does not mean that translators should use idioms everywhere they can in order to counteract one or multiple idioms.
that do not have a corresponding idiom. Instead it means that translators should try to emulate the feeling of a text or a passage so that the receiver of the TT and the ST have more or less the same experience of the text and its writer/voice. This means that these individual quotes should be similar in feeling in the SL and the TL. In this instance I locate five idioms or colorful expressions in the ST, most of which have remained at the same level or increased in expressiveness, however, some have decreased. For example, “oon aina lähtenyt hyvillä fiilikisillä liikenteeseen” contains two idioms lähteä liikenteeseen (direct translation e.g. ‘get going’) and hyvillä fiilikisillä (direct translation e.g. ‘with a good feeling’). The former has, in my opinion, remained at a similar level of expressiveness with gone out the door, which gives the reader a similar experience of movement that the ST expresses. However, the latter expression is somewhat flattened due to the fact that the word fiilis is a relatively recent loan word from the English word feeling which is used to express some of the same things (a mental state), however, the Finnish word conveys also a level of colloquialism (in other words, it also conveys the speaker’s social status) as well as more general atmosphere. Thus using the direct translation does express some of the colorfulness than the ST but not all the complexity.

I have also placed in bold the expression raskaampi (direct translation: e.g. ‘heavier’) because that is an illustrative word in Finnish which I have translated as tougher. I could have used the word ‘heavier’ in this instance in order not to lose any color, however, I felt that it may be too ambiguous in English and opted to use ‘tougher’ since it would add clarity to the interviewee’s point. While ‘tougher’ is also an expressive word, I feel that ‘heavier’ and such terms would have conveyed more the crushing or depressing period the interviewee is describing.

In regards to the translation of kaamosaika, (direct translation: ‘polar night(s)’) this is another common Finnish idiom, which is closely connected with the concept of ‘kaamosmasennus,’ (similar to seasonal affective disorder) which the interviewee is alluding in the quote. While the term polar night(s) or other corresponding terms may be familiar to English speaking people living in the Northern hemisphere, these
terms may be too foreign to the larger English speaking (and/or non-native speakers) world. This is why I decided to use a more common word *winter* to replace the idiom. Hence this is an instance where the assumed audience affected the translation process and end-result.

The last idiom in Example 7 is *suupielet ylöspäin* (direct translation: ‘turning the corners of one’s mouth upward’) which is not an idiom, per se, because it is not in common use in this way, but it is still a colorful expression. The closest expression in English would be to turn one’s frown upside-down, however, the context does not allow the use of that idiom. The full context in Finnish explains that because of all of the interviewee’s circumstances it was understandable, and that the person understood it themselves, that the interviewee was enduring a period of trying times and then one does not have to portray happiness. To add clarity, I decided to explicate the notion by adding the verb “to pretend” and with this I wanted to use a more colorful expression than merely smiling or to be happy, so I felt that happy-go-lucky would convey the message even though it may also convey the idea of being carefree but I felt that this notion fit the context well, as well.

Example 8 illustrates one instance in which the TT may be more colorful and colloquial than the ST.
Example 8

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ST</th>
<th>TT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mä oon <em>viihtynyt</em> tosi hyvin, <em>et</em> tehtävät ei oo aina niin mielenkiintosii, mut täällä on aina semmoinen porukkakin joka motivoi noustaa sieltä <em>sängyn pohjalta</em> ylös. Ohjaatkin on tosi mukavii ja hauskoi, niin täällä on niin <em>hyvä fiilis päällä</em> jatkuvasti.</td>
<td>I've <em>felt like home</em> in here, like, the things we do in here aren't always that interesting, but there's always people here who motivate me to <em>get out of bed</em>. And the staff are really nice and funny, so there's always a <em>good vibe</em> in here.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first sentence in Example 8 includes the verb *viihtyä* (direct translation: e.g. ‘enjoy’) which is very common in Finnish and may be used to describe, for example, different spaces and atmospheres, say, a place of employment. On the other hand, *to feel like home* (which, in retrospect, should have been ‘to feel at home’) is a corresponding concept for *viihtyä*, however, it may be a bit stronger expression. Even still, I felt that on the whole, because the interviewee was describing that the reason they visited the services was that they genuinely enjoyed the place and the people, so referring it, in a sense, as a home felt justified.

Conversely, the expression *nousta sängyn pohjalta* (direct translation: ‘get up from the bottom of the bed’) is more colorful than the corresponding concept “get out of bed.” In the last sentence the expression in bold *hyvä fiilis päällä*, (direct translation e.g. ‘actively feeling good’) the problem with the word *fiilis* (‘feeling’) is repeated from Example 7. That is, that *fiilis* in Finnish expresses a more variety of aspects than the original word *feeling*. In this Example, the person refers to the general atmosphere, and not their personal attitude, thus *feeling* would pose a difficult term in this context (a possible translation could be, for example: ‘I always get a good feeling being in here’). Thus I decided to use a more natural-sounding, youthful expression of *a good vibe*. While using these types of expressions may be “risky”
since they may be(come) dated or tie excessively the quotation to a specific place (in this instance, perhaps, the 60s and 70s USA), they are an integral aspect of creating a translation that is somewhat authentic in recreating people’s speech because it is most certainly always something that may be(come) dated or tie the speaker to a specific place, status and time. In this instance, I felt that *vibe* would correspond with the atmospheric well-being that enticed the interviewee to return to the service, and may be more expressive than the original expression *hyvä fiilis*, thus it was able to ameliorate the loss of expressiveness in Example 7 (‘get out of bed’).
4.5 Organization

A typical aspect of spoken language is organization of what is being expressed including hesitation, correction, repetition and searching for words. Tiittula and Nuolijärvi (2013) also include exaggeration with metaphors and other expressions, as well as ambiguous expressions which may be specified if necessary and various hedges, such as joku in Finnish (pp. 64–66) and like in English. I have also included in this category the use of particles as organizational tools, changing the focus of an expression in the TT as well as direct discourse. Example 9 inspects the use of particles, Example 10 explores the general organization of spoken language, and finally Example 11 presents direct discourse in interviews.

Example 9

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ST</th>
<th>TT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aattelin että no, tota ei kiitos, en kyllä ala ilmaseks tekee, ku ei siitä saa kun vaan sen työkkärin saman rahan. Siis sama ku istuis kotona ku tehä töitöä, et siitä pitäis saada sit vähän enemmän sit työttömyyskorvausta jos työskentelis jossakin. […] Työnantajistakin on tullu sellasia, et no otetaas vähän halvemmalla että, sillonkii ku olin [toisessa työpaikassa], nii tein niille suoraan sanoen ilmaseks niit kahdeksan tunnin päiviä sillon kun olin peruskouluissa.</td>
<td>I thought to myself “no thank you” I don't intend to work for free, because they only pay as much as the unemployment benefit. So it's the same to sit at home than it is to work. You should at least get an increase to your unemployment benefit if you worked somewhere. […] And now employers' attitudes are just that “let's get someone cheap,” like for example when I was in lower secondary school I worked eight-hour days for [another employer] for free, to be honest.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As discussed in context with multiple Examples, particles are an integral part of (Finnish) spoken language, and in Example 9 we can see many particles used in organizing one’s thoughts or modifying their speech such as no, tota, kyllä, and siis which are used in many instances together and with other particles to form particle chains. According to VISK (2004: § 1609) kyllä particle may be used in various roles in conversations, for example to indicate agreement to another speaker’s comment, or to lessen the effect of a negative claim, depending on the positioning of the particle. In this instance it is used to modify and soften the negative clause “en kyllä ala ilmaseks tekee.” Perhaps sure in English would be used in similar role (“I sure don’t intend to work for free”), however, I decided not to employ that much colloquialism in the TT, because I was not confident in the possible connotations of sure and how it would affect the way the reader saw the speaker. Thus I decided to err in the side of caution and the TT became more neutralized.

Metatextual expressions such as suoraan sanottuna communicate the way the statement is expressed (VISK 2004: § 1000), however, in this instance it may be used also as an intensifier emphasizing the information of ilmaiseksi (“for free”) and a speech organizer.

The last sentence describes the interviewee’s experiences with employees. In the translation I have decided to change the focus of the sentence in order to add clarity, however, the transformation in the tone is undeniable. In the ST, the focus is on the timeframe and place (the employee and the interviewee’s age-group) but the TT emphasizes the person’s feeling of being cheated, in a sense (working long hours for free). This organization of the focus is partly due to Finnish syntax, which is not as strict as in English, and partly due to the nature of spoken language where information is structured simultaneously as it is expressed. Thus one may add information as it occurs to them, and in this instance the focus has been to express cases of abuse in the part of employers and the added information of when this occurred has been a side-note providing additional information on the issue. I have chosen this strategy of changing the focus due to the whole quote’s theme. The quote
begins with the interviewee stating that they are not willing to work for free. The final sentence would, in my opinion, have been more opaque if the changes to the order had not been made (“… like for example when I worked for [another employee], I worked for free, to be honest, eight hours per day when I was in lower secondary school.”). The TT (“…when I was in lower secondary school I worked eight-hour days for [another employer] for free, to be honest.”) emphasizes that the person was young and was paid too little for their work, so while the emphasis may be different than the one in the ST, it conveys the message well.

This also includes the simple expression “peruskoulu” which for most Finnish people will automatically conjure images of a person under 18, and perhaps between the ages of 13 and 16, but because there is an official translation, or at least a term used in official contexts, one is wise to use a single term consistently throughout the text. This may prove to be challenging considering that the audience may not be as familiar with the term, because the target audience is not as homological as the source audience.

I have underlined examples of direct discussion, which I inspect further below in Example 11. Example 10 explores the organization of thoughts in spoken language.
In Example 10, adding clarity as well as a misunderstanding resulted in a slightly altered TT from the ST. The context for this quote was to highlight the things that young people considered to be simple to use in the services. The quote is preceded with the paragraph:

This group had hardly any difficulties accessing the services they required. At the beginning, some may have experienced difficulties filling out forms correctly, however, the repetitive nature of forms had created a sense of routine and trust that working with other offices would not pose difficulties if they followed their instructions.
This leads to the conclusion that an opaque expression [ä]luks ne oli (direct translation: ‘at first they were’) refers to forms and perhaps that they were considered to be difficult to fill out, but I have misunderstood the subject ne (‘they’) to refer to office workers. In this instance, a suggestion for the clarification of the opaqueness in the transcription (at any stage, possibly in choosing the quote) perhaps would have lessened the possibility of misunderstandings for the audience. This opaque expression possesses many interpretations: the clause could possibly conclude with an adjective referring to the subject (e.g. “at first they were hard/easy/friendly”), however, the subject ne (or they) may refer in Finnish to inanimate or living things, people, animals or things. Thus there has been a misunderstanding, however, since the TT has been altered so much, the most important informational content (that the forms were problematic at first but became easier with time) is related.

The interviewee also exhibits many traits of spoken language: the person corrects themselves, or rather adds information and “corrects the course” of their explanation. For example, the first sentence could be divided into five sections each with a different function. I have illustrated this division below underlining different sections and numbering and assigning them different colors for clarity.

(1) Aluks ne oli, koska (2) ei tiennyt yhtään, että mitä pitä täyttää ja kun (3) ei ollut ketään silloin, muuta ku sit (4) et sun pitä soitella tunnin välein aina [TE-toimistoon], et niin, (5) miten tääll täytetään, mitä tähän pitää nyt laittaa, pitääks tähän nyt laittaa jotain?

(1) illustrated in pink is perhaps the answer to the initial question (it would be reasonable to suggest that the interviewer has asked: “Did you find the forms difficult to fill out?”) where the person has omitted the specifics of the subject and its descriptive adjective, because they have been included in the dialogue, that is, they have appeared in the interviewer’s question or previously in the speaker’s comments. Section (2) marked in blue is either an independent explanation for the initial answer or a direct answer to a follow-up question (e.g. “Did you find forms difficult to fill out – and if so, why?”). This is a straight-forward expression of cause-and-effect, that is: the person experienced difficulties at first because they had no idea about what [forms] to fill out. Section (3) in green is another subordinate clause to (1) as
well a coordinate clause to (2) in blue. The interviewee adds explanation to the initial claim by stating that they were alone at the time. This is also a typical aspect of spoken language: vagueness. The subject of being isolated may have come up at other points in the interview, so the interviewee does not feel the need to repeat previously broached subjects. It is, however, as likely that it is just an off-the-cuff addition that the person does not consider to be vague because they obviously know the context or they do not consider it to be relevant or important enough to warrant an explanation. Thus (3), the green addition of information, relays that the person was alone at the time, but it is left unspoken if this loneliness was physical or emotional or referred to professional or personal connections. That is, if the interviewee had no friends to consult on the matter or just a case worker who could have helped them. The penultimate section (4) in orange, in turn, describes the practical aspects of their answer. That is, 1) they had experienced difficulties with the forms initially, which was because 2) they did not know what [forms] to fill out and because 3) they were alone with the issue at the time 4) the person was forced to reach out to the TE offices by phone every hour. (5), the final clause in purple, is the practical example of the (potential) questions the interviewee posed to the TE workers, thus a common theme showed throughout these Examples – role play or indirect quotes as an aspect of spoken language. Noteworthy in this sentence is that I have chosen to leave the connecting conjunctives black, because while they are noteworthy in general as a part of speech patterns and spoken language, in this instance they do signify every clause’s relation to the previous one, however, they do not automatically explain their role. In other words, while one can recognize the type of clause from the type of conjunctive used, in spoken language, more variation occurs, as I have demonstrated in Examples 3 and 5.

The TT of the first sentence has been explicated and clarified. Some of the opaque expressions have been omitted (such as “aluks ne oli”) or reformulated (such as “koska Ø ei tiennyt yhtään” into “because I didn't know anything”), however, I have retained some of the vagueness (such as “when there wasn't anyone there”) and the sentence as a whole in order to preserve some feel of spoken language.
4.5.1 Direct discourse

As can be observed from the Examples presented in this study, direct discourse was a notable part of the interview data. Example 11 delves deeper into this aspect of spoken language.

**Example 11**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ST</th>
<th>TT</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Siis</em> työt vaan kuuluu <em>siihen</em> arkea. <em>Nii</em> mun mielest tuntuu, et mejän arki on vähän vihlin, vajaa. [...] <em>Kun</em> mä olin sen kuus viikkoo töissä, <em>siis</em> mä ihan nautin siitä, mä <em>olin siis ihan et, jes et mä</em> pääsen töihin maanantaina, mä <em>olin ihan et jeejeejee mä pääsen töihin ja muut on siel ihan et ”ei, maanantai”.</em></td>
<td>*I mean, working simply is a big part of everyday life. So <em>I just</em> feel that there's something fundamentally wrong, or missing from our everyday lives. [...] When I worked for six weeks <em>back then</em> I, *like, actually enjoyed it, <em>I was just like, “yes!” I get to work on Monday. I was just like “wohoo!” I get to go to work and other people in my workplace were just like “ugh, Monday.” Like, you can see it when you're unemployed for a long time that you start appreciating those little things.</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Example 11, I have placed italics on spoken aspects of the quote, however, the examples in bold are particularly interesting. These parts in bold contain the interviewee describing their experiences of working and their interaction with co-workers on Mondays. The interviewee describes their own and their co-workers’ feelings on their working experiences on Mondays using colloquial version of direct discourse. VISK (2004: § 1487) notes that in these cases *olla* could be considered an adverbial since it is used to describe the quoted person’s emotions and attitude. I decided to use a similar expression to “olla ihan et [...]”, that is, “be [just] like [...]”. It is possible that using *just* in the TT is due to interference, that is the influence of
the ST in the TT, and a direct translation of ihan. However, I do think that because the person is not expressing an actual dialogue where merely “be like […]” representation would perhaps sound more natural, the use of just expresses more intently the person conveying that these were their and their (perception of their) co-workers’ feelings at the time.

In this instance, quotation marks are not used consistently in the ST for an undetermined reason (it may be merely the interpretation of the transcriber that the first two instances represent direct discourse and the third a direct quote), however, I have made the decision to standardize the representation of these representations of direct discourse. One thing I perhaps would like to do differently now is to extend the first quotation marks to include the clause “I get to work on Monday” and the second ones to include “I get to go to work” because these are obviously a part of the interviewee’s inner dialogue, as well.

Additionally, the last word in italics is marked as interesting aspect of spoken language because it represents a typical aspect of Finnish spoken language: omitting different aspects, even a substantive if it can be deduced from the context. In this instance, the interviewee firstly uses siihen arkeen (‘that everyday life’) instead of clearly expressing that they are referring to their own everyday life. I have retained this type of vagueness in this instance in the TT (“big part of everyday life”). Later the person expresses that they enjoy little things, even though the actual object substantive “things” (“jutuista,” for example) is absent. In English, it is more difficult to omit such things, at least in written language since the reader cannot ask for a clarification if they fail to comprehend the writer unlike in a regular dialogue situation. Due to these reasons I have decided to explicate the expression.
5 Conclusions and discussion

In reviewing the literature, it became evident that little attention had been paid to translating interviews in the context of academic texts. Prior studies on similar subjects as well as theories surrounding this phenomenon, such as the law of growing standardization and representation of spoken language, however, suggested that TTs may become more neutralized in style.

While separate translation strategies must be employed for the quotes within academic texts and the rest of the text, they are inherently linked and translators must deal with the translation as a single, unified whole. One apt comparison is a book containing illustrations with captions. It would be illogical for two different people to translate the text and captions because they probably deal with the same subject, terminology and characters. So while the two may require stylistically different strategies, they must not be seen as two distinct entities but instead as two sides of the same coin.

My method in the translation analyzed in this thesis corresponds mostly with communicative translation strategy, and furthermore the skopos theory. As the text type of the ST as well as the TT is an informative text, my priority as a translator was to transfer the informative content of the text to a multicultural audience, but simultaneously to preserve the spoken feel of the interview material without confusing the reader.

The analysis supported my hypothesis that in the case of interview quotes within academic texts, the (spoken) language becomes more neutralized due to Toury’s (2012) law of standardization as well as the effect of skopos theory. Because the TT audience is different than the ST’s, in that it consists most likely of non-native Finnish people or people from entirely different cultural backgrounds who probably are not familiar with the Finnish social security system, the TT’s function is changed. The translator must act in accordance with these altered circumstances, and use, for instance, more explicitation in the TT.
The analysis also clarified that there is no one specific type of translation that could or even should be made when translating interview quotes. The TT always is conditional to the skopos, what aspects of the ST the translator wishes to emphasize as well as the translation strategies used in order to achieve these goals. In this instance, the skopos was to express the informative content of the ST to a multicultural audience who may be experts on the subject and its relevant special language, however, not necessarily on the particularities of the cultural context (i.e. the Finnish social system and Finnish spoken language). On the other hand, when translating interview material, that is, spoken language in a written form, one must also decide how much of this representation of spoken language one attempts to retain. For this translation, the importance of spoken language was communicated to me in the commission, so it was imperative to balance the feel of spoken language and conveying the informational content of the quote.

The analysis showed that often this balancing act required compromising one aspect in favor of the other. For example, if the feel of spoken language was emphasized, the text was often more opaque and contained less explicitation (see Example 10). On the other hand, if the informational aspect took precedent, the language often became more formal and different cause-and-effect relationships were created with the use of a variety of particles (see Example 5). One unanticipated finding was that in some instances the TT may become more colorful and contain more idioms than the ST (see Example 8), however, this phenomenon represented the minority of the material analyzed.

These data must be interpreted with caution because, as stated above, they may not represent a universal style or strategy for translating interview quotes in an academic context, but instead a single translator's method and style. As I stated in Introduction, the benefits of conducting a retrospective translation analysis on a translator's own translation include the individual level and the universal level. While one may not make sweeping generalizations on the universal level about the results of the analysis, one can assume that this technique allowed me to become more aware of
my own strategies and potential mannerisms and how I may improve my abilities professionally. In other words, I have been made aware of the potential neutralization of the TT, thus I will be more aware of this in potential commissions in the future and act accordingly. Additionally, in analyzing the material, I could see more clearly alternative translation strategies to the ones I employed and may be able to use them in the future.

While every translator creates a different type of translation, and all of these voices have certain validity, it could be suggested that translators of interview quotes in an academic setting should be aware of the skopos of the text (especially the potential audience) as well as the neutralization of spoken language. And while it would require more long-form studies, translators may be able to become (with the aid of these senior experts, i.e. their clients as well as research) experts on a specific (or multiple) field(s) special language, because they are able to translate the text adequately to a new audience.

The translation of interview material in academic texts does indeed provide a fertile ground for study as it includes aspects of code switching, sociolinguistics and skopos theory, to name a few theories. Research questions that could be asked include the one mentioned above: can translators become equivalent to experts in a specialized language and if, what would that process involve? On the other hand, reception studies on translated academic texts present an interesting research topic, as well, as these types of studies could map how multicultural expert audiences receive academic texts from their own field and to what type of things they pay attention? These types of questions could assist translators at their job (as well as translation studies) since they could be made aware of aspects that are especially important to the reader, how their understanding is formed and what directs their attention. Additionally, as was noted, the present study represented translation into a non-native language. As this is a relatively common practice, especially in Finland, it would be prudent to study the transformation a TT undergoes after this type of revision.
While this sample size does not allow general guidelines to be drawn for translating interviews in an academic context, I do feel confident that some suggestions may be made. Namely, that when translating interview material, one must consider:

1. The target audience and their assumed level of knowledge on the TL and the possible LSP.
2. The purpose of the quotes in the ST and TT (i.e. what type of research is conducted).
3. The skopos of the TT on the basis of the first two criteria.
4. The most relevant informational content and how to relay it.
5. How much one wishes to retain the feeling of spoken language.

These criteria may be in a different hierarchical order for another translator, however, I do agree with Reiss and Vermeer (1986) in suggesting that skopos is the most relevant determining factor from which the methods and strategies the translator chooses to utilize flow. As could be observed from the analysis, these factors are fluid and especially the balance of representation of spoken language and informational content are often in opposition of each other, thus the translator must make constant decisions on individual cases to determine which one takes precedent.
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Appendix 1 – Interview structure: employees

Background information

- name, position and employer
- education, time in the field, earlier working experience with young people

Client relationships, practical aspect

- Describe a typical interaction with a client. What occurs? How do you proceed?
- What constitutes a successful/unsuccessful client appointment?
- What are reasons for 18–29-year-old young adults to become clients with you?
- What is the typical length for client relationships?
- Do you know what other services with which your clients may also work?
- Are there services aimed for young adults / are there communication methods aimed for young people
  - low-threshold services / one-stop model
- At the moment, there is discussion over multi-professional group work, is multi-professionalism reflected in your work?
- Are young people a distinct client group? Do they have specialised needs?
- What is the procedure when young people become clients? How do they contact you? (Via telephone / online / visit the office)
- How simple is it to use your services?
- Applications: are they completed online/in paper/at home/in the office, are young people able to complete them independently?
- Have you observed situations in which young people require support that you are unable to provide? Where have you steered them?
• Do “difficult” clients exist? How would you describe them?

• And ideal clients?

• Do young people often miss appointments? What is the procedure in these situations?

• How do you see the best method to measure the impact of support you have provided young people? Describe successes and examples of progress?

• Follow-up with young people?

Possibilities of young people for influence

• What is the extent young people are able to influence the services they receive or how they use the services?

• What could hearing the voice of young people entail?

• Some sectors have discussed the use of experts by experience – could they be applicable in your service and how?

• Do your services meet the needs of young people? What do you think must change in order for young people to receive suitable services?

Youth exclusion

• What are your thoughts on the debate on youth exclusion? How has the public debate impacted your work?

• How is social empowerment mentioned in the Youth Act visible in your work? How do you interpret procedures stated in the act?

  ◦ The purpose of Youth Act is to (1§) “support young people's growth and independence, to promote young people's active citizenship and empowerment and to improve young people's growth and living conditions.” Social empowerment refers to (2§) “measures targeted at young people and geared to improve life management skills and to prevent exclusion.” (Youth Act 2006.)
Appendix 2 – Interview structure: young people

Background information

• Name, age, place of residence

• Describe your family? / With whom do you live?

• What is the occupation of your parents and siblings? What is their education? How would you describe your relationship with your parents and your siblings?

• Are you comfortable financially or do you experience periods of financial instability?

Life history

• Describe your life in your own words. (Childhood, primary education, lower secondary education, family, friends, housing, school, leisure-time, substance use, mental state)

• Significant changes in your life? Have you experienced some changes or made choices that have transformed your life?

Experiences as a client and service paths

• How did you become client in this service? Who steered you here?

• How do you describe your client experience?

• Do you feel like people listen to you, that you can influence things?

• Have you been steered elsewhere? Where?

• Have you been requested to submit feedback on the services?

• What information on you do the employees possess?

• Do you have friends in similar situation as you? Can you obtain “unofficial” information on how to communicate with authorities?
• Do you have a person from whom you can ask help with appointments/life?
• What services would you like to have? What would help you?
• What things are positive and negative in your life? Are employees able to see your situation?
• Describe a situation in which things are well? Describe good life.
• Have you been or are you currently a client in another service? (school counsellor, child protective services, youth psychiatric care)
• Have you navigated between different projects and services?
• Who/what institutions have helped you? Describe any intervention you have experienced.
• What type of help you or your childhood family would have required?
• Describe your dreams for the future. What are things you are interested in?
• Describe your hobbies.

Views on:

• Public debate on youth exclusion
• Expertise by experience as a concept
• Low-threshold services, one-stop services
7 Suomenkielinen lyhennelmä

1 Johdanto

Englannin asema akateemisen kielen lingua francana on kiistämätön. Pienet kieliluette jäävät usein huomioitta akateemisessa maailmassa, ja jos haluaa edistyä tutkijan uralla on kirjoittava julkaisut englanniksi tai käännätettävä ne. Tämä luo kiistämättömän tarpeen kääntäjille, sillä kaikki tutkijat eivät omia tarvittavaa kielitäitoa (tai aikaa) kirjoittaakseen luontevasti ja uskottavasti englanninkielisiä tutkielmia.


Vaikka tutkimusaineistonani toimiiin oma käännöksenä, tämä ei ole perinteinen käännösgradu vaan sen sijaan pikemmin retrospektiivinen käännösanalyysi. Käännösgradu tarkoittaa gradua, jonka prosessin aikana on tehty aito toimeksianto, jota kehystävät valmiissa gradussa teoriaosi ja analyysi. Tämänkaltaisessa tutkimuksessa saadaan hienosti selville muu muassa kääntäjän prosessia, valintoja ja ehkäpä kuvaa aidosta toimeksiannosta, mutta näissä harvemmin päästään yksittäistapauksista laajempiin teemoihin. Reflektiivisessa käännösanalyysissä puolestaan analyysi tapahtuu jo-valmistuneen käännöksen pohjalta, ja käsittelään käännösprosessin lisäksi käännöksen aikana esiinnousete teemoja. Toki
molemmissa analyysityyleissä voidaan tutkia samanlaisia aiheita, mutta jokseenkin vakiintuneiden standardien perusteella oma työni istuu ennemmin retrospektiivisen käännösanalyysin kategoriaan jo sillä perusteella, että se on tehty suurimmaksi osin graduprosessin ulkopuolella, eikä se sisällä koko käännöstäni vaan ainoastaan yhden osa-alueen: haastattelusitaatteja.


Akateemisessa maailmassa julkaiseminen on tärkeää. Yleinen motto onkin “publish or perish” eli julkaise tai jää unholaan. Nykypäivänä julkaisemisella tarkoitetaan myös kansainvälistä julkaisutoimintaa, jonka merkitys kasvaa jatkuvasti. Kääntöön julkaisemisen tarkoittaa englanniksi julkaisemista. Varsinkin pienillä kielialueilla, kuten Suomessa, englanniksi julkaiseminen on
ensiarvoisen tärkeää kansainvälinen yhteistyön mahdollistamisen, akkreditoitumisen ja täten uralla etenemisen vuoksi. Monet suomalaiset tutkijat kääntävät tai kirjoittavat artikkelinsa suoraan englanniksi, mutta tieteellisten tutkimusten kääntämiselle on kysyntää, sillä esimerkiksi Tommi Hoikkala, Nuorisotutkimusseuran päätutkija mainitsee: “If one wants to provide research information for policy making in Finland, then it must be done in Finnish. Since the beginning, funding for the FYRN has been provided with an explicit condition that Finnish language is used.” (Hoikkala & Karjalainen 2016: 18) Toisin sanoen, politiikassa on tärkeää tuottaa tiedettä suomeksi, jotta sillä on merkitystä ja se kuullaan. Lisäksi poliittisesti on tärkeää korostaa kansalliskielten asemaa, joten on luontevaa, että oman kiel(i)en asemaa korostetaan.

Pienen kielen kohdalla on myös tärkeää huomioida B-kieleen kääntäminen. Käännöstieteessä ja erinäisissä ohjeistuksissa suositellaan yleensä että kääntäminen tapahtuisi äidinkieleenpäin, mutta varsinkin pienten kielialueiden kohdalla tämä on ongelmallista, joten on syytä tutkailta millaisissa tapauksissa on kannattavaa kääntää B-kieleen.

Tutkimukseni tavoite on esittää puhuttua kieltä haastattelusitaateissa ja kuinka näitä piirteitä voidaan kääntää. Hypoteesini on, että akateemisessa tekstissä esiintyvien haastattelusitaattien kieli neutralisoituu skopos-teorian ja standardinmukaistumisen vuoksi. Tämän lisäksi oletan, että puhekieliset piirteet vähenevät kohdetekstissä.

2 Materiaali ja metodi

Tutkin gradussani käännöstäni “Nuoret luukulla” -julkaisun tiivistelmästä. “Nuoret luukulla – Kolme näkökulmaa syrjäytymiseen ja nuorten aseman palvelujärjestelmässä” (2015) perustuu Salla Ikäheimon, Sanna Aaltosen (päätutkija) and Päivi Bergin johtamaan projektiin nimeltä “Nuoret ja palvelujärjestelmä”.

Käänsin tiivistelmän syksyn 2015 aikana, joten se on suoritettu graduprosessin kanssa osin samanaikaisesti, mutta valitsin tutkailemani esimerkit vasta käännöksen valmistuttua ja käännösprosessin lopputua, sillä näin pystyn saamaan kokonaiskuvan mahdollisista tutkimuskohteista, toisin sanoen mielenkiintoisista käännösongelmista tai muista käännösprosessiin liittyvistä aiheista, jotka nousevat esiin työskennellessä.

Materiaalikseni valikoitui tutkimuksen haastatteluosiot, sillä ensinnäkin haastattelusitaatit muodostivat niin suuren osan tätä tutkimusta, ja tämän yksittäistapauksen lisäksi koko tutkimusperimettä, mutta niitä on tutkittu niukalti. Toiseksi, olen kiinnostunut akateemisesta kielestä ja kielen vaihtelusta eri yhteisöissä ja konteksteissa, ja haastattelusitaatit akateemisessa tutkimuksessa sisältävät vähintään kaksi eri rekisteriä ja yhteisöä, joiden kääntäminen tuo esille lisäksi kahden kielen erot.

Analysoin ainoastaan haastattelusitaatteja, joita oli yli sata koko tutkielmassa ja rajasin tutkimuksen ulkopuolelle tekstiin upotetut sitaatit, jotka olivat usein vain yksittäisiä sanoja. Nämä itsenäiset haastattelusitaatit tarjosivat paljoudessaan hedelmällisen tutkimusmateriaalin, josta valikoin analyysiini edustavimmat esimerkit. Tällä tarkoitan sitaatteja, jotka joko edustavat sitaatteissa yleisesti esiintyneitä ilmiöitä tai jotakin erikoista ilmiötä, joka nousi esiin käännösprosessin aikana.

Graduni ei kuitenkaan ole tyypillinen “käännösgradu”, joka koostuu itse käännöksestä, kommenttiosioista ja käännöksen liittyvän alan kuvauksesta (Vehmas-


3 Teoria


Tieteelliset tekstit ovat yksi erikoiskieli, ja tämä kategoria pitää sisällään paljon alalajeja, sillä jokainen tieteenala omaa omat konventionsa ja kielensä. Tutkijat muodostavat erikoiskielensä asiantuntijajoukon. Usein tämä kieli voi olla kohtuullisen kansainvälistä (oikeammin, asiantuntijat tuntevat mahdollisen A-kielensä lisäksi englanninkielisen version hallitsemastaan erikoiskielestä), ja asiantuntijat hallitsevat sen käsitteet perinpohjin. Tästä huolimatta asiantuntijan hallitseman kielen kirjoittaminen englanniksi voi tuottaa hankaluksia, sillä usein he hallitsevat juurikin käsitteet ja normit, mutta yleiskielen hallinta voi olla heikkoa. Ehdotankin, että kääntäjä voisi nousta erikoiskielen asiantuntijaksi, sillä hänellä on usein yleiskielen hallinta erinomaista ja tämän lisäksi tiedonhakutaidoilla ja asiantuntijoiden (mahdollisesti ovat myös toimeksiantajia) avulla kääntäjä voi nousta tietyn (tai tiettyjen) erikoiskielten asiantuntijaksi.


VISK (2004: Johdanto: Kielioppi ja normatiivisuus) toteaa, että ei ole olemassa yhtä yhtenäistä puhuttua kieltä, sillä se vaihtelee maantieteellisesti sekä sosiaalisesti.
Puhutun ja kirjoitetun kielen kvalitatiiviset erot juontavat myös dialogisuudesta sekä aika- ja tilannesidonnaisuudesta, kun ihmiset vaihtavat ajatuksia ja tuntemuksia hetkessä ja tarvetta sekä tulla ymmärretyksi että osoittaa ymmärtämistä. (VISK 2004: Johdanto: Puhutun kielen rakenteita.)


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4 Analyysi


Esimerkki lauserakenteeseen liittyen kuvasi konjunktioiden tai partikkeleiden käyttöä pitkiin virkeiden muodostamiseksi puhutussa kielellä. Tässä tapauksessa käännytäkseni käännytysstrategan ekspliikointia ja standardinmukaistumisointia, sillä koheesiota luotiin käyttämällä suurempaa valikkoa partikkeleita linkittämään lausumia.

Viimeiset esimerkit käsittelivät sanoman muotoilua ja suoraa kerrontaa. Sanoman muotoiluun liittyvät ilmiöt, kuten “keskeneräiset” lausumat ja ikään kuin “kurssin korjaus” kesken virkkeen, käännettiin eksplisitoivasti ja poistoja esiintyi. Suora kerronta oli analysoitavassa materiaalissa runsaasti esiintynyttä ilmiöä, joka käännettiin yleisesti samantyyppisellä ilmaisulla (*be like...*).

5 **Lopuksi**

Analyysini perusteella hypoteesini piti paikkansa, ja haastattelusitaattien kieli todellakin neutralisoitui skopos-teorian ja standardinmukaistumisen vuoksi. Analyysi kuitenkin myös osoitti, ettei ole olemassa yhtä tiettyä tapaa, jolla haastattelusitaatit pitäisi tai edes voisi kääntää. Kaikki kääntäjät ovat erilaisia ja heillä on omat prioriteettinsa: joko toimeksiantajan märittelemän tai oman arvostelukyvyn muokkaaminen. Tästä huolimatta voidaan todeta, että haastattelusitaatien kääntämisessä prioriteetista kilpailevat eniten puhekielisyyden vaaliminen ja informaatiosisällön välittäminen

Analyysi vahvisti olettaman, että puhekielisyyden ja sisällön tasapainoilussa aina jompi kumpi nousi pinnalle toisen kustannuksella. Toisin sanoen, jos puhekielisyyttä korostettiin, TT:tä tuli usein verhotumpi ja se sisälsi vähemmän eksplikointia. Toisaalta, jos informaatiosisältöä korostettiin, kielestä muokkautui usein
virallisempaa ja syy-seuraussuhteita luotiin käyttämällä suurempaa valikoimaa
partikkeleita.

Tutkimuksessani nousi esiin useita mahdollisia tulevia tutkimuskysymyksiä, kuten
kääntäjien mahdollisuuksista nousta tietyn erikoiskielen (tai usean)
asiantuntijatasolle ja natiivipuhujien käyttämisestä B-kieleen käännetyissä töissä.
Jälkimmäisessä yksi mielenkiintoinen tutkimuskohde olisi tarkastella miten käännös
muuttuu natiivipuhujan tarkastuksen kautta.

Vaikka näin pienen otannan perusteella on vaikea vetää kaiken kattavia yleistyksiä,
ehdottaisin, että haastattelusitaattien kääntämisessä tulisi ottaa huomioon 1)
kohdeyleisö ja heidän oletettu tietosuo aiheesta ja/tai olennaisesta erikoiskielestä, 2)
haastattelusitaattien käyttötarkoitus (eli tutkimuksen ala), 3) käännöksen skopos
kahteen ensimmäiseen kriteeriin perustuen, 4) haastattelusitaattien olennaisin
informaatiosisältö ja 5) kuinka paljon puheenomaisuutta halutaan säilyttää
käännöksessä. Näiden kriteerien hierarkia voi vaihdella kääntäjästä ja
toimeksiannosta riippuen, mutta Reissiä ja Vermeeriä (1986) mukaillen ehdottaisin
skopoksen määrittelyä kriteerien lähtökohdaksi. Tästä huolimatta haastattelusitaatteja
kääntäessä kääntäjän tulee tehdä jatkuvästä päätöksiä siitä kumpaa painottaa:
puheenomaisuutta vai informaation yksiselitteistä välittymistä, sillä usein nämä arvot
ovat toistensa vastakohtia.