The Duet between the Author and the Translator: 
An Analysis of Style through Shifts 
in Literary Translation

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Abbreviations

- BT = back-translation
- CL = clause
- MC = main clause
- NFP = non-finite phrase
- NP = noun phrase
- P = phrase
- S = sentence
- SC = subordinate clause
- ST = source text
- SV = subject–verb
- SVO = subject–verb–object
- TT = target text
- W = word
Preface and acknowledgements

A career in translation is an adventure into a never-ending flow of new material, new insights into life and human activity, and most of all, new problems. During the more than thirty years of my career I have translated well over a hundred books, most of them novels, some poetry and drama, and large amounts of non-fiction on subjects ranging from government and politics to financial documents, advertising, education... anything a professional translator may come across. While doing this, I have taught literary translation at the Universities of Turku and Helsinki, and my seminar groups at the University of Turku have turned out a dozen or so published translations of novels. All this time I have dreamt of an opportunity to do research in translation. This dream is coming true now.

I have arrived at the theme of this study through my work as a translator and particularly through the process of teaching and reading my students' literary translations, commenting on them and discussing their translations with them. This work has shown that, apart from the differences caused by dissimilarities between language systems, translators are personalities and have different tendencies in solving problematic issues relating to the process of translating. It is these tendencies that originally caught my interest and gradually developed into the subject of this study. In spite of the large amount of non-fiction I have translated, literary translation has always held a special fascination for me and will therefore be the focus of this work.

I would like to express my gratitude to my supervisor and mentor, Dr. Ritva Leppihalme, who has not only given me invaluable advice but also lent me her unwavering support and urged me to continue in my efforts regardless of the distractions of working life; she has been a true source of inspiration for me. I have also been greatly encouraged by the support and constructive criticism provided by the members of the MonAKO research seminar of the University of Helsinki, specifically its leaders, Professors Andrew Chesterman and Outi Paloposki, who have always been ready to help with their advice and share their extensive experience. And last of all I would like to thank my family for their generous support and encouragement.
1. Introduction

1.1 Preliminary considerations

In view of the crucial role translation plays in all international communication it is surprising how seldom the role of the translator is discussed or even mentioned. Texts travel between countries, mysteriously appearing in different languages in different geographical locations. This is particularly true of non-fiction texts, but even works of fiction are often described as simply 'coming out' in a target language as if there were no active agent to bring about this linguistic change.

It was not until translation studies emerged as a discipline in the latter half of the twentieth century that the role of the translator came under some degree of systematic scrutiny. In her work on allusions in literary translation, Leppihalme (1997: 18-20) describes various views regarding this role: the translator may be regarded as anything from a mere transcoder to a highly competent and responsible professional who acts as a mediator between different cognitive environments and is capable of making choices and decisions concerning the translation. The degree to which choices can and need to be made by the translator depends on various factors: the languages involved, the type of text involved, the surrounding social and cultural context and the particular conditions under which the translation is produced. With regard to literary translation, I would like to underline translators as active agents and to join with Bosseaux (2001: 72) in underpinning their creative role.

In literary translation, the translator's role has recently been dealt with using such concepts as the translator's voice (Hermans 1996), the translator's thumbprint (Baker 2000), and the translator's presence (Bosseaux 2001: 61). All these metaphors reflect the underlying idea that translators contribute something of their own to the translation, something that is not present in the source text, an imprint of their own personality. On the other hand, such concepts as the translator's invisibility (Venuti 1995) or the idea of the translator as a reconstructor of an
implied author (Schiavi 1996: 17) lay stress on the view that the translator is merely a medium that reproduces the source text without making the reader aware of his/her existence. In these studies, the translator's voice, thumbprint, visibility or presence is linked with the choice that the translator exercises in making decisions in the process of translating a text. The extent to which translators exercise choice in the translation process and make decisions concerning their translations is often referred to as the translator's agency (or the translator's role). Recurring patterns of such choices and decisions result in consistent use of certain strategies characteristic of an individual translator (Baker 2000: 245). A contrary opinion to Baker's is presented by Inghillieri (2005:134-135), who maintains that the translator cannot have an independent stylistic voice, since a translator always “speaks for” the source writer. It is the aspect of the (in)visibility of the translator's personal imprint in a translated work of fiction that will be the focus of this study, which is thus an attempt to show that the translator does indeed leave a personal imprint on a translation. Furthermore, I will try to identify the nature of this imprint.

As long as we accept that there is such a thing as the role of a translator, we inherently also accept that something happens in the translation process that causes the translation to be in some respect different from the source text. First of all, the translator writes in a language that is more or less different from the source language. Since no two languages are identical, we are inclined to admit that there will always be some distance between the original literary work and its interpretation into another language. This distance can be characterized from various perspectives: that of the source text and culture, that of the target text and culture and that of the individual translator. This study will approach the translator's role, or agency, in moulding this distance from the perspective of two central concepts in all translation and teaching of translation: style and shifts (changes that take place in the course of the translation process). These concepts will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 2.

In examining their wider context of translation, focus may be directed at a variety of situational factors affecting the translation process, such as the translation brief, existing norms and conventions, the translator's financial circumstances or a general economic situation that may either favour translation from foreign languages or put constraints on it. These circumstances may be described in terms of first-order production teams involving not only the author and the translator but various other actors such as the publisher and the publisher's editors, or much more comprehensive second-order networks comprising all those affected by a published literary translation, readers included (Jones 2009: 155). Translation study may also focus on factors of professional methodology involved in the translation process, such as use of dictionaries, vocabularies and translation memories and programs. Since translations deal with at least two different cultures involving a wide variety of extratextual factors ranging from social background and contemporary cultural climate to...
individual characteristics of the authors and translators concerned and their environments, translation studies offers a fruitful platform for inter- and multidisciplinary approaches.

Even where translation studies focus specifically on analysing translations of literary texts and, still more specifically, on their formal textual characteristics, they incorporate elements from at least stylistics, literary research and linguistics. A variety of other, interrelated areas of study, such as discourse analysis and cognition studies, offer still further research angles for analysis. Because of the multidisciplinary nature of translation studies, a plethora of various methodological approaches from a wide range of disciplines are applicable to translation. In terms of methodology, this particular study makes use of the comparative method in collecting the research data, which consists of formal linguistic features of literary texts, and principles of grounded theory and cluster analysis in processing the data. Some narratological concepts will then be applied to facilitate macrolevel stylistic analysis on the basis of the quantitative linguistic data collected at the initial stage.

1.2 Research questions

The four research questions posed in this study focus on three aspects of research dealing with a literary translator's agency/role: (1) identification of various formal shifts (changes) that translators have made at the linguistic level during the translation process, specifically where there have been alternative solutions available to the translator in the choice of shift; (2) identification of differences between individual translators in relation to such choices and characterization of individual translators in terms of recurring translatorial choices as indicators of translation style; and (3) the implications of such recurring translatorial choices at the level of an entire work of art, for instance a novel, with reference to its stylistic constitution.

The above considerations and my own experience of the role of the translator in the practical work of translation and teaching translation led to the formulation of the following research questions with the purpose of studying individual translators' personal propensities:

1. What kind of recurring shifts related to such formal units as sentences, clauses and various minor elements take place in the translation of English literary texts into Finnish?

2. What kind of intersubjective differences can be found between recurring shift patterns characterizing individual translators?
3. Is it possible to draw up ‘translator profiles’ or reveal individual translators' styles on the basis of recurring shift patterns?

4. What kind of macrolevel stylistic implications can be detected on the basis of an analysis of microlevel shifts in the study of literary translations?

The research questions thus raise the issue of recurring formal shifts that take place in the translation of English literary texts into Finnish and intersubjective differences that can be found between individual translators in their choice of such recurring shift patterns. Furthermore, attention is drawn to the possibility of characterizing individual translators' styles by focusing on the kind of recurring shift patterns they are inclined to favour, and, finally, to the kind of stylistic implications that recurring shift patterns have in the study of literary translations as complete works of art reaching beyond the local level of individual text-level units.

The study begins with microlevel data, continues by examining whether systematic patterns can be found in the data, and moves on to a wider characterization of translators as interpreters of entire works of art. Answers to the research questions are sought through an analysis of the type of choices individual translators tend to opt for when interpreting an author's text in another language. If differences can be found between such decisions, this would indicate that there are different translating styles that can be characterized through shifts. Table 1 below presents the phases of the study corresponding to these questions.

Table 1. Organization of the study based on the research questions

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Chapter 2 places the study in the context of translation studies and related disciplines, discussing some pertinent issues of style and shifts and previous research on them, while Chapter 3 goes on to introduce the literary works and their translations used as research material and the methodology applied in identifying the shifts and categorizing them in order to answer the first research question. Chapter 3 also includes a brief explanatory section dealing with the terminological and other complications arising from the presence of two very different language systems. Chapter 4 presents the quantitative findings, looks for patterns characterizing each translator and makes various comparisons, discussing the categorization of the material gathered, on the one hand, (Question 1) and presenting the first results arrived at on the basis of the quantitative data obtained and its analysis, on the other (Question 2). Chapter 4 also sums up the most frequently recurring patterns of optional shift choices in the form or quantitative translator profiles, and Chapter 5 provides some examples of possibilities for further in-depth analysis on the basis of the recurring patterns (Question 3). While Chapter 6 directs the focus at frequently recurring shifts as constituents of style, attempting to relate these findings to the overall artistic effect of the resulting translations (Question 4), Chapter 7 is an attempt to evaluate and assess the contributions made by this study and to take a critical look at what could be considered to be its failures and shortcomings. Some concluding remarks in Chapter 7 suggest ideas for further application of the approach outlined in the study.

1.3 Methodological objectives

Apart from answering the primary research questions relating to the translator's role presented above, this study has the further methodological objective of preparing the ground for easily applicable and replicable methods for studying various translatorial choices. I suggest in this study that such methods should prove useful in translation studies. In order to be truly useful, these methods should be applicable across a variety of different language pairs. Although this is a comparative study of literary English-language narrative texts and their translations into Finnish, I hope it is also a step towards developing feasible methods for analysing style in literary (and other) translations independently of specific language pairs. A framework is needed within which literary (and other) translations and their (translator-specific or otherwise) style can be analysed first in terms of recurring local or microlevel characteristics and, subsequently, by focusing on the overall macrolevel effect through the interaction of intermediate-level style factors combining form and content. One objective is to
avoid the tendency of comparative research to deal with single or only a few individual predetermined text-related issues and the consequent narrowness of its scope for replicability. Another objective is to provide additional insights into general concepts such as translation universals.

Since the field of translation studies has grown and expanded at a near-explosive rate in the last few decades, another objective of this study is to speak for clarity and uniformity of terminology among the resulting variety of frameworks and inter- and multidisciplinary approaches.

Being an attempt to direct the limelight of research at individual translators and their role, this study aspires to quantify individual translators’ idiolects or styles in terms of measuring their quantifiable distance from the source text on the basis of identifiable shifts at the formal linguistic level. At the same time, however, it also endeavours to gauge some qualitative aspects of this distance in terms of each translator's idiolectal or stylistic features – not as a value assessment, but as a description of the nature of the manifestations of this distance in the target text.

A list of tables and abbreviations is given at the beginning of this study, and summaries of the quantitative data are provided in the appendices. In addition to the English examples and their translations into Finnish, fairly literal back-translations (glosses) are provided for readers not familiar with the Finnish language.
2. Style and shifts

Because of its nature as a medium used across a wide variety of different communication situations in ever-changing environments, language with its numerous geographical, cultural and stylistic varieties is in a constant state of flux. This makes language in itself a multifaceted object of study, and an yet another variety of dimensions opens up when translation into another language enters the picture. The various situational uses of language are often characterized by using the concept of style.

Style is a controversial term to include in a study: no agreement has yet been reached on how to define it unambiguously, and there are multiple ways of approaching style. While the term is often associated with the distinctive way an individual uses language, an equally common approach is to categorize styles as types of discourse used by a group or groups of people and deriving from the functions of language, i.e. various types of language used in specific situations. Style may also refer to wide categories such as written and spoken language, or fact and fiction, or these main categories may be divided into subcategories depending on the purpose the language is used for in each case. What is common to all these descriptions of style is that there is always a situational context to which the various varieties of style are linked.

Even before the emergence of stylistics proper as a discipline, that is, the study of language and style in texts, in the 1960s (for further details, see e.g Wales 2001: 269), various stylistically-oriented approaches had been applied as far back as the cultures of antiquity,
though these style-related characterizations may have used other terms to refer to the stylistic aspects of a text, such as the “spirit of the text” (Boase-Beier 2006: 6). An important role in the emergence of modern stylistics was played by structuralist Roman Jakobson, who, following in de Saussure's footsteps, was active in both the Russian Formalist and the Prague Structuralist movements. He also made a contribution to the study of translation through the strong influence of Russian Formalism and Prague Structuralism on the functionalist theories of translation in the 1970s and the 1980s (Kohlmeyer 1988: 146). From the 1960s onwards, the study of style began to gain in importance, building on structuralist linguistics on the one hand and text-based close-reading methods of literary study on the other (Boase-Beier 2006: 7), developing into what Toolan (1990: 25) refers to as a “chaotic confusion of stylistic theories” towards the end of the 1960s.

Both the structuralist-linguistic and the text-based close-reading line of study regarded the formal features of language as important, and there was a tendency towards separating the actual visible, measurable features of language from issues such as history, background and context. This tendency to ignore all extratextual detail was subsequently criticized widely, e.g. by Burton (1982: 196) and E. D. Hirsch (1976: 10), who even accused linguistic stylistics of giving form priority over meaning. Gradually, emphasis shifted towards more comprehensive approaches based on contextualization, and for instance Toolan's (1990: 25-27) literary-linguistic approach recommends a combination of intratextual and extratextual study, pointing out that stylistics is a useful orientation from which to approach text, particularly so when the study of linguistic features is combined with other, interpretative approaches.

2.1 Style and the functions of language

It is the situational use of language that has led many researchers to approach issues of style through what are called the functions of language, or the purposes for which language is used. The three categories presented by Halliday (1971) – the ideational, interpersonal and textual functions – are referred to frequently in research relating to style, but similar classifications have also been presented for instance by Bühler (1934: 28-32), Jakobson (1960) and Reiss (1989: 108). Halliday's ideational function concerns the conveyance of a message, i.e. provision of information, and corresponds to Bühler's representative function, Jakobson's referential function and Reiss's informative function. Halliday's interpersonal function concerns fitting the message in with a communicative situation, thus involving a sender and a
receiver, and corresponds to Bühler's expressive and appellative functions, Jakobson's emotive, conative and phatic functions (Jakobson introduces three further functions, which are not included here) and Reiss's expressive and operative functions. Halliday's third function, the **textual function**, has to do predominantly with the linguistic form, or text form, given to the information when it is expressed. The above functions are summarized in Table 2 below, but only Halliday's three functions will be referred to later and used in this study.

**Table 2. Functions of language**

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<td>Appellative (<em>Appel</em>)</td>
<td>Conative (addressee)</td>
<td>Operative</td>
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<td><strong>Textual function</strong></td>
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Halliday's model allows for interplay between the three functions of language and basically serves as a theoretical model for a situation (interpersonal function) in which information (ideational function) is passed on in text form (textual function). In terms of practical analysis, the problem with this model is that the three functions are presented as separate from each other and no straightforward link is provided from the first two levels to the formal textual level, which is the concrete manifestation of all three functions, though it is only through this formal manifestation that style can be studied.

### 2.2 The many faces of style

Enkvist (1985) lists four approaches to describing style: a sentence-based approach, a predication-based approach, a cognition-based approach emphasizing the role of cognition in the arrangement and formulation of texts, and a model based on social interaction. The last of
these four is close to Halliday's (1971) interpersonal function, while the other three deal with various aspects of Halliday's textual function mingled with the ideational function.

In an earlier work, Enkvist (1973: 96-106) points out that the numerous theories of style fall within certain types of approach underlining various aspects of this controversial concept. Such aspects include, first and foremost, the relationship between form and content.

Since style is such an elusive and multifaceted concept, it is tempting to define style categories simply as sets of linguistic means used for a particular purpose and standing separate from and independent of the content they convey and of the surrounding extratextual context. This would appear to facilitate analysis, but I am nevertheless inclined to agree with for instance Enkvist (1973), Toolan (1990) and others that it would be excessive simplification to adopt such a clear-cut dualistic view and to deal with form and content as separate entities.

The interplay of form and content is crucial in discussions of style: Saukkonen (1984: 92-94) differentiates between denotative and connotative reference, suggesting that the connotative elements of reference might be defined as style, and Enkvist (1973: 104) discusses the pragmatic content of a text (which is not the same as the semantic content) relating to a certain situation or context, including communication. This study, though maintaining that distinctive formal linguistic features can be identified in a text regardless of content and that it may indeed be a fruitful research approach to focus on such features, also points out that style overall is constituted through interaction between form and content. Furthermore, this interaction is not restricted to semantics alone, for content elements are communicated equally through syntax and phonology. I would like to argue that while content in the form of referents and their relations exists independently of linguistic form, sense is not entirely independent of it, and that form cannot exist without the sense it carries.

Apart from the complex relationship between form and content and the presence of a context, aspects of style, according to Enkvist (1973: 96-106), include views of style as the result of choice, style as defined through comparison (with a norm text corpus) and style in relation to communication processes.

I agree with Toolan (1990: 25-27) that linguistic stylistics is a useful approach in analysing style in texts; it need not be regarded as an independent science but can be applied as one
fruitful approach in relation to all aspects involved in analysing texts and their role in wider contexts. In my view Leech & Short (1981) succeeded in making excellent practical use of a linguistic approach in focusing on the formal linguistic aspects of literary texts, linking them with overall artistic effect through the functions of language introduced by Halliday (1971). This approach of Leech & Short's (1981) will be utilized in this study and discussed in further detail below in Section 2.6 dealing with the special characteristics of literary style.

In this study, radically deviant uses of language are not considered necessary for definitions of style – the distinctiveness inherent in the concept of style exists in relation to something else, for instance another text, and even nondescript uses of language can be described as distinctive when compared with more flamboyant uses. Here, style is primarily characterized through formal features of language constituting the linguistic form of a text, choice between various alternative features and recurrence of certain types of choices in a text.

2.3 Style – interplay between linguistics and narratology

The dilemma in the analysis of style in literary works and literary translation arises from the very fact that form and content cannot be separated. On the one hand, style is manifested in a sequence of linguistic units, but on the other, these units are more than a mere linguistic wrapping in which the fictional content is contained. Therefore, although this study starts from the purely formal linguistic components of style, narratology will provide a useful additional angle in weaving formal linguistic and content-oriented elements together.

As a sub-discipline of literary research, narratology offers literary translation a useful perspective, since it deals with the theory and study of narrative structure and with the ways in which the narrator's voice can be heard in a story. Studies relating to narratological concepts had been carried out long before the emergence of narratology proper as a discipline, and attention had been given to various ways in which stories can be told. Although the term 'narratology' was first coined by Tzvetan Todorov in his *Grammaire du Décaméron* in 1969 (Prince 1994: 524), modern narratology is considered to have begun with the Russian Formalists, specifically Vladimir Propp (1928). Some key concepts of narratology will be used in this study to describe the presentation of information and the means of focalization, which means the translator is seen as a kind of 'second' author. This aspect will be discussed in more detail in Section 2.6 on literary style.
Narratological techniques regulating the emphasis given to various aspects of the narrative and their manifestation as formal linguistic features of style are also linked together in American non-literary discourse analysis, which considers the role of syntactic manipulation in relation to such issues as newsworthiness and attention flow, for instance (DeLancey 1981, Mithun 1987). (For more details on narratology, see e.g. Prince [1994] and Bal [1997].)

2.4 Style through cognition study

Attention has recently been given to a cognitive approach in translation studies. Cognition study focuses on the way people's minds work and thus offers a route for studying the various ways in which different cognitive contexts affect their manner of expression. Halverson (e.g. 2002, 2003 and 2007) discusses a cognitive approach to translation building primarily on Langacker's (1987) cognitive grammar, focusing on how broad and general cognitive processes are reflected in human language (Halverson 2003: 198) and on how semantic content is structured through a merging of grammatical and lexical structures. Halverson (2003: 221-228) characterizes semantic structure in terms of integrated networks of different types of knowledge about the world and refers to cognitive salience (in other words, significance affecting the arrangement of such knowledge), the degree of specification of symbolic lexical units and symbolic lexical units as “points of access” (Langacker 1987: 163) to these networks of knowledge. All these factors also affect translation and may result in patterns of universal tendencies in translation. Halverson would thus be inclined to explain translation universals in terms of general characteristics of human cognition. Boase-Beier (2006: e.g. 73-75 and 111-148), while commenting on cognitive stylistic approaches as allowing exploration of theories that relate linguistic choices to cognitive structures and processes, draws attention to the cognitive mind set of the individual translator: the mind of the translator has absorbed a variety of historical, sociological and cultural influences that form a certain cognitive environment for that translator – circumstances, beliefs, interests and views – from which the translation emerges. Boase-Beier maintains that knowledge of this environment will help in understanding style and the choices made by translators.

This study will not seek out such cognitive patterns of an explanatory nature but will attempt to trace the effect that individual linguistic choices have in the construction of literary style. Such linguistic choices are naturally affected by human cognition and the individual cognitive environment of the individual translator, but these will not be the focus of this study.
Nevertheless, I hope that this approach, too, may in part prepare the ground for the generation of explanatory hypotheses about translation and the forces that affect the translation process.

2.5 The framework of the study

As a result of the choices outlined in the previous sections, it is primarily within the framework of narratology, linguistics and stylistics, on the one hand, and translation studies, on the other, that this particular study is located, as shown in Table 3 below. The adjacent disciplines are shown in the left-hand column, and pertinent areas from Holmes's (1988: 71) map of translation studies on the right.

*Table 3. Framework for this study*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjacent disciplines</th>
<th>This study</th>
<th>Translation studies (extract from Holmes's map, 1988:71)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Literary theory: narratology</td>
<td></td>
<td>Pure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stylistics: literary stylistics</td>
<td></td>
<td>Descriptive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linguistics: linguistic stylistics</td>
<td></td>
<td>Product-oriented</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cognition theory: cognitive stylistics</td>
<td>Formal linguistic features</td>
<td>Theoretical partial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discourse analysis</td>
<td>Translation shifts</td>
<td>Text-type restricted: literary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodology: grounded theory, cluster analysis</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Each of the adjacent disciplines lends some aspect to the present study. Literary theory offers concepts relating to narratology and a perspective to understanding ways in which novels are structured and their various components manipulated to produce certain effects, while stylistics and linguistic stylistics in particular focus on the linguistic devices applied to produce related effects. Cognitive stylistics again contributes to the analysis of stylistic
features in their specific environments, while discourse analysis provides the aspiration to identify significant textual features, and finally the methodologies of grounded theory and cluster analysis, although not strictly applied in the study, lend their approaches to dealing with data collected without a predetermined plan and to the selection of material for closer scrutiny.

As far as Holmes's map of translation studies is concerned, this study falls within pure translation studies and not the applied branch. It can be characterized as descriptive and product-oriented, since it analyses the translation product in order to find shifts of translation and describes the product through this analysis. It might be argued that this relates just as well to the translation process, since shifts are the results of translatorial choices made during this process. The reason why this aspect is not included in the description of the study is that it is not the process itself that is the object of scrutiny here but its product. And finally, the theoretical partial branch defines the text type under study: literary translation.

The following section will outline some general characteristics of literary writing and translation, and various aspects of literary style will be discussed with reference to functions of language, specifically those put forward by Halliday (1971). Special attention will be given to the linguistically oriented views expressed by Leech & Short (1981), and some narratological concepts will be modified for translational application in order to relate microlevel linguistic features with some macrolevel concepts illustrative of the special nature of literary texts.

2.6 Literary style and style in translation

The multiplicity of definitions of style and angles of research on style offers a great deal of scope for research. Literary style and literary translation are a particularly interesting subject for stylistic study, since they provide a great deal of material for interpretation: stratification, allusions, metaphors, styles within styles, and so on. In discussing literary translation, Parks (1998: e.g. 101), for instance, draws attention to the complexity and ambivalence of literary texts, explaining that these characteristics are the result of syntactic and lexical combination or contradiction, the very purpose of which is to achieve ambivalence, richness and stratification.
In the case of translated literature, style can be understood to refer to

(1) the typical features of the source text and its author, for instance, the style of *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* or James Joyce's style;
(2) the typical features of the translated text and its translator, for instance what is considered a biblical style in a given language culture or the style of Pentti Saarikoski as a translator; or
(3) the features characterizing the translation process itself, for instance speed of translating, use of auxiliary material or the degree to which a translator revises his/her own text in the process.

This study will see style as referring primarily to the style of the translator, using the source text for purposes of comparison.

A way of relating Halliday's functions of language to literary style at the formal linguistic level is suggested for example by Leech & Short (1981: 172-185) and by Leuven-Zwart (1989: 172-179). Leech & Short's suggestion will be presented below in this section and modified for the purposes of this study.

The terminology used in the characterization of literary style often refers to different levels of analysis. On the one hand, literary style may refer to very general characteristics such as ambiguity, stratification and metaphoricality, which are generally used to differentiate literary style from non-literary varieties of language. On the other hand, literary style may also be characterized by referring to such fairly general concepts as salience, prominence, point of view and focus, i.e. more specific techniques which can be manipulated by the author to control the light in which the fictional material is presented in the text. Third, there is the local linguistic level, where individual linguistic choices occur and where frequently repeated choices form patterns that make up style. Thus, at least three different levels are at play when literary style is discussed: (1) the **general level** of the nature of literary style, (2) the **intermediate level** of techniques or factors applied by the author to 'manipulate' the fictional material and discussed in the field of narratology and (3) the **linguistic level** that actually makes the work available to the reader in the form of text. In this study, style will be dealt with at the latter two levels: the techniques for manipulating fictional material and the linguistic representation of this material in the form of text. The following section will outline some views on literary style and stylistics pertinent to the current study.
Characterization of literary style is summarized by Boase-Beier (2006: 82-108) in a list of four general defining features: *ambiguity*, *foregrounding*, *metaphor* and *iconicity*. (Boase-Beier actually uses the adjective 'universal' here instead of 'general', but I would prefer the less ambitious term 'general'.) Ambiguity as a stylistic characteristic involves the presence of structures with multiple meanings in a text. Parks (1998: 101) refers to the same concept using the terms 'ambiguity' and 'ambivalence'. The concept of foregrounding, first introduced by Russian Formalists and Prague Structuralists in the 1960s, has since played a major role in stylistic theory (see e.g. Leech 1969, van Peer 1986 and Boase-Beier 2006). Foregrounding refers to the use of various (deviant) means for highlighting certain things in the presentation of fictional content in order to draw the reader's attention to them. In other words, it is used to give some elements prominence over others. Boase-Beier (2006: 89) relates this concept also to Leech & Short's (1981) salience and to visibility in translation as used by Venuti (1998).

Metaphor, for Boase-Beier, refers to the metaphorical nature of literature in general but also to individual metaphors and other imagery and special metaphorical use of language. Lastly, Boase-Beier (2006: 101-108) points out that the iconic nature of literary style includes not only onomatopoeia and sound symbolism as the most obvious examples of the reflection of meaning in form but also other types, including syntactic iconicity (also see Leech & Short 1981: 233-236). All of these general terms may, however, refer equally to authorial techniques and are indeed so used by Boase-Beier (2006). She uses them to refer to ways in which the author (or in the case of translation, the translator as the representative of the author) 'manipulates' his/her material, for instance by resorting to techniques increasing ambiguity, changing the perspective or introducing contrast. Such use of terminology at two different levels is not necessarily problematic, however, as long as the different levels are specified in the discussions referring to them.

I will now return to Leech & Short (1981), who, in discussing literary style within a single language, express the view that there is no one 'model' for the characterization of prose style that would be applicable to the analysis of all texts. Nevertheless, they propose a way of linking overall style with linguistic detail. Style as such, to them, is merely a selection by the author from the total linguistic repertoire of a language. As far as literary style is concerned, however, they see it as the relation between linguistic form and literary function (which they define as artistic effect). They therefore propose that aspects of style are studied in order to explain this relation; linguistic form is thus rarely studied for its own sake, but merely to describe what use is made of language. Leech & Short relate their model for analysing literary style to some extent to Halliday's three functions of language referred to above. While for
Halliday all linguistic choices are meaningful and stylistic, Leech & Short (1981: 33, 36-39) point out that stylistic choice is limited to those aspects of linguistic choice which concern alternative stylistic variants of the same subject matter. They see Halliday's functions as three coexisting ways in which language is adapted to the communicative needs of its users. In spite of the fact that linguistics can neither provide an objective, mechanical technique of stylistic analysis nor replace the reader’s intuition, Leech & Short maintain that linguistic description is used by scholars to understand artistic effect better and that the analysis of artistic effect seeks linguistic evidence to support the existence of such an effect (1981: 4-5). Thus they address style in terms of recurring, significant linguistic characteristics of a text, termed by them as “style markers” (1981: 69), and the macrolevel artistic effect of such patterns. Style, for them, is a pattern of linguistic choices (1981: 42). Their view of literary style incorporates many of the elements covered by Boase-Beier's (2006) characterization above; Leech & Short (1981: 185), however, emphasize the technique-oriented approach, separating fictional from stylistic technique.

While addressing literary style as a sum of choices, Leech & Short (1981:173-185) thus distinguish between authorial choices and stylistic choices. Authorial choices come under the larger concept of the authorial technique used in showing the fictional world, i.e. what is apprehended by the reader. Such authorial choices comprise:

1) the **degree of specification**, also described by Leech & Short (1981: 180-185) as **descriptive focus**, referring to the amount and choice of information provided by a work of fiction and corresponding to the **ideational function** of stylistic choice;
2) the fictional **point of view** (1981: 174-176), referring to the way in which the fictional world is apprehended (Leech & Short call this filter of apprehension the “reflector”; it has to do with the narratological concepts of narrator and focalizer which will be discussed below in Section 2.6), corresponding to the **interpersonal function** of stylistic choice;
3) fictional **sequencing** (1981: 176-180), referring to the order of the cumulative progression of fictional information and corresponding to the **textual function** of stylistic choice.
Table 4 below shows the principal authorial choices put forward by Leech & Short (1981):

Table 4. Leech & Short's (1981) authorial choices in relation to Halliday's (1971) functions of language

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Functions of language</th>
<th>Authorial choices</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ideational</td>
<td>Degree of specification/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Descriptive focus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interpersonal</td>
<td>Point of view</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Textual</td>
<td>Sequencing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These three authorial choices determine what is apprehended in a work of fiction. Stylistic considerations, on the other hand, relate to how the fictional world is apprehended or conceptualized; Leech & Short (1981: 187-188) call this the “view of the fictional world”, or “the result of cumulative tendencies of stylistic choice”, and use Fowler's (1977: 103-113) term mind style to describe it. Leech & Short (1981: 189) point out that mind style is essentially a question of semantics but can only be observed through the formal construction of language in terms of grammar and lexis. This description could also be viewed in the light of the cognitive processes applied in structuring semantic content (Halverson 2003) or in relation to the cognitive environments in which translators work (Boise-Beier 2006).

In addition to the authorial choices presented in Table 4, Leech & Short (1981: 209-254) list five general factors relating to stylistic choices that come under the textual function. These factors consist of a number of linguistic tools that authors may use to create certain effects. It is to be noted that a linguistic tool, such as coordination or stress, for instance, may be applied to achieve different effects and may thus be included in the toolkit of more than one factor. The effects thus created by the author are not separate entities within a work of fiction but form a complex network of interactive factors. The stylistic choices listed by Leech & Short (1981) are explained below.
1) **Segmentation** refers to the organization of written language into graphic units and includes punctuation. It has to do with the rhythm of prose, and is concerned with such issues as the length of the graphic units, coordination and subordination, order, stress and unstress, etc. It interacts with both salience and sequence (items 2 and 3 below).

2) **Salience** refers to the prominence given to certain items of information. Leech & Short list principles that can be applied to affect such prominence: the syntactic principle of coordination and subordination and various other syntactic arrangements influencing stress, anticipatory structures, and the principle of placing important or new information last. Leech & Short also mention the related concept of *foregrounding*, which they define as a deviant means to achieve linguistic highlighting of salient information. Leech & Short, however, do not use the term as a general characteristic of literary style as Boase-Beier (2006:89) does but as an intermediate-level factor or principle of manipulation that makes use of linguistic-level building blocks. Leech & Short see foregrounding as either qualitative or quantitative. Qualitative foregrounding, for them, means giving an element prominence by deviating from the language code itself, while quantitative foregrounding refers to deviation from an expected frequency and can be used for purposes of emotive colouring, for instance (Leech & Short 1981:48, 138-145). Ideas expressed on the function of word order in American non-literary discourse analysis relating to attention flow and newsworthiness (DeLancey 1981, Mithun 1987) can also be seen to deal with issues of salience, and Firbas (1992), too, speaks of the salience or prominence of information in discussing the functional sentence perspective. Halverson (2007: 113-114), in speaking of construal processes that are linked to cognitive abilities that are not solely linguistic, names attention/salience as one of the construal operation categories. Chesterman (2007b: 231) ties salience in with translation, arguing that different languages have different “salience thresholds” marking the point at which information is judged to be salient enough to be expressed. This means that in translation, texts may need toning up or down to bring them to an expected level of rhetorical salience.

3) **Sequence** refers to the order in which the units, or segments of language are placed in a text. Such segments are discussed by various researchers under a variety of terms: segmentation, sequential arrangements, syntactic arrangements and, as in the present study, **order**.

4) **Iconicity** refers to Leech & Short's view that a reader of literary texts enters the text iconically and experiences it as a dramatic performance. Iconicity may be reflected in the
presentational, chronological and psychological sequencing of the text; in juxtaposition, i.e.
the way in which related things are kept together; and in other forms of similarity, for instance
the use of syntactic clarity or confusion to reflect the state of the subject matter under
description. Leech & Short (1981: 233) refer to iconicity as the principle of imitation, thus
emphasizing the representational function of literary expression (representation as miming the
meaning that it expresses) in addition to its presentational function (presentation as directed
towards the reader).

5) **Cohesion** refers to the formal means of connecting various elements. It may be either overt
or covert and be manifested in the form of cross-reference and linkage. Examples of **cross-
reference** given by Leech & Short (1981: 244) include personal and other pronouns; the
definite article; implied references such as 'same', 'different', other'; substitution of a verb with
'do'; substitution of an expression with an alternative expression; and repetition of an element
that has already occurred in the text. **Linkage** (1981: 245) is achieved with tools such as
coordinating conjunctions (e.g. *and*, *or*, *but*) and linking adverbials (*however*, *therefore*, etc).

This study will approach style in terms of literary translation on a purely textual basis by
comparing the source text with the target text and thereby arriving at the translator’s
microlevel (local) and macrolevel (global) tendencies – which may be either conscious or
non-conscious. Tendencies towards certain types of patterning will be identified through
frequently recurring shifts, and choice is seen as a central issue in stylistics throughout the
study. The view taken by Leech and Short (1981), that stylistic choice is limited to those
aspects of linguistic choice which concern **alternative** ways of rendering the same subject
matter, is readily applicable to translation as well. For the purposes of this study, the term
'style' will be used in the sense of Leech & Short (1981): as overall artistic effect, on the one
hand, and as a manifestation of various, primarily linguistically-oriented choices, on the other.
Boase-Beier (2006: 51) also underlines choice as a central issue in stylistics and goes on to
point out that the various characteristics of literary style may not always be conveyed through
the same linguistic means in different languages. The terms ‘global’ and ‘macrolevel’ will be
used in this study as synonyms referring to general features of a whole text (a complete novel,
for instance) and its artistic effect, and ‘local’ and ‘microlevel’ as synonyms referring to
specific single instances of (primarily) linguistic choice in the text itself. The term 'stylistic
value' is used by Leech & Short as synonymous to their term 'artistic effect', and the former
might indeed be less misleading than the latter, especially as Nord (1991: 42, 143), for
instance, uses 'effect' specifically to refer to the reader's reaction as separate from the author's
intention (neither of which aspects will be included in this study). Nevertheless, the term 'effect' will be used in this study, since it is more transparent than 'stylistic value' and since the word 'value' may suggest value assessments (another aspect not discussed in this study).

The five types of stylistic choices and principles presented by Leech & Short (1981) and described above represent an intermediate level between the linguistic choices made by the author and the overall artistic effect. They are principles or factors applied in the organization or patterning of linguistic choices in order to achieve cumulative macrolevel effects. Since this study deals with translation, I find it problematic, however, to differentiate between authorial choices representing the ideational and the interpersonal functions and choices pertaining to the textual level in the way that Leech & Short do, since in the end, the interplay between the other two levels results in choices manifested at the textual level. A translator dealing with a source text no longer needs to make such major authorial decisions as the narrator's/focalizer's person or persons, since these have already been decided by the author. In the words of Bal (1997: xv): “It is by the way of text that the reader has access to the story.” and (Bal 1997: 9) “Text is what is seen first.” The textual level is also the one at which the translator produces the translation, and this means that concepts of narratology are linked to the study of translation primarily at the level of linguistic choices. It is thus this level of linguistic choices that is the starting point in this study. I would also like to underline the fact that it is through recurrence that the author's formal individual choices form patterns. Because of this recurrence, the patterns exercise a stylistic influence on certain overall aspects of a work of fiction. These factors exercising stylistic influence through recurrence will be called style factors – a concise and transparent term – in this study. The application of style factors in the study of literary translations will be returned to below in 2.7 where I suggest intermediate-level style factors for describing the route from individual microlevel instances of linguistic choice to macrolevel artistic effect, and in Table 7 under 2.8.3, where the model is presented in relation to translated works of fiction. These factors will also be discussed in Chapter 6 with reference to the styles of the translators studied.
2.7 Introductory remarks on method

The material that the method will be applied to will be dealt with in 3.1. Regarding methodologies applicable to analysing translated texts, Leech & Short’s model (1981: 75-80), which was originally designed for describing style within the framework of a single language, can be applied to translated texts as well, and the checklist they devised for a linguistic description of literary style in general can be used to study the stylistic features of a translation. This list is fairly extensive, however, and an exhaustive study of even one novel by going through the entire checklist would be much too laborious to carry out within a single project. Instead, it seems a feasible solution to focus on just a few typical (frequently recurring) features and study these in greater detail. Baker (2000: 248-255) proposes that one way of tackling the style of a translated text might be corpus-based study of selected recurring linguistic patterns. Corpus-based study using software designed for processing large corpora has the advantage of statistical clout, and corpus-processing software clearly saves a great deal of time in the initial stages of analysing large texts. Munday (1998: 4-5), however, points out that computer analysis may fail to take into account the fact that words may be used in inflected forms, which makes them difficult to locate (this is the case with the Finnish language, for instance), that word groups constituting a single meaning should not be recorded as separate words and that polysemic words are used for different purposes in different contexts. To solve this, both Baker and Munday suggest a closer analysis of units picked out from texts by employing corpus-processing methods and giving specific attention to the text environment of these units in order to account for stylistic variation. Another problem with large literary entities, such as novels, is that they tend to contain passages in very different styles, both in narrative and in speech representation. When statistical figures are used to represent entities containing a variety of styles, opposite characteristics in these styles tend to cancel each other out, resulting in averages and thereby loss of information. Again, a closer analysis of units in their particular contexts would help avoid this. These views should be kept in mind when considering the methodology of this study.

Drawing on and modifying the various approaches to literary translation and style outlined above, I will propose a model based on the recurrence of local, or microlevel, choices made at linguistic level. I propose to describe the stylistic influence of these patterns on a work of fiction through style factors. These style factors are based on Leech & Short’s (1981: 173-185) view of authorial and stylistic choices and some of Bal's narratological concepts dealing with the narrator (1997: 19-31), sequential ordering (1997: 80-98), rhythm (1997: ...
99-110), point of view and focalization (1997: 142-160), all of which I present in terms of their recurring linguistic manifestations and the linguistic choices they open up to the translator. In considering the role of literary linguistics in relation to stylistics, Toolan (1990: 43) points out that studying the language of a text helps in gaining a better understanding of how discourses achieve their effects. For me, the sum of these style factors then represents the *global*, or *macrolevel*, artistic effect which is the result of interaction between the formal linguistic elements and content elements.

The *style factor model* is naturally a simplification of the complex interrelations involved in descriptions of literary style, but it is designed in the hope that it will clarify some of the key forces at work in the composition of literary texts and subsequent literary translations. The model is based on two key characteristics present in all translation: the scope for *choice* allowed by the target language and made use of by the translator (equivalent to the author's choice in composing the source text at the formal linguistic level) and the *patterns* that result from the choices made by the translator on a recurring basis (equivalent to the author's recurring patterns). It should be pointed out, however, that for reasons of language and cultural differences (rhetorical salience thresholds [Chesterman 2007b] or different semantic structuring [Halverson 2003], for instance) the translatorial choices and patterns may not be the same as those used by the author of the source text. The idea of recurrence is also present in Nord’s (1997) vertical functional units, i.e. stylistic means which keep recurring throughout a text and which, through their frequent recurrence, create a certain overall effect in the translated work.

In much the same way as the author, the literary translator needs to think about *what* is conveyed to the reader, on the one hand, and *how* it is conveyed, on the other. These two, the 'what' and the 'how', are intertwined in a complex manner. In order to be able to study their interaction in relation to macrolevel effects, I suggest that the macrolevel effect of a translated work of fiction is a cumulative effect that can be characterized with the help of the following principal *intermediate-level style factors*: (1) degree of specification, (2) order of presentation (3) focalization and (4) rhythm. It is to be noted, however, that although these style factors are presented as separate from each other, they do not work independently but interact through a complex network of relationships.

The *degree of specification* (the amount and accuracy of information provided by the translator for the reader) is kin to the concept of descriptive focus proposed by Leech & Short
(1981: 180-185), who also use the parallel term 'specification' to describe it. Bal (1998: 36-42) discusses issues relating to this factor under the title 'description'. In the case of translation, it is primarily the semantic units chosen by the translator that carry the degree of specification given in a translated work of fiction concerning the fictional world and its events. Example (1) below shows a change in the degree of specification in translation. It should be kept in mind, however, while examining the following examples that they represent single instances and develop into style factors only through frequent recurrence. In each example used, ST stands for the source text produced by the original author, TT for the target text produced by the translator and BT (back-translation) for a fairly literal gloss. The emphasis (boldface) is added here to illustrate the unit deleted in translation. The page numbers refer to the source and target texts in the research material.

(1)   ST: The names of articles of dress **worn by women**... (Joyce 1916: 141, emphasis added)

       TT: Näitten vaatekappaleiden nimet... (Matson 1964: 171)

       BT: The names of these articles of dress...

When faced with translating the phrase in Example (1), the translator decided to leave out the phrase **worn by women**. The result of the omission may be significant, if the specification that women's dress is being referred to is not made anywhere in the target text, particularly as in this particular instance reference is made to the sexual connotations attached to women's wear. In this case, however, the specification is provided by the context, although quite a few lines before the occurrence of the phrase in question, so it is possible that the reader has already forgotten the specification by the time the items of clothing are referred to. This is one example of the ways in which the translator's decisions may affect the degree of specification.

The **order of presentation** may refer to the ordering of the entire subject matter of a novel, but at the microlevel, sequential arrangements of linguistic units may also affect focalization by directing the attention of the reader, altering the focus and emphasis and producing rhythmical effects, for example. The translator's choices concerning segmentation (as discussed by Leech & Short [1981: 214-230] and Munday [1998: 10-11], for instance) and other syntactic arrangements may deal with such aspects as the place of various components in a sentence and the order in which stressed and unstressed information is provided. Example (2) below shows one instance in which the order of presentation shifts the vision presented to the reader. Since the gloss (marked BT) is literal, it sounds unnatural in English even though
articles and prepositions are used to facilitate understanding, which is not the case in Finnish. The underlining is used to indicate that the words underlined belong together, forming a phrase. Further information on the differences between English and Finnish is provided in section 3.2.3.

(2) ST: *We went into the restaurant, passed Madame Lavigne at the desk and into a little room.* (Hemingway 1926: 14)
   
   TT: *Menimme sisään ravintolaan, jatkoimme matkaamme pienempään ravintolasaliin pöytänsä ääressä istuvan madame Lavignen ohitse.* (Linturi 1954: 24-25)
   
   BT: We went into the restaurant, continued our journey into a smaller room past (at) her desk sitting Madame Lavigny.

In the source text, the events are presented in chronological order, while the translation places the passing of the lady at her desk after the arrival at the destination, thus breaking the visual process of the movement. This serves as an example of the way in which the order of presentation may change in translation. The order in which elements are presented is also related to such issues as coordination and subordination. Emphasis and focus (discussed in the next paragraph) may likewise be manipulated through such sequential arrangements as placing new or important information last in a sentence.

In her model for moving from microlevel to macrolevel, which is in part based on Halliday's language functions and on Bal's narratological concepts, Leuven-Zwart (1989: 171-179) describes *focalization* as a manifestation of the interpersonal function of language. It is a central concept in her descriptive model for macrolevel effects. Bal (1997: 142-160) makes a clear difference between the narrator, the focalizer/s and the actors in a story, but this distinction is not so crucial in translation as it is in narratology, since all the choices concerning the person of the narrator and the focalizer have already been made by the author. The translator would not normally change first-person narrative into third person, for instance. It is only in individual instances of linguistic expression that the translation may deviate from the authorial choices made by the source-text author. For the purposes of translation, the *point of view* from which information is presented, the choice of eyes through which the reader sees what is reported, the *attitude* of such an observer towards what is reported, the degree of involvement (= *distance* of the reporter from what is reported; not to be confused with the distance between the source text and the target text) and the *focus* and *emphasis* given to various elements are very much intertwined. Therefore, for the purposes of this
study, I would like to group all these subfactors directing the reader's focus and manipulating
the reader's attitude towards what is being expressed – and the attitude of the character/s
concerned – under the term **focalization**. A focalizer may be the author/narrator/s or just
someone whose mind is used as a filter through which the author presents information.
Focalization may also take the form of directing **focus** (drawing attention to certain elements
or hiding other elements) and giving additional **emphasis** through sequential or referential
arrangements. A wide range of tools is available for focalization purposes at the linguistic
level: both semantic-level and syntactic-level choices, interplay between transitivity and
agency (here the term 'agency' is used in a general sense referring to actors in a narrative, not
to the translator's agency; this double use could not be avoided, since the use of the term is
well established in both senses), reference and cohesion. Example (3) shows one way in
which point of view or focus may shift in translation. The surrounding source text context is
included in brackets to show that the focalizer is the first-person narrator.

(3)  **ST:** *(I saw the picadors. Romero was wearing a black suit.) His tri-cornered hat was
low down over his eyes. *(I could not see...)* *(Hemingway 1926: 162, emphasis
added)*

**TT:** *Kolnikolkkahattansa hän oli kiskaissut syvälle silmilleen. *(Linturi 1954: 266)*

**BT:** His tri-cornered hat **he had pulled** low over his eyes.

Here Linturi shifts the point of view: In the source text, the narrator-focalizer looks at the
object of description and is conveyed to the reader as the seeing subject. In the target text
version, the acting person subject suddenly changes; we no longer look at the man with the
hat low over his eyes from the outside but think of him as an active agent pulling the hat down
(the Finnish verb *kiskaissut* actually suggests a sudden movement, as if in anger or hurry), and
we may even stray into speculating about his reasons for doing so.

Similar views are expressed by Kuusi (2008) in her licentiate thesis on the translation of free
indirect discourse from Russian into Finnish and English. She discusses shifts in point of view
and the reader's increased distance from the object of description as a result of explicitation
and conventionalization.

**Rhythm** (see e.g. Bal 1997: 99-108) consists of the way in which the stress, length and
phonological characteristics of elements are manipulated to achieve effects in the atmosphere
of the narrative. Short syllables and words (or elements such as clauses and sentences) with
accentuating sharp phonological features in rapid staccato sequence will create a rhythmical impression different from that produced by long, melodically flowing words (or sentences) with smooth, long vowels in long sequences, and yet another impact is achieved by combining or contrasting the two. Rhythm and phonology would appear to be closely intertwined. Furthermore, rhythmical effects are dependent on most other factors relating to textual arrangement, such as order, length of elements, coordination/subordination, anticipatory components and the use of punctuation.

The style factors outlined above can be seen in Table 7 under 2.8.3 in an illustration of how the translator's agency works in much the same way in the target language as the author's does in the source language.

2.8 Shifts – a key to style in literary translation

2.8.1 Shifts and the study of shifts in translation

Having accepted that the translation process from one language to another incorporates various changes in a text relative to the source text, scholars have sought to address these changes through such concepts as equivalence (and lack of it), similarity (and dissimilarity) and invariance (and variation), all of which are aspects of essentially one and the same thing: whether something changes or remains unchanged. A fourth concept used in this context is shifting, i.e. translation shifts, with emphasis on change. Equivalence is the most controversial of these concepts. Catford (1965: 27) spoke of shifting as the fairly straightforward, even inevitable, result of deviating from formal equivalence. Toury (1980: 89-121) adopted a more complex approach, defining shifts as deviations from adequacy which illustrate the distance between actual equivalence and a hypothetical maximal norm of a pragmatically adequate translation; here adequacy, for Toury, refers to adherence to source norms (1980: 57). Toury’s equivalence is clearly not the same as Catford’s, but the problem in Toury's approach lies in not being able to define adequacy adequately for research purposes. Newman, on the other hand, defines 'equivalence' as an ideal relationship that the reader expects to exist between source and target texts (1994: 4694), while Snell-Hornby (1998: 21) dismisses the entire term as having become so vague that it has been rendered useless. Hermans (2007: 27), likewise, speaks of the “illusion of equivalence” in arguing for elimination (“elision”) of the translator's agency (“the translator as a subject”) in the text
altogether. Since both equivalence and adequacy appear to be evasive concepts and difficult to define unambiguously, the present study will avoid them and instead approach shifting through the (slightly) less controversial concepts of similarity and dissimilarity/difference. I will not, however, take a stand on to extent to or the respect in which either of these is desirable in translation.

The shifting that arises in the process of moving over from the source text to the target text, is part of the translation process. As the translator can rarely be asked personally what causes shifting in the process, shifts are often studied through the differences between the source text and the target text, i.e. by comparing the source text with the translation product. Campbell (2000: 32) indeed maintains that target texts are a major source of evidence of the mental processing that underlies translatorial decisions. What happens in the translation process can thus be identified through dissimilarities/differences between the source text and the target text. In such a comparison, it is usually found that although some things have changed, other things have remained unchanged. (For a discussion on translators’ own statements concerning their translation strategies, see for instance Brownlie [2003], who also suggests other, multi-causal explanations in analysing translators' strategic choices. Think-aloud-protocols are one way of acquiring information on the process, which Jääskeläinen and Tirkkonen-Condit [1991] and Jääskeläinen [1993] have studied in Finland, and video recordings, key-logging software, e.g. Translog, may be used. For further information on these, see e.g. Alves [2003] and Jakobsen [2006].)

Over time, a wide variety of different terms and definitions have been applied in connection with translation shifts. Catford's (1965: 27) definition of translation shifts as linguistic deviations from formal equivalence is clear enough, but not very fruitful as such, since (lack of) formal equivalence can often be explained in terms of (dissimilarities and) similarities between language systems. Other examples cover a wide range of approaches. Vinay and Darbelnet (1958, English translation 1995: 30), proposed a methodology for translation involving guidelines based on contrastive grammatical and stylistic analyses, while Nida (1964) discusses alterations, additions and subtractions resorted to for the purpose of adjusting the form of the message to the structure of the target language, to produce semantically equivalent structures, to generate appropriate stylistic equivalence and to produce equivalent communicative effects. The line continues all the way to Klaudy (2003), who describes formal shifts as grammatical transfer operations carried out to preserve the communicative structure of the text, and further. All the scholars referred to above represent an approach that
lays stress on formal shifting but makes allowances for the role of the message, i.e. the content carried by the formal elements.

In order to go beyond formal differences between language systems, the study of shifts needs to distinguish between 1) **obligatory** and 2) **optional** shifts, not forgetting that the process also involves 3) **non-shifts**. Each of these categories may increase or decrease the distance between the source and the target texts. Both obligatory and optional shifts inevitably have an impact on the final product, regardless of whether they are unavoidable as a result of differences between language systems. Non-shifts, on the other hand, that is, parts of the text where no shift takes place, other than the shift from one language to another, may also have shift-like impacts, since they involve the transfer of an element (e.g. a sentence, clause, phrase, word) into a different language and culture, where it may not work in the same way as it does in the source text environment and culture. Thus, a non-shift may act as a means of foreignization or be regarded as source-language interference. (See also Chesterman's [2007a] comments on the study of similarity.)

**Obligatory** shifts can be described as arising primarily from 1) structural-syntactic, 2) semantic and 3) phonological differences between two languages, and 4) cultural differences. For instance, when translating *there were several people in the room* into Finnish, the translator does not have in his/her Finnish toolkit an introductory structure equivalent to the use of the existential *there* in the source text; no such structure exists in the Finnish language (Vähämäki 1984). The Finnish sentence, then, would be *huoneessa oli useita ihmisiä*, i.e. ‘in the room were several people’. There is no other feasible alternative to this syntactic shift. Similarly, a semantic shift is often necessary when there is no equivalent expression in the target language or when the semantic fields of words overlap in part but are not identical. Phonological differences arise when the phonological tools in the source language are different from those of the target language: it may be difficult to find similarly expressive Finnish translations for onomatopoetic English words expressing sounds, for example *whoosh!* (e.g. a bird diving from the sky), which could be translated with *viuh!* – a common Finnish equivalent in the context – and *smack!* (hitting someone in the face) – which could be translated with the Finnish *läps!* In the case of *viuh!* the sharp *v* and the front vowel *i* alter the phonological effect, since the roundness of the *w*, the long back vowel *oo* and the effect of the broad sibilant *sh* produce a different effect in the mind of the reader. *Läps*, again, although retaining the front vowel, is softer than *smack!* since it does not reproduce the sharp *k*. Individual cultural differences may, among other things, also produce a situation where there
is a lacuna in a target language – in other words, a concept is used in the source language that is missing in the target language. Examples of this are the Finnish *sisu* (a specific kind of perseverance) or *sauna* (the Finnish kind of steam bath). In such a case the translator may decide to use the source text word without translating it, invent something to put where the gap is or leave that particular concept out altogether. Cultural differences may also call for completely different forms of address in interpersonal relations.

**Optional** shifts, on the other hand, may take place without any linguistic or cultural necessity. It is optional shifts like these that allow translators the freedom of choice and are thus the most likely to reflect their individual propensities. This is the reason why I chose **optional shifts as the focus of the present study**. If a shift is intrinsically obligatory, but there are two or more alternative translation options that the translator may choose from, the resulting shift may also be considered optional on the basis of the choice available to the translator. This is how optional shifts are defined in this study. Optional shifts thus always involve the **agency** of the translator in the form of **choice**. Examples (4) and (5) below illustrate optional shifts. The examples are taken from the research material presented in more detail under 3.1. Fairly literal back-translations are provided as glosses of the Finnish, marked BT. ST stands for source text and TT for the target text choice made by a translator in a published translation. The source text element that has undergone a shift is emphasized in boldface, as is the result in the target text and the equivalent element in the back-translation. Page numbers from the source and target texts are provided for reference.

The first of the two examples, (4), shows that the translator of the published target text has replaced the phrase *dry and white in the sun* with a relative clause:

(4)  
ST: …were pebbles and boulders, *dry and white in the sun*, and… (Hemingway 1926: 7, emphasis added)

TT: …oli soraa ja vierinkiviä, *jotka hohtivat auringossa kuivina ja valkoisina*, ja…

(Mäkinen 1946: 7)

BT: …were pebbles and boulders, *which shone in the sun dry and white*, and…

The translator, thus, chose to render the author's phrase with a relative clause. Several alternative solutions were, however, available to him, one not requiring any shift, as well as a number involving alternative shifts. Only a few examples of alternatives (TT1-4) are given below. The first alternative (TT1) involves no shift beyond the change of language.
Example (5) shows that in another passage, the translator decided to contract a full clause into a single adjective:

(5) ST: **That was a very queer thing.** (Joyce 1916: 11)

**TT:** Omituista. (Matson 1964: 12)

**BT:** **Queer.**

Alternative solutions are given below (TT1-4). No shift is made in the first alternative (TT1):

TT1: **Se oli hyvin omituinen juttu.**

BT1: **That was a very queer thing.**

TT2: **Se oli hyvin omituista.**

BT2: **That was very queer.**

TT3: **Omituinen juttu tosiaan.**

BT3: **A queer thing indeed.**

TT4: **Hyvin omituista.**

BT4: **Very queer.**
Further examples can be found below in the presentation of the method (3.2.4) and under 4.1, and a summary of the shift categories established in the course of the study is provided in Table 10 under 4.1.

Shifts may be examined as representing either potentially universal tendencies or decisions made by individual translators in specific circumstances. Such proposed universal tendencies include simplification, explicitation, normalization and interference (Laviosa-Braithwaite 1992: 288-291). Also other, more specific universal tendencies may be detected: Toury (1995) and Jääskelläinen (2004), for instance, discuss cleaning away repetition in translations as a possible universal. It is slightly confusing, however, that terms used to denote proposed universal tendencies are often also applied to local linguistic choices. This is probably due to the fact that, in the final analysis, a universal tendency only becomes actualized through linguistic means at text level. Such instances of terminological ambiguity occur when Klaudy (2003) uses the terms explicitation and implicitation not only when referring to universal translation strategies but also when discussing local expansion and contraction of lexical meaning and grammatical form. Molina and Hurtado Albir (2002) also discuss terminological confusion, arguing for greater clarity and uniformity of usage. In discussing what they call translation techniques, they include concept pairs such as ‘amplification’ and ‘reduction’ on the one hand, and ‘linguistic amplification’ and ‘linguistic compression’ on the other. It would help to avoid ambiguity if the level – local, global or universal – were always specified. For the sake of further clarity, I should like to propose another specification: ‘explicitation’ and ‘implicitation’ could be regarded as content-oriented terms referring to the explicitness or implicitness of content elements, whereas ‘expansion’ and ‘contraction’ (in other words, the linguistic amplification and reduction referred to by Molina and Hurtado Albir [2002]) are formally oriented terms referring to linguistic means that can be measured quantitatively and applied to achieve various content-level effects, e.g. explicitness or implicitness. It should also be noted that expansion at the formal level (e.g. addition of elements) does not always result in explicitation of content (or in a greater degree of specification) at the content level, as will be seen in the analysis of replacement shifts under 5.1, but may instead even result in content-level implicitation; likewise, contraction does not necessarily produce content-level implicitness. It should therefore be underlined that the role of formal linguistic tools is not straightforward in mediating content.

Chesterman (2004) distinguishes between source-language-oriented universal shifts, i.e. universal characteristics in the way translators process source texts, and target-language-
oriented universal shifts, which become apparent in comparisons of translated texts with other target-language texts.

A dual approach similar to that of the universal–individual dimension is the global (macrolevel)–local (microlevel) angle. Translated works can be studied by starting from individual microlevel instances and moving gradually towards the cumulative macrolevel effects or by starting from the overall work and working downward from overall features to individual instances explaining them.

Shifts may also be scrutinized from an extratextual angle. Factors that may influence translators’ decisions in making choices between various options include language and translation skills, cultural awareness, the translators’ own idiolects and various other extralinguistic and extraliterary factors, such as the translation brief, which Nord (1997: 43) and the entire skopos school regard as a decisive factor (for more information on skopos theory, see e.g. Reiss & Vermeer [1984]). Brownlie (2003) discusses translators’ own statements concerning their translation strategies in relation to the underlying norms and invites multi-causal explanations. This is related to the study of intentions. At the receiving end, reception studies shed light on the ways in which the reading audiences experience the shifts manifested in translated works and on aspects of value assessment.

To prevent the scope of this study from expanding excessively, no extratextual explanations or speculation as to translators’ motives and intentions will be included. Table 5 on the following page seeks to clarify the scope of this study in relation to other potential approaches to the study of shifts in translation.
Table 5. Potential approaches to the study of shifts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Approach used in this study</th>
<th>Alternative approach</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Optional shifts</td>
<td>Obligatory shifts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Formal-level shifts</td>
<td>Content-level shifts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual shifts</td>
<td>Universal shifts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Initial-local (bottom up)</td>
<td>Initial-global (top down)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This study will use the concept of shift for analysing formal dissimilarities between source and target texts, but this does not imply that other types of shifts do not exist or are not an interesting object of study. The varying approaches to shifts have led me to leave the definition of the term 'shift' open at the initial stage: shifting is seen merely as the existence of formal dissimilarities between the source and target texts. It is indeed one of the aspirations of this study to shed light on the kind of dissimilarities that emerge in comparisons of target and source texts if the unit of comparison is not predetermined (see 3.2.2 for units of comparison). The only predetermined constraint is that the focus will be on formal shifts. To avoid the criticism that Catford (1965) (see the beginning of this section) received for relying exclusively on lack of formal equivalence, which is often the inevitable result of differences between language systems, this study will ignore obligatory shifts not involving the element of choice between alternatives and will focus on formal optional shifts which involve the translator's agency in the form of choice between alternatives.

2.8.2 Shifts and the study of style: some further methodological issues

With the main purpose of this study in mind – to approach the literary translator's role through style and shifts – it is easy to agree with Toury (1995: 85) that the discovery of shifts in a target text is just a first step towards the formulation of explanatory hypotheses about
translation, and that shifts form one potential starting point for the study of translation. As far as the study of style in translation is concerned, it was already Popovič (1970: 78-90) who linked style and shifts. He regarded shifts as a stylistic category, calling them “shifts of expression”. In Popovič’s view, linguistic features of source and target texts cannot be compared in isolation, and he recommends study of the entire system of expression based on the expressive values of the respective linguistic devices. What Popovič calls “constitutive shifts” are close to language-bound obligatory shifts, while his “individual shifts” can be seen as equivalent to optional shifts reflecting translators’ stylistic propensities and idiolects. Shift-oriented and style-oriented research on translations into Finnish has been carried out for instance by Vehmas-Lehto (1989), who discusses quasi-correctness in translations of Russian journalistic texts into Finnish. She deals with translation quality issues relating to inadequacies in the target texts, i.e. deviations from the usage and recommendable norms of the genre concerned in the target language, which she labels as “quasi-correct”, and argues that interference from the source texts is the most common explanation for them.

One of the problematic issues in studying style through shifts is how to determine the shift unit to be studied in the comparison of source and target texts. (Units may not be equivalent in different languages.) In stylistic analysis, the issue of determining the unit of comparison has been approached by breaking style down into its constituent components in various ways. Popovič (1970: 16-84) underlined study of the entire system of expression via the respective linguistic devices applied. Miko (1970: 73) looked for the smallest constituents of expressive features contributing to style, but, according to Hermans (1999: 24), failed to produce a workable methodology for this. Leuven-Zwart (1989: 154-158) points out that shifts may take place at the level of the smallest possible morphological units and extend to ones that carry large entities of meaning, even units beyond sentences and paragraphs. Leuven-Zwart deals with comprehensible textual units that can be related to an ‘architranseme’, a theoretical common denominator used as a tertium comparationis for contrastive analysis.

A research strategy common to much earlier research has been to focus on a single feature or a small number of features defined as units prior to the study and to chart their occurrence and impact. The simplest such units are often single semantic elements, e.g. modifying phrases and words (Laviosa 2001a), proper names (Nord 2003) or modal particles (Winters 2004); Gullin (1998: 265) also refers to recurrent patterns of a lexical or semantic nature. Furthermore, the semantic approach is often applied to shifts resulting from cultural differences, for instance where it is difficult to find a similar semantic equivalent in the target text. Malmkjær (2004: 141-155) also deals with the semantic aspect of shifts in discussing
translators' motives for using shifts. Kenny (2001) applies corpus-based methods to the study of lexical normalization in translations, finding that lexical creativity can be studied using the analytical categories proposed by corpus linguists to account for both regularity and deviation in the lexical patterns observable in corpora. While single words and word combinations are normally unproblematic as units of comparison, Toury (1995) warns scholars against giving excessive attention on semantic aspects alone, since this may reduce translation to the level of mere lexical choices. The semantic angle has been expanded by examining such content-related units as allusions, which are analysed by Leppihalme (1997), who has also discussed creativity in the translation of metaphors (Leppihalme 2007).

Apart from the semantic angle, another line of study focuses on the syntactic aspects of translations. Eskola (2002) applies corpus-based methods to syntactic study of literary translations from English and Russian into Finnish, focusing on the replacement of non-finite structures with finite clauses in order to find frequencies typical of translated texts. Eskola's (2002: 134-135) findings indicate that there is a certain amount of interference from source language structures which can be found in a comparison of translations from Russian with translations from English. According to Eskola, there may also be a general tendency towards conventionalization, i.e. towards using more conventional target text elements than those used in the source text. Furthermore, Eskola (191-192) points out that in translating prepositional phrases from English into Finnish translators typically expand such phrases by adding a verb. This feature will come up in this study, too, under 5.2.1. A further observation concerning style made by Eskola is the finding that translators' personal styles vary a great deal; this finding is supported by Puurtinen (1995).

Vanderauwera (1985) discusses simplification in the form of syntactic adjustments involving e.g. non-finite clauses, and Johansson (2004) studies the subject of a sentence, adding a content-based angle. Syntactically-oriented larger units of comparison have been discussed for instance by Munday (1998), who uses corpus-processing software to study units extending beyond lexical issues, i.e. segmentation, word order and cohesive links. Doherty (2003), again, discusses the beginnings of sentences and balanced information distribution. Corpus-based analyses usually start with a formal approach, but incorporate contextual analyses as they proceed, in order to take both the textual and contextual environments into account.

In discussing segmentation, i.e. order of presentation, Munday (1998: 9) proposes the study of sentence-initial and sentence-final elements and the way they affect the stress placed on various content elements, but is quick to point out that this analysis should not stop at finding
out how many cases of changed order there are in the translation. A further analysis should specify whether these shifts are obligatory or optional and relate them to various other linguistic elements occurring in the contextual framework, and to extralinguistic elements, as Baker (2000: 258-259) suggests. Munday (1998: 11) describes the multifaceted concept of rhythm as unquantifiable, but is of the opinion that an analysis of surrounding elements and their formal-level and content-level interrelations might be one way of tackling the problem. Modification of cohesive elements may also affect rhythm, for instance by making sentences longer or by splitting or combining them, and Munday goes on to propose that the concept of shift should even be expanded to cover aspects such as character development in novels and writer-reader relationships.

Munday (1998: 1) also suggests that translations should be compared with a larger control corpus of target language texts in order to find out how typical of an individual translator the shifts discovered are. Corpus-processing software allows large amounts of material to be studied without undue laboriousness. The subject is also discussed by Baker (2007), who deals with corpus-based study more extensively in many of her writings (see for example 1993 and 2004), and Olohan (2004), too, deals with the use of corpora in translation studies.

The comparisons of original Finnish texts with translations carried out using corpus-processing software for instance by Eskola (2002 and 2004: 83-100) and Jantunen (2002 and 2004: 101-128) are interesting. Nevertheless, I find the application of large comparative corpora slightly problematic in the case of literary works: literary texts tend to be individual in character and may contain a number of different stylistic varieties created specifically by the author – therefore, corpora with similar special stylistic varieties may not be readily available for comparison. Retranslation studies (see Paloposki & Koskinen [2004 and forthcoming]) might also shed new light on some aspects of this problem.

Bosseaux (2001, 2004, 2007) discusses the use of machine-readable corpora and corpus-analysis tools and techniques in the study of two novels by Virginia Woolf and their translations into French, focusing on the translator's voice and its manifestation in changes of point of view. In her work, Bosseaux suggests that the translator’s choices affect the transfer of narratological structures through the translation of linguistic features constituting point of view such as deixis, modality, transitivity and free indirect discourse. Mason (2004: 471), for example, studies transitivity in texts as an underlying (institutionally-based) attitude towards translating: transitivity reflects the way processes are presented, representing the experiential meaning of a clause and reflecting point of view. While Mason (2004: 481) finds even radical
shifting in transitivity, he can offer no institutionally-oriented explanation and suggests
continuation of research in this area. A related angle is adopted by Calzada Pérez (1998), who
links ideology with linguistic transitivity.

Most of the above research relies on predetermination of the units to be studied. This excludes
the possibility that unexpected elements not selected in advance might come up in the
collection of the research material. Leuven-Zwart's (1989, 1990) extensive research material
leads to a fairly comprehensive and complex categorization of shifts, but requires a lot of
work, as will be pointed out in the discussion on categorization below under 3.2.2. Avoiding
the constraints of predetermining the unit of comparison in terms of this particular study will
also be discussed in more detail below under 3.2.2.

While determining the unit of comparison poses challenges, so does categorizing the shifts
discovered. If a study focuses only on a few predetermined elements, the problem of
categorization will not arise, but in a more extensive study with no predetermined units, such
as that reported by Leuven-Zwart (1989), it will need to be addressed. Leuven-Zwart has
probably developed the most sophisticated and comprehensive categorization framework for
the study of shifts. It comprises three main categories of microstructural shifts: modulation,
modification and mutation. Modulation means one or more aspects of disjunction (that is, lack
of correspondence) in the comparison of either a source text unit or the corresponding target
text unit with an architranseme, which is Leuven-Zwart's term for a tertium comparationis.
Modification refers to one or more aspects of disjunction in the comparison of both the source
text unit and the corresponding target text unit with an architranseme. Finally, mutation
means there is no conjunction (that is, no correspondence between the source text and the
target text) and thus no architranseme, either. Furthermore, Leuven-Zwart introduces eight
further categories with 37 subcategories. Her model provides a theoretical framework for the
study of shifts and has to be admired for its comprehensiveness, but it has also been criticized
Leuven-Zwart's model as not only being labour-intensive but also for leaving out more
complex phenomena such as intertextuality, allusion, irony, wordplay, cohesion, and use of
genre-specific conventions, thus giving 'shift' a very narrow definition. Hermans maintains
that the model should tell us which shifts are qualitatively more significant than others and
that purely formal analysis treats texts as if they existed in a vacuum. As far as purely formal
analysis is concerned, I would argue that there is no reason why texts could not be examined
from a purely formal starting point in order to complement other approaches. Nevertheless, it
must be conceded that Leuven-Zwart's method is indeed laborious. A simpler classification
would be more flexible to apply, and a method allowing direct focus on the most frequently recurring shifts in each particular case would be more practical. Koskinen (2008: 123) suggests a simplified practical categorization consisting of additions, omissions, change of location, semantic changes and structural changes, and indeed many of these categories prove feasible in this study, too. Similar categories are suggested by Nordman (2009: 119-121), who discusses shifting at e.g. the syntactic, lexical and morphological levels, distinguishing content-related shifting as a separate category. Categorization will be discussed in respect of this study under 3.2.2 and 4.1.

Apart from the issues of choosing the unit of comparison and deciding on a categorization for the shifts that have been found in the comparison of source and target texts, it is often the case that certain comparisons can only be carried out between particular language pairs or within groups of related languages. The need for methods that are both easily replicable and applicable to more than one language pair is discussed under 3.2 and 3.3.

Table 6 below illustrates the choices made in this study in relation to the problematic issues of establishing the unit of comparison, categorization of shifts, methodology and extent of material.

Table 6. Methodological map of this study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unit of comparison</th>
<th>Method</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No predetermined unit: unexpected elements are allowed to emerge</td>
<td>Manual data collection: allows collection of non-predetermined units and subsequent in-depth analysis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Categorization</td>
<td>Extent of research material</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No predetermined categorization: allows grouping of elements on the basis of findings</td>
<td>Representative samples: shorter samples allow close analysis of each sample in its entirety</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.8.3 The translator's voice as a sum of optional shifts

As regards linking (local) microlevel shifts to (global) macrolevel effects in the translated work, it would seem necessary to identify the mechanism through which the individual translatorial decisions add up to general artistic effects. Klaudy (2003: 321-435) addresses the relation of microlevel features to macrolevel effects in terms of communicative dynamism and the functional sentence perspective of the Prague School (discussed by e.g. Firbas, 1992, Mathesius 1975, and Halliday 1967), pointing out that the challenge in translation is to keep the communicative structure maximally intact while making changes in the grammatical structure (primarily shifts of a syntactic nature). Klaudy associates efforts to do this with issues such as word order, aspects of which (as stated above in 2.6.) are furthermore closely related to ideas expressed on the function of word order in American (non-literary) discourse analysis in terms of attention flow and newsworthiness (DeLancey 1981, Mithun 1987).

On the basis of what is discussed in Chapter 2 above, I would like to propose a framework for linking the various elements presented in it. This framework is based on the view that recurring microlevel features can be detected in the source text which, through their recurrence, have a direct bearing on the macrolevel impact of the entire text. Correspondingly, certain microlevel features can be detected in the translated target text. When the target text microlevel features are compared with the source text microlevel features, certain dissimilarities/differences can be identified which are the result of shifting. Frequently recurring microlevel shifts detected in the target text are then examined vis-à-vis the intermediate-level style factors presented above (see 2.7) which relate to certain macrolevel effects. My framework thus shows the translation event from the viewpoint of shifting. This framework is presented below in Table 7. It shows the route from microlevel shifts to macrolevel effects, presenting the source text and target text as mirror images.

The recurring microlevel choices of the source text author affect features such as the degree of specification, the order of presentation, focalization and rhythm (here called style factors) that have a cumulative effect on the style of the whole source text (here called its artistic effect). The translation process is placed in the middle of the table, since the translator works with the microlevel choices that make up the macrolevel effect in both the source and target texts. The microlevel choices made by the translator in the translation process involve shifts of various kinds, and their recurrence in turn has a cumulative effect through various style factors on the overall style (or artistic effect) of the translated text.
This study sets out to investigate whether it is possible on the basis of translation products to detect individual microlevel choices made by translators that keep recurring in the translation process and potentially form patterns that can be regarded as style factors, which in turn will result in macrolevel effects in the target text. This route is proposed as one way of proceeding towards eventual explanatory hypotheses on the nature of style in translation. Further research can shed light on and suggest hypotheses on what causes the recurrence of certain optional
shifts or what kind of interaction may take place between such shifts. Reasons can be sought in the source text and culture, the target text and culture and/or the individual translator. If shifts and their analysis are seen as a first step in the process of studying translations from the viewpoint of stylistic features, it is important to have a number of easily applicable methods for analysing shifts from different angles.

2.8.4 The translator’s voice and visibility – optional shifts as markers of the translator’s style

Since the translation process itself brings about shifts, and there are numerous textual and extratextual reasons why a translation of a literary work turns out as it does, each translation is unique, the only one of its kind. Therefore, a comprehensive description of a translated product is a challenging and multifaceted task. The insights into analysis of stylistic features of translations presented here in Chapter 2 focus on the dual function of translations as representing both the author’s style and the translator’s style at the same time. The problem in analysing the style of an individual translator lies, as Baker (2000: 245-246) points out, in distinguishing the translator’s stylistic characteristics from other features of the target text. Various metaphors have been used to describe the translator's role (agency) and how it is manifested in the target text: the translator’s visibility by Venuti (1995), the translator’s voice by Hermans (1996) and Gullin (1998) and the translator's thumbprint by Leech & Short (1981: 11-12) and Baker (2000: 245).

As has been pointed out above, the translator sometimes has no alternative but to resort to a particular type of shift as a result of differences between language systems, and if no choice is available in such a case, the obligatory shift that ensues cannot be regarded as a stylistic feature arising from the translator’s personal touch. The first prerequisite for identifying what is idiolectal to a translator is the existence of choice, and the second, as Baker (2000: 245) points out, is recurrence of a certain type of choice. If a translator opts for the same type of shift repeatedly from among a number of available alternatives, this tendency is something that is characteristic of that particular translator and can be regarded as a feature of his/her style. Hermans (1996) takes the view that the translator’s voice is heard despite all efforts to silence it, but does not differentiate between idiolectal and other characteristics in translated texts. Venuti, on the other hand, wants to make translators more visible, to make them raise their voices by using non-standard solutions. He goes even further, urging translators to go beyond their personal style and to lay stress on the social by releasing what he calls the
remainder, or the power relationships and tensions within a language (1998: 182). To me, it would seem likely that this 'remainder' cannot be released without linguistic choices made by the individual translator: thus, whatever is released, it cannot go beyond the translator's personal decisions, i.e. style. It must be granted, though, that an individual translator's propensities need not be uniform but may, depending on the situation or the text in question, also vary or contradict each other.

The voice-related metaphor in the title of this study, of a duet sung by the author and the translator together, was chosen in the hope of underlining the view that, as in a duet, the voices of the author and the translator more or less work together in harmony, without either voice obliterating the other or causing asymmetrical discord.
3. Research material and methodology

3.1 Research material and approach

The research questions introduced in section 1.2 (Table 1) imply an underlying hypothesis that differences will emerge between translators in a study of actual translated text extracts. To test this hypothesis, one could compare two or more translations of the same text into the same target language, but such translations are usually done only at long intervals, so various changing external factors (conventions, norms, social situation etc.) may skew the findings of comparisons of retranslations. Or, one could arrange an experimental situation with a number of translators translating the same source text, but this would be difficult to do in practice, and experimental arrangements would not correspond to the situation of a professional literary translator, who works under a number of constraints. The professional translator does not work independently of the surrounding circumstances but must comply with the constraints of the translation brief, the time schedule imposed by the publisher, the opinions of the publisher's editor and the surrounding social and cultural atmosphere, not to mention the constraints of the translator's personal life and circumstances. With different source texts, again, there is the danger that the author's influence cannot be differentiated from the translators' own characteristics. And finally, there is the possibility that a translator might resort to different choice patterns when translating a different author.

In order to avoid these problems, the choice of material (see Table 8 below) was guided by the following principles:
1. The translations chosen were chronologically close to each other, made within a period of some twenty years. There was a lot of interest in translated literature in Finland during this period, and the number of English-language novels translated into Finnish was 247 in 1945, 142 in 1950, 257 in 1955 and 515 in 1960 (Sievänen 2007: 17). The source texts used in the main body of the study appeared in 1914, 1916, 1926 and 1929, and the corresponding target texts in 1946, 1954, 1964 and 1965. In the second phase of the analysis, three additional text extracts were used with the source texts from 1947, 1955 and 1963 and the corresponding translations from 1957, 1962 and 1965.

2. In an attempt to eliminate the bias caused by the impact of the author's style on the translator, pairs of texts were chosen that had been written by the same author but translated by different people. If two different translators showed similar traits in translating the same author, this might be regarded as the influence of the author's style on the target text. If, again, differences were to emerge, they might be accounted for by the translators' individual propensities. The main body of the study (Phase 1 in Table 8 below) thus involves two authors (Joyce and Hemingway) and four translators.

3. Apart from the main body of the study, three additional texts were chosen for further study, written by authors other than those studied in the first phase but translated by three of the translators studied in the first phase (Phase 2 in Table 8 below: Bellow, Steinbeck and Greene). This was done to discover whether a translator tends to opt for similar solutions regardless of author. If a translator showed similar stylistic tendencies while translating two different authors, it would seem justifiable to assume this was a result of the translator’s agency.

The main body of the research material analysed in the first phase of the study comprised four literary English-language narrative texts and their translations into Finnish. Two of the texts were extracts from novels by James Joyce: *Dubliners* (1914), translation into Finnish by Pentti Saarikoski in 1965, and *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (1916), translation by Alex Matson in 1964. The other two extracts were from novels by Ernest Hemingway: *A Farewell to Arms* (1929), translation into Finnish by Hugo L. Mäkinen in 1946, and *The Sun Also Rises* (1926), translation by Jouko Linturi in 1954. (See Table 8 on the following page.)
### Table 8. Research material: source texts and translations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source-language text</th>
<th>Target-language translation by</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Phase 1 (30 pages each)</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joyce, <em>Dubliners</em> (1914)</td>
<td>Pentti Saarikoski (1965)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hemingway, <em>A Farewell to Arms</em> (1929)</td>
<td>Hugo L. Mäkinen (1946)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Phase 2 (10 pages each)</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joyce, <em>Dubliners</em> (1914)</td>
<td>Pentti Saarikoski (1965)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Steinbeck, <em>The Pearl</em> (1947)</td>
<td>Alex Matson (1962)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the second phase of the study, in which additional material was analysed in order to find out if a translator’s style varied by author, the additional comparison was carried out between Saarikoski’s Finnish translations of Joyce’s *Dubliners* (1914, translation in 1965) and Bellow’s *Herzog* (1963, translation in 1965), Matson’s translations of Joyce’s *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (1916, translation in 1964) and Steinbeck’s *The Pearl* (1947, translation in 1962) and Linturi’s translations of Hemingway’s *The Sun Also Rises* (1926, translation in 1954) and Greene’s *The Quiet American* (1955, translation in 1957) (Table 8 above). Mäkinen
is not included in this second phase, since his other literary translations fall within the genre of science fiction. All the text extracts will be subjected to a general quantitative analysis and the main body of the material will subsequently undergo a selective in-depth study.

The authors chosen for the first-phase analysis have styles that are quite distinctive. An exhaustive analysis of the styles of the authors will not be given here, since this study focuses on differences between source text and target text, not on the stylistic features of the source text. Nevertheless, a brief summary of descriptions of Joyce's and Hemingway's styles is given here. **Hemingway's style** of writing is described as restrained, unemotional and unencumbered. It is characterized by simplicity of expression, dispassionate understatement and sparing use of adjectives. It is a laconic, reporting style, which has also been compared to the way in which the eye of a film camera provides information, and is sometimes described as objective realism. What is important is often left unsaid, which leaves what actually is said extremely vulnerable and sensitive to translatorial violation (Hoffman 1951: 91-95, Leech & Short 1981: 56, 182, Trodd 2007: 7-21). In contrast, **Joyce's style** is described as the opposite of understatement. If Hemingway's style can be called objective realism, Joyce's might be subjective realism, characterized by complexity, ambiguity, powerful use of rhythmical elements and connotation. It is a lyrical and evocative style, applying various phonological means such as alliteration, assonance and onomatopoeia, and gains additional musicality through various syntactic arrangements, such as parallel structures, inversions with verb and adverb, grammatical and lexical repetition, and so on (Leech & Short 1998: 48-89). For comments on the styles of the three additional authors studied in the second phase – Steinbeck's simple, emotionally evocative prose, Greene's functionally descriptive and realistic prose and Bellow's tendency to tie passages of longish introspective digressions in with his more straightforward description – the reader might see Bergonzi (2006), Bloom (1988) and Hughes (1989).

The following background information on the translators is not offered as a contribution to the study itself but as background information to readers who may not be familiar with the Finnish literary translation scene. All four translators included were established practitioners of their profession and were held in esteem in their day. At the time their translations appeared, the role of the translator was not given much attention, and the reception of the translated novels concentrated on the author of the source text, perhaps with the exception of Saarikoski, whose colourful personality and active participation in cultural debate made him a
visible actor. Unless otherwise indicated, the brief biographical information below is from *Suomen kirjailijat* (1981 and 1985).

**Pentti Saarikoski** (1937-1983) was a well-known Finnish poet, author and translator. He published several dozens of translations, including works by Aristotle, Saul Bellow, Italo Calvino, James Joyce, Henry Miller, Philip Roth and J.D. Salinger. He received several awards for his work as a translator. A more thorough picture of Saarikoski as a person and as a cultural actor is given in Finnish by Tarkka (1996 and 2003).

In the compiled history of literary translations into the Finnish language (*Suomennoskirjallisuuden historia* 2), Koskinen (2007b: 503-506) points out that Saarikoski made the translator's role visible through his colourful personality. Koskinen underlines his creative role as an innovator, but also comments on the criticism aimed at Saarikoski for his carelessness and insufficient knowledge of English. In any case, Saarikoski was respected as a translator, and Koskinen (2007a: 461-463) reports that evaluations of his translation of Joyce's *Ulysses* considered his work reliable, commending his ability to capture the essence of the style of the source text. Salinger's *Catcher in the Rye* was perhaps Saarikoski's most debated translation, described as flamboyant and innovative but digressing far from the stylistic vein of the source text (Nyman & Kovala 2007: 180). Nyman & Kovala also criticize Saarikoski of inconsistencies, omissions and insufficient familiarity with the thematics and structure of the source text novel. All this would indicate that Saarikoski was a highly controversial translator.

**Hugo L. Mäkinen** (1908 -) was born in 1908 in Maine, USA, but moved to Finland when he was 13 years old. He worked as a journalist and worked for and wrote on the cooperative movement in Finland. Apart from Ernest Hemingway, his translations include science fiction novels, e.g. by Arthur C. Clarke and Jack Vance. There is not much information available on Mäkinen, perhaps because he did not make translation a primary career.

**Alex Matson** (1888-1972) was a Finnish author, artist, critic and literary scholar. As a scholar, he wrote extensively on the art of the novel and also issued a work on John Steinbeck in 1948. He started doing translations in the 1930s and, having spent his childhood and youth in Hull, England, translated not only into Finnish but also into English. His literary translations into Finnish include novels by John Steinbeck, James Joyce, Willa Cather, and William Faulkner. He, too, won awards for translation. Rekola (2007: 436-437) describes Matson's translations of Steinbeck's work as being of high quality and calls him the most
important translator of Anglo-American literature in the 1940s. Rekola (2007: 437) also refers to Matson's translation of *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* as skilful, though Riikonen (2007: 306), on the other hand, describes it in general terms as “defective”.

**Jouko Linturi** (1913-1994) was an award-winning translator who studied law and subsequently worked as a journalist. He translated several dozen literary works, e.g. by James Boswell, Samuel Pepys, Alan Paton, John Steinbeck, Ernest Hemingway, Dashiell Hammett and Graham Greene. While Linturi was considered one of Finland's top translators in his day, Nyman & Kovala (2007: 177) report he has often been criticized for his tendency to try to “improve” the style of the authors he translated by providing additional colour.

### 3.2 Method used in the quantitative study

#### 3.2.1 Volume and nature of the samples

The material used in the main body of the study, incorporating all the four translators (Phase 1), comprises approximately 120 pages of narrative. The extracts from each of the four novels comprise 30 pages, consisting of 1,240 lines of 60 characters, or 12,000-13,000 words. The 30 pages are divided into extracts of approximately 10 pages from the beginning, the middle and the end of the novels. No direct dialogue is included. Three different passages were chosen from each novel in order to make the samples more representative, but the lengths of these three excerpts vary slightly in order to provide fairly uninterrupted passages of narration. The Phase 1 material thus totals 120 pages of source text and another 120 pages of target text, 240 pages in all. No representation of spoken language is included, and the focus is on the formal linguistic aspects of the narrative passages.

The additional examination carried out in Phase 2 focuses on comparison of translations made by the same translator of texts written by two different authors. The work of three translators is considered (Mäkinen is left out, since his science fiction translations were deemed to represent a different genre and thus not ideal for comparison): Saarikoski, Matson and Linturi. In the case of Saarikoski, the material comprises Saarikoski’s translation of the first ten pages of *Dubliners* and the first ten pages of Bellow’s *Herzog*. In Matson’s case, his translation of the first ten pages of Joyce’s *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* and an additional 10-page excerpt of equal size from John Steinbeck’s *The Pearl* were compared. Finally, in the
case of Linturi, the material consists of his translation of the first ten pages of Hemingway’s *The Sun Also Rises* and a 10-page excerpt from Graham Greene’s *The Quiet American*. The texts analysed in this second phase total 30 pages of source text narrative and 30 pages of target text.

Taking into account that three of the excerpts analysed in the second phase were already included in the material analysed in the first phase, the overall research material for the two phases comprises 150 pages of source text and 150 pages of target text material, i.e. 300 pages of narrative text (approximately 120,000-130,000 words) altogether.

### 3.2.2 Units of comparison and categorization

As noted in 2.8.2, earlier research suggests a number of ways for determining the unit of comparison and for defining the concept of shift. The suggested size of the unit thus ranges from small morphological units to extensive segments beyond full sentences. The only broader frameworks for collection of data from translated texts comprise Leuven-Zwart's (1989) and possibly Leech & Short's (1981) checklist for analysing the linguistic aspects of literary style. Since both of these cover a great deal of ground and are therefore extremely labour-intensive, I felt a need to develop a way to discover which particular stylistic elements, in this case which particular shifts, were characteristic of each text. If the most typical characteristics could be identified, there would be no need to attach undue attention to other aspects of style. At the same time, I did not wish to restrict the emergence of patterns by setting a predetermined definition of the units of comparison to be included in the study. This is where the method of grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss 1967) offered an approach that required no pre-determined categorization or type of comparison unit. Grounded theory is a general method for comparative analysis that starts with a loose analysis of the material and then proceeds to classify similar concepts in categories for further analysis of the conceptual relations of the emerging groups of concepts. It is an inductive method that allows some degree of theoretical sensitivity to what is important in the research material at hand. It is generally used for qualitative analysis but is also applicable to quantitative comparisons. It is suitable for the preliminary processing of comparative data.

The grounded theory method resembles the statistical method of cluster analysis in that frequent occurrence of a type of shift (= cluster) suggests a category of its own. Cluster analysis is a general word used to describe a large number of mathematical methods that are
applied to establish which objects are similar; and the formation of clusters then derives from the distance of the data items from each other. This study does not rely on such mathematical methods but makes use of the idea of forming clusters on the basis of similar features identified in the research material. (For more information on cluster analysis, see e.g. Romesburg [2004].)

In order to prevent the research project from getting out of hand in terms of extent, certain restrictions had to be imposed. Phonological aspects, punctuation and content elements (semantic aspects) were excluded from the initial phase. Content-related elements were reintroduced in the further stages of the analysis, however.

Optional formal linguistic differences, of which the term optional shift will be used in the following, were counted and their type was recorded. The shift recorded was always the largest entity that changed, up to sentence level. A shift expanding a phrase into a clause, for instance, was recorded as expansion of a phrase into a clause and not as addition of a word or words. This is in part consistent with the systemic-functional view of the units of grammar that Shore (1992) describes in the form of a hierarchy allowing the expansion of lower units into higher ones: words can be combined to form phrases and groups, and these can again come together to form clauses. This is referred to as rankshifting (Shore 1992: 47) or as embedding (Halliday 1985: 166). Although Halliday and Shore do not include the sentence as such a unit, sentences are also treated as units for the purposes of this study. The term optional shift is defined and examples are given in 2.8.1 If there was any doubt about whether a shift was optional or not, it was not included in the statistics. A more detailed illustration of the method will be given below under 3.2.4.

As the collection of material began, a tentative summary of the data obtained through microlevel analysis of the first ten pages of Hemingway’s A Farewell to Arms was analysed in order to see whether the method was feasible (Pekkanen 2007). This preliminary study showed that categories emerged from the analysis and that they followed some of the patterns represented by e.g. Leuven-Zwart’s (1989) stylistic and syntactic categories – based on Dutch translations of literary texts written in Spanish – and also fit in with some of the categories introduced by Catford as early as in 1965. This was encouraging, since the aim was to establish a simple, widely applicable method that would be easy to replicate. The principal categories have to be fairly basic to be applicable to data derived from different texts and languages. At the same time, however, the method should provide a way of zooming in on
more specific issues. With this in mind, the principal categories thus obtained were broken down into smaller subcategories in order to allow closer analysis. The material of the preliminary trial was subsequently included in the study proper.

When all the data had been collected manually and the recurring shifts arranged into categories, the quantitative data was recorded in the form of tables, including subcategories. The three sections studied per novel were compared with each other to ensure that the individual translators' styles did not vary distinctively between the various parts of the novels and that the results were thus likely to be consistent throughout the book. No distinctive differences were found between the various parts of individual novels: the translators were relatively consistent in their choices. Tendencies characterizing each translator and major intersubjective differences were recorded and used in the construction of translator profiles. This term is used to refer to the description of each translator's personal style as manifested in frequent use of certain types of shifts.

In the second phase, the following comparisons were carried out in terms of shifts:

(a) a 10-page translation excerpt from *Dubliners* and an excerpt of equal length from the translation of *Herzog*, both by Saarikoski, were compared;

(b) a 10-page translation excerpt from *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* and an excerpt from the translation of *The Pearl*, both by Matson, were compared; and finally,

(c), the shifts found in a 10-page translation of *The Sun Also Rises* were compared with those found in a similar excerpt of a translation of *The Quiet American*, both by Linturi.

The idea behind the above comparison was that two source text excerpts by two different authors would reveal whether the translators varied their style depending on author or whether they actually had a style of translation that was reflected in their shifts regardless of author. Only ten-page excerpts were used here, since, on the basis of what was said about consistency between the 10-page excerpts within a single novel above, the shorter excerpts would appear to represent each translator’s style throughout the novel concerned.
3.2.3 Terminology and some characteristics of the Finnish language

The terminology used for comparison units and their categorization arises from the practical aspects of the comparison process. As no prior categorization is applied, the shifts recorded represent a number of different angles for analysing language, such as words, phrases, clauses and sentences, word order, and even stylistic categories such as repetition. Comparing grammatical categories between different languages is problematic, since such categories are mere abstractions determined by the interrelations in the systems set up by linguists for each language and do not represent realities that are either present or absent in a given language (Firth in Palmer [ed] 1968: 39 and Halliday 1988: 63). Note that the two languages analysed here, English and Finnish, use slightly different terms to describe linguistic units. Where differences arise, target text terminology is opted for and traditional target language terminology used – with explanations where necessary. The analysis and categorization take place at three primary levels (see Table 9 below).

Table 9. Levels of analysis and categorization applied to shifts in this study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word level:</th>
<th>Phrase level:</th>
<th>Clause/sentence level:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Single words</td>
<td>All word combinations that are not finite clauses</td>
<td>Finite clauses and sentences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- deleted</td>
<td>- deleted</td>
<td>- deleted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- added</td>
<td>- added</td>
<td>- added</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- changed</td>
<td>- changed</td>
<td>- changed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- place</td>
<td>- place</td>
<td>- place</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Words, phrases and clauses/sentences are described in terms of absence or presence, any formal changes made to them and their place in the text. In this study, the term 'phrase' is used for groups consisting of more than one word, for instance a headword and a qualifier or a non-finite verb and its object, and covers all groups that are not full (i.e. finite) clauses, including what are known in English as non-finite clauses, infinitive clauses, participial clauses or gerundial clauses. This will make discussion easier regarding the structural characteristics of the Finnish language, where such groups as non-finite clauses, for instance, are not regarded
as clauses as such but as contracted clauses or 'clause substitutes' (lauseenvastikeet in Finnish). Clauses and sentences are mostly dealt with as a single category, since it was assumed in advance that not many sentence-level shifts would take place, but they will be discussed as separate subcategories where it seems feasible to do so.

Since the translations covered in this study are all literary texts translated from English into Finnish, a brief characterization of the Finnish language may be in order. As a member of the Finno-Ugric group of languages, Finnish is not an Indo-European language and is structurally different from English in many respects. In her characterization of the Finnish language, Shore (1992: 74) describes Finnish as an agglutinative language (it tends to express things by adding morphemes to words) with strong inflectional tendencies. While English relies on prepositional phrases, Finnish uses predominantly case endings to express relations between objects and concepts, and for references between them; there are 15 different cases for this purpose. Finnish has no articles, and gender is not expressed grammatically (Shore 1992: 74-82).

Contracted clauses and the differences in their use in English and Finnish are discussed by Puurtinen (1995: 63-77) in her dissertation dealing with contracted structures in translated children's literature. She lists the principal contracted constructions used in Finnish (and a few not very frequently used ones which are not included here). They include participial, temporal and purpose constructions and various structures involving premodifying participial expressions and infinitive structures. In participial constructions, nominal clauses introduced by että 'that' (subordinating conjunction) can be contracted into expressions including participle forms of the verb (for example että hän tiesi 'that he knew' > tietävänsä 'knowing'); in temporal constructions, adverbial clauses of time can be contracted into participle or infinitive expressions (for instance kun hän tuli 'when/after s/he arrived' > tultuaan 'after arriving'); in purpose constructions, a particular infinitive form can be used (for example jotta hän oppisi lisää 'so that s/he would learn more > oppiakseen lisää 'in order to learn more'). (For more information on contracted elements in Finnish see e.g. Karlsson [1983].)
Let us consider the following example:

(6) ST: ...*when he had felt* for the first time... (Joyce 1916: 141, emphasis added)
TT: ...*tuntiessaan ensi kerran*... (Linturi 1964: 171)
BT: ...*feeling* for the first time...

Here, in Example (6), the translator has contracted the temporal clause of the source text into a non-finite construction or phrase. The choice of the contracted non-finite wording is optional, since the translator might also have chosen: ...*kun hän oli tuntenut*...(BT: when he had felt). Enkvist (1991: 7) speaks of contextual acceptability or the appropriateness on the basis of which one alternative is preferred to another. Thus, according to Enkvist, there may be cases where other alternatives, if chosen, might not be felt by the reader to be 'natural'. In the above example this is not the case, however, since the longer version is equally acceptable. If there was any doubt as to the appropriateness of the alternatives dealt with in this study, the doubtful cases were not included in the analysis. Different choices may, however, have different stylistic and rhythmical effects; this aspect will be discussed in Chapter 5.

A translator translating from English into Finnish thus has to face major differences between the language systems. One further challenge is that English word order is relatively rigid and favours a subject-verb-object structure, while Finnish offers, even requires, more variation, partly because of the latitude that case endings allow. Inevitably, this has an effect on the information structure of sentences. It should be pointed out, however, that while language-bound obligatory shifts are particularly common between non-related languages (e.g. Finnish as opposed to most other European languages), they do not prevent non-language-bound optional ones from occurring or restrict the variety of options available in cases where the shift in itself is obligatory.

### 3.2.4 Illustration of method

An example of the method applied in gathering the quantitative data is given below. The example source text is James Joyce’s *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, translated into Finnish by Matson. (The back-translation makes use of articles and prepositions to illustrate the relations between the words, although Finnish as an agglutinative language does not use them. In order to illustrate shifts of order, for instance, back-translations are at times used in a
manner that is ungrammatical in the English language. The postposing of prepositions, for instance, is indicated by underlining words that form a phrase.) The units of comparison are printed in boldface in the source text and in the target text, numbered (the number precedes the shift it refers to) and commented on below.

ST:  The bell rang for night prayers and he (1) filed (2) out of the studyhall after the others and (3) down the staircase and (4) along the corridors to the chapel. (5) The corridors were darkly lit (6) and the chapel was darkly lit. Soon (7) all would be dark and (8) sleeping. (9) There was cold night air in the chapel and the marbles were (10) the colour the sea was at night. The sea (11) was cold day and night: but (12) it was colder at night. (13) It was cold and dark under the seawall beside his father’s house. But (14) the kettle would be on the hob (15) to make punch. (Joyce 1916: 16)

TT: Kello soi iltarukoukseen ja hän (1) marssi jonossa (2) muiden mukana luokkahuoneesta ja (3) portaita alas ja (4) käytävää pitkin kappeliin. (5) Käytävissä oli valaistus himmeä, (6) kappelissa myös. Pian (7) olisi kaikki pimeänä ja (8) talo nukkuisi. (9) Kappelissa oli kylmä yöilma ja marmorilevyt olivat (10) samanväriset kuin meri yöllä. Meri (11) on kylmä päivällä ja yöllä: mutta (12) yöllä se oli kylmempi. (13) Rantalaiturin alla isän kodin vieressä oli kylmää ja pimeää. Mutta (14) liedellä odotti kattila (15) jossa oli totivettä. (Matson 1964: 18)

BT: The bell rang for night prayers and he (1) marched in file (2) others with out of the classroom and (3) the staircase down and (4) the corridor along to the chapel. (5) In the corridors the lighting was dark, (6) in the chapel too. Soon (7) would all be dark and (8) the house would sleep. (9) In the chapel was cold night air and the marble slabs were (10) the same colour as the sea at night. The sea (11) is cold day and night: but (12) at night it was colder. (13) The pier under father’s home beside was cold and dark. But (14) on the stove waited a kettle (15) in which was toddy water.

In the following, a detailed explanation will be given of the way the shifts were recorded for the quantitative analysis. For ease of reading, the explanation compares the wording of the source text with that of the back-translation, but the Finnish is included for readers with a knowledge of the Finnish language.
The translation is more expansive, but no new content element has been added. A word has been replaced by two words. This shift was not included in the quantitative data, however, since it could be argued that the alternative use of a single word (marssivat, 'marched', or some other equivalent verb) does not necessarily convey the idea of a single file. In order to convey the full meaning of the verb, the translator needed to add a specifying word, which is why his shift can be considered obligatory rather than optional.

The translator has changed the order of the phrases, and a shift of order is recorded. The conversion of the preposition into a postposition is obligatory and does not count. The conversion of studyhall into 'classroom' and after into 'with' were not recorded here either, since semantic shifts are not included in the study at this stage.

The change of order is optional and is recorded.

The change of order is recorded, since the place of pitkin, 'along' is optional, as is the shift from plural into singular. The latter is recorded under miscellaneous shifts.

There is no actual content shift, but a shift from the passive into the active voice is recorded under miscellaneous shifts. It could perhaps be argued that lit might also be regarded as an adjective here, but since the source text point of view implies the existence of an agent that has decided on the nature of the lighting, the active-passive dimension was considered more suitable. The use of the noun lighting instead of the verb lit is not recorded, since it is considered to be included in the shift of agency. Note that the term 'agency' is used here to refer to an acting subject in the narrative and not to the translator's agency in the process of translation.
(6) ...and the chapel was darkly lit... -> ...kappelissa myös... ...in the chapel too...
This shift was recorded as deletion of repetition under miscellaneous shifts. It might be argued that the shift should be recorded as a contraction shift, and this would certainly have been a feasible solution. Repetition, however, was considered to be an exceptionally distinctive style element and its deletion was therefore separated from other deletion shifts, which were recorded under contraction.

(7) ... all would be... -> ...olisi kaikki... ...would all be...
A shift of order.

(8) ... sleeping -> ...talo nukkuisi... ...the house would sleep...
This is a clear addition.

(9) There was cold night air in the chapel... -> Kappelissa oli kylmä yöilma...
In the chapel was cold night air...
This shift is not recorded, since it is an obligatory shift involving a change of order due to the lack of an equivalent anticipatory structure in Finnish.

(10) ...the colour the sea was at night... -> ...samaväriset kuin meri yöllä...
...the same colour as (the) sea (at) night...
The words 'same...as' have been added and the clause 'the sea was...' has been contracted into a noun phrase. (This is actually contraction in spite of the fact that the back-translation looks longer, since prepositions and articles have been added to the back-translation for the sake of clarity.)

(11) ...was... -> ...on... ...is...
Shift of tense from past to present, recorded under miscellaneous shifts.

(12) ...it was colder at night... -> ... yöllä se oli kylmempi...
...at night it was colder...
Shift of order.

(13) It was cold and dark under the seawall beside his father’s house. -> Rantalaiturin alla isän kodin vieressä oli kylmää ja pimeää. The pier under father’s home beside was cold and dark.
All these changes of *order* can be considered language-bound, not optional, and were therefore not recorded; nor was the semantic change of *seawall* into 'pier'.

(14)  
*...the kettle would be on the hob...* -> *...liedellä odotti kattila...*  
*...on the stove waited a kettle...*  

These shifts of *order* are recorded in the *subject-verb/subject-verb object* subcategory and in the subcategory for expressions of *place*. This is a good example of a case where further analysis of the impact of the shift is important. The changes of order result in a content-level shift in that *the kettle* is turned into 'a kettle'. The habitual aspect conveyed by the auxiliary *would* is deleted in the Finnish translation. The semantic change of *hob* into 'stove' was not recorded.

(15)  
*...to make punch.* -> *...jossa oli totivettä...*  
*...in which was toddy water.*

A non-finite phrase is turned into a relative subordinate clause: a case of *expansion*, as *to* in front of the infinitive is not counted as a word. The semantic shift turning *punch* into 'toddy-water' was not recorded.

This short example already reveals that it may be difficult to decide in which category a shift should be placed. This problem and its various aspects will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 7.

### 3.3 Method for further analysis

Some of the most distinctive shifts that emerge in the quantitative analysis, that is, those with the greatest frequencies, will be chosen for more detailed analysis. For instance, if a great many verbs are added by a translator, the source and target texts will be compared for semantic and stylistic equivalence; and if expansion of non-finite phrases into finite clauses proves to be a prominent feature, each individual shift will be examined for content-level impacts and global effect.

The method for relating microlevel shifting to macrolevel effects is based on the various aspects of style and shifts discussed in Chapter 2. The analysis of frequently recurring shifts will reveal how the effect of such shifts is manifested in the working of the *style factors* presented in 2.7 (see also Table 7). Through microlevel shifts adding up to style factors, an
effort will be made to gauge the effect of the most frequently recurring shifts on the amount and nature of information provided about the fictional world and events, the order of presentation of such information, focalization factors (point of view, attitude and the distance of the narrator/focalizer from the fictional world, focus and emphasis) and the rhythmical flow of the text, which add up to the macrolevel entity of a novel.

Profiles will then be constructed for the translators on the basis of the most frequently recurring shifts and their effect on the overall translation through the style factors. The profiles will consist of the most prominent characteristics of each translator and are discussed in 4.2 and 6.2.

This chapter has dealt with the methodology applied in the study: the volume and nature of the samples, the method for collecting the quantitative data, the method for further in-depth analysis and the method for relating microlevel shifts to macrolevel effects. Chapter 4 will focus on the quantitative findings.
4. Quantitative findings

The quantitative findings were obtained by counting the frequency of occurrence of each type of shift as presented in the previous chapter. The total number of optional shifts made by the translators studied varied greatly, as shown in Table 10, presented below under 4.1. Mäkinen made a total of 447 shifts in the three translation excerpts from Hemingway’s *A Farewell to Arms*, Saarikoski 559 in the excerpts from Joyce’s *Dubliners*, Linturi 1,237 in Hemingway’s *The Sun Also Rises* and Matson as many as 1,385 shifts in his rendition of Joyce’s *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*.

To get some idea of the proportions of optional shifts with alternative solutions available to the translator in relation to obligatory shifts not allowing feasible alternative translation solutions, the first excerpt of Joyce translated by Matson and the first excerpt of Hemingway translated by Mäkinen were examined. The examination revealed that Matson made eight obligatory shifts with no other practical translation options, which would suggest a fairly low number, under 30, for all the three excerpts combined, in comparison to the 1,385 optional shifts recorded otherwise for Matson. Mäkinen’s extract contained no obligatory shifts without options. Although there may not be so many formal options available between languages that are more closely related than English and Finnish, this is indicative of how often translators need to make decisions in their work and how much room there is for personal propensities to become manifested in situations of choice.

Furthermore, the number of purely semantic shifts of the type not recorded during the collection of the research data proper was recorded in the two ten-page sections referred to
above. Matson made some 52 strictly semantically-oriented lexical shifts; which would mean approximately 150 shifts for the entire 30-page extract. Mäkinen made 19 semantic shifts in the first extract, indicating fewer than 60 semantic shifts in the full 30-page extract as against his 447 formal optional shifts. This suggests that it might not be excessively laborious to include semantic shifting in the initial data collection process.

4.1 Main categories of shifts and their subcategories

There was a clear pattern of recurrence involving certain types of shifts in the material studied. Some shifts clearly expanded the formal presentation, while others contracted it. This was the main division that emerged. A third, fairly distinct tendency was various changes of order in the text elements. The most frequently recurring shifts thus fell into three broad principal categories: 1) expansion shifts, 2) contraction shifts and 3) shifts of order. The establishment of an expansion versus contraction dimension is supported by a number of earlier classifications featuring the categories of expansion/amplification and contraction/compression, for instance Klaudy’s classification for grammatical transfer operations (Klaudy 2003: 321-435) and the concepts discussed by Modena and Hurtado Albir (2002). A number of shifts, though, showed no immediately obvious pattern; these were classified under a fourth category of miscellaneous shifts. Further study revealed that these fairly general categories could be broken down into subcategories, which could be used in gleaning more information from the general groupings.

To clarify the categorization of shifts, Table 10 provides a summary of the categories and suggested subcategories. Not all the suggested secondary-level subcategories, for instance those given under the category of order, are discussed here, but they are included in the table as options for further analysis.
Table 10. Summary of categories and subcategories of optional shifts found in the study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Main shift category</th>
<th>Primary subcategory</th>
<th>Secondary subcategory</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Expansion</td>
<td>Replacement</td>
<td>Word expanded into a phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Word/phrase expanded into a clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Addition</td>
<td>Addition of word</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Addition of phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Addition of clause/sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contraction</td>
<td>Replacement</td>
<td>Phrase contracted into a word</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Clause contracted into a word/phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Deletion</td>
<td>Deletion of word</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Deletion of phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Deletion of clause/sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Order</td>
<td>Subject–verb/subject–verb–object</td>
<td>Verb before subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Expressions of place and time</td>
<td>Object before verb/subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Clauses</td>
<td>End or beginning of clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Other</td>
<td>Order of main/subordinate clauses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>Tense and mood</td>
<td>Tense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Deletion of repetition</td>
<td>Mood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Other</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Examples from the material illustrating the main categories and their subcategories are given below with literal back-translations into English. The abbreviations used in the following tables are explained below the table of contents at the beginning of the study. Emphasis is added to denote the shift unit.

Expansion shifts

Two primary subcategories emerged: expansion replacement and expansion addition.

Expansion replacement

Expansion replacements (Examples 7-11 below) expand a source text unit by replacing it with a longer element, i.e. one containing more words than the corresponding source text element. Articles and prepositions that are expressed as single words with the help of various endings in Finnish are not counted as separate words. Thus the English prepositional phrase in the evening light 'iltavalo' is counted as a single word in Example (7) (the phrase is expressed as a single compound word in Finnish), and a case of expansion replacement is recorded. The expansion of the English prepositional phrase into the temporal subordinate clause in Example (7) is a structural shift and does not add any information that is not present in the source text.

(7) NP > CL (noun phrase expanded into a clause)
   ST: ...on the playgrounds in the evening light... (Joyce 1916: 20)
   TT: ...kun iltavalo oli leikkikentän yllä... (Matson 1964: 23)
   BT: ...when the evening light was on the playgrounds...

(8) NFP > CL (non-finite phrase expanded into a finite clause)
   ST: To remember that and... (Joyce 1916: 11)
   TT: Kun hän muisteli sitä sekä... (Matson 1964: 11)
   BT: When he remembered that and...

(9) P > CL (other phrase expanded into a clause)
   ST: ...(shared a taxi) back from the Quai d'Orsay... (Hemingway 1926: 29)
   TT: ...(otimme taksin kolmins ja ajoinne takaisin Quai d'Orsayla. (Linturi 1954:50)
   BT: ...(took a taxi between the three of us)... and rode back from the Quai d'Orsay.
(10) **W > CL** (single word expanded into a clause)
ST: ...*fearful lest*... (Joyce 1916: 134)
TT: ...*kun hän pelkäsi, että*... (Matson 1964: 162)
BT: ...*as he feared* that...

(11) **W > P** (single word expanded into a phrase)
ST: ...*urging two tourists to buy.* (Hemingway 1926: 28)
TT: ...*yllytti kahta turistia ryhtämään kauppoihin.* (Linturi 1954: 49)
BT: ...*urging two tourists to enter into a trade.*

**Expansion addition**

A new element is added in the target text that is not present in the source text (Examples 12-17). This usually also involves addition of some new information that the added element carries, which indicates an eventual semantic shift, too.

(12) **S/CL** (added element is a sentence or a clause)
ST: *It was a beech wood and the trees were very old.* (Hemingway 1926: 89)
TT: *Tässä pyökkimetsässä, johon nyt tulimme, olivat puut ylen iäkkäitä.* (Linturi 1954: 148)
BT: *In the beech wood that we now came into were the trees very old.*

(13) **P** (added element is a phrase)
ST: *I never used to realize it...* (Hemingway 1926: 25)
TT: *En... koskaan ollut tajunnut sen täyttä mittavuutta* (Linturi 1954: 44)
BT: *I had never understood its full significance...*

(14) **Verb** (added element is a verb)
ST: ...*people had stayed in line all night...* (Hemingway 1926: 163)
TT: ...*väen oli täyttynyt odottaa jonossa kaiken yötä...* (Linturi 1954: 267)
BT: ...*people had had to stay in line all night...*
(15) Noun (added element is a noun)
ST: *When I came out...* (Hemingway 1926: 79)
TT: *Kun taas tulin ulos torille...* (Linturi 1954: 132)
BT: When again I came out (to the) square...

(16) Adverb (added element is an adverb)
ST: *...a thin line...* (Joyce 1916: 15)
TT: *...hyvin ohut viiva...* (Matson 1964: 17)
BT: *(a) very* thin line...

(17) Miscellaneous (added element is an adjective, pronoun or numeral)
ST: *...Paraclete, Whose symbols were...* (Joyce 1916: 135)
TT: *...Lohduttaja..., Hän, jonka tunnusmerkit olivat...* (Matson 1964: 164)
BT: *...Paraclete..., He, whose symbols were...*

**Contraction shifts**

Two primary subcategories emerged: contraction replacement and contraction deletion.

**Contraction replacement**

Contraction replacements (Examples 18-21) are the reverse of addition replacements: a source text unit is replaced with a shorter element in the target text, i.e. an element containing fewer words than the equivalent source text unit. Articles and prepositions that can be expressed with various endings in the target language are not counted as words.

(18) CL > NP/W (clause contracted into a noun phrase or a word)
ST: *...I went out where we washed the cars...* (Hemingway 1929: 32)
TT: *...minä menin ulos vaunujen pesupaikalle...* (Mäkinen 1946: 39)
BT: *...I went out (to the) cars' washing-place...*
(19) CL > NFP (clause contracted into a non-finite phrase)
ST: ...so that he might not go into hell when he died. (Joyce 1916: 17)
TT: ...ettei kuoltuaan joutuisi helvettiin. (Matson 1964: 19)
BT: ...that not (he) (after) dying would go (to) hell.

(20) CL > P (clause contracted into some other phrase)
ST: ...whatever he did... (Joyce 1916: 9)
TT: ...missään tapauksessa...(Matson 1964: 9)
BT: ...(under) no circumstances...

(21) P > W (phrase contracted into a word)
ST: ...at some future stage... (Joyce 1916: 135)
TT: ...joskus... (Matson 1964: 164)
BT: ...sometimes...

**Contraction deletion**

An element that is present in the source text cannot be found in the target text (Examples 22-29). This kind of contraction may also involve deletion of some information that the deleted element carries.

(22) S/CL (deleted element is a sentence or a clause)
ST: He had written to his father that I was coming and they...
   (Heminglway 1929: 14)
TT: Hän oli kirjoittanut isälleen ja he...(Mäkinen 1946: 16)
BT: He had written (to) his father and they...

(23) P  (deleted element is a phrase)
ST: ...sang... with the drawl of a country singer... (Joyce 1916: 199)
TT: ...lauloi... (Matson 1964: 244)
BT: ...sang...
(24) Verb (deleted element is a verb)

ST: ....he... began to retrace his steps. (Joyce 1914: 24)
TT: ...hän... palasi samaa tietä. (Saarikostki 1965:22)
BT: ...he... retraced his steps.

(25) Noun (deleted element is a noun)

ST: ...

keyboard of a great cash register...

(1916: 134)
TT: ...suurta kassarekisterikonetta... (Matson 1964: 163)
BT: ...a great cash register...

(26) Adverb (deleted element is an adverb)

ST: He too was weary...

(1916: 260)
TT: Hän oli väsynyt... (Matson 1964: 246)
BT: He was weary...

(27) Adjective (deleted element is an adjective)

ST: ...

the heavy grey face of the paralytic.

(1914: 9)
TT: ...halvaantuneen kasvot... (Saarikoski 1965: 9)
BT: ...the face of the paralytic...

(28) Pronoun (deleted element is a pronoun)

ST: While my aunt was ladling out my stirabout...

(1914: 7)
TT: Tädin pannessa puuroa...

(Saarikoski 1965: 7)
BT: Aunt ladling stirabout...

(29) Numeral (deleted element is a numeral)

ST: ...

the four young men in the doorway...

(1914:213)
TT: ...ovensuussa seisovilta herroilta... (Saarikoski 1965: 191)
BT: ...men standing in the doorway...
Order

The category of order (Examples 30-34) is likely to be the most affected by the nature of the target language: an agglutinative language such as Finnish allows far more variation in respect of order than English, which relies predominantly on the established basic subject–verb–object (SVO) order. In many cases changes of order are obligatory, but when there are alternatives available, this offers a variety of shift options to the translator. When discussing the order of expressions denoting time or place, both single adverbs and phrases with an adverbial function are included in the subcategories for time and place.

(30) SV/SVO (shift in the subject–verb or subject–verb–object order)

ST: Someone waved at me from a table.
TT: Eräästä pöydästä heilutti minulle joku.
BT: (From) a table waved (at) me someone.

(31) Time (shift in the place of a time adverb or a phrase with an adverbial function expressing time)

ST: He had written verses for her again after ten years. (Joyce 1916: 200)
TT: Jälleen, kymmenen vuoden väliajan jälkeen, hän oli kirjoittanut tytölle runon. (Matson 1964: 246)
BT: Again, after a ten-year interval, he had written the girl verses.

(32) Place (shift in the place of a place adverb or a phrase with an adverbial function expressing place)

ST: ...we sat on the porch of the house in the sun... (Hemingway 1929: 222-223)
TT: ...istuimme auringossa talon kuistilla... (Mäkinen 1946: 294)
BT: ...we sat in the sun on the porch of the house...
(33) CL (shift in the order of clauses within a sentence)
ST: *I did not realize the extent to which it had set him off until one day he came into my office.* (Hemingway 1926: 9)
TT: *Sitten hän eräänä päivänä törmäsi työpaikkaani, ja vasta silloin tajusin, kuinka syvästi se hänä oikein oli kuohuttanut.* (Linturi 1954: 17)
BT: Then one day he came into my office and only then did I realize the extent to which it had set him off.

(34) Other (various other shifts of order, e.g. shifts in the place of phrases expressing manner)
ST: *...I had found it lighted in the same way.* (Joyce 1914: 7)
TT: *...olin havainnut sen olevan samalla tavoin valaistu...* (Saarikoski 1965: 7)
BT: *...I had found it to be in the same way lighted...*

**Miscellaneous**

Miscellaneous shifts comprise all optional formal shifts that did not fall into the categories of expansion shifts, contraction shifts and shifts of order. Examples (35-38) of some recurring miscellaneous shift types are given below.

(35) Tense (shift of tense)
ST: *The day had grown sultry...* (Joyce 1914: 23)
TT: *Ilma alkoi olla hiostava...* (Saarikoski 1965: 21)
BT: The day began to be sultry...

(36) Mood (shift of mood)
ST: *...what a big thought that must be...* (Joyce 1916: 15)
TT: *...kuinka suuri ajatus siihen tarvittaisiin...* (Matson 1964: 17)
BT: *...what a big thought would be needed...*
(37) Deleted repetition
ST: ...flung the fragments on all sides. On all sides distorted reflections... (Joyce 1916: 199)
TT: ...paiskasi palaset kaikkiin suuntiin. Joka puolelta nousi...vääristyineitä heijastuksia... (Matson 1964: 244)
BT: ... flung the fragments in all directions. From all sides rose... distorted reflections...

(38) Other miscellaneous (e.g. shift of agency in the sense that the acting agent in the narrative changes)
ST: We passed a crossroads... (Hemingway 1926: 83)
TT: Tienristeys tuli vastaan... (Linturi 1954: 139)
BT: A crossroads came...

The frequencies for the occurrence of the main categories of shifts presented above are shown in the following table.

Table 11. Main categories of shifts found: frequencies and percentages of total

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shifts</th>
<th>Number of shifts (% of total)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Joyce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Saarikoski</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expansion</td>
<td>246 (44.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contraction</td>
<td>159 (28.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Order</td>
<td>131 (23.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>23 (4.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>559 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 11 above gives the absolute numbers and percentages of each main shift type used. In each case, the figures refer to the entire 30-page excerpt included in the main body of the research material. The individual translators were, on the whole, fairly consistent in making certain types of choices resulting in shifts. This can be confirmed from Appendices 1-4: there is little variation in terms of translation style between the three excerpts from the various parts of the respective novels. A common feature for all four translators was that they used more expansion than contraction. Between 40 and 50 per cent of all shifts were shifts of expansion. Shifts involving contraction accounted for some 20 to slightly over 30 per cent of all shifts included, and shifts of order for slightly under 20 to slightly over 25 per cent. The miscellaneous category accounted for less than 10 per cent of total shifts recorded. Since the proportional distribution was similar in the case of all four translators, there is reason to assume that expansion is a fairly common translation shift. This is in keeping with earlier research indicating that expansion is a universal feature in translation (e.g. Blum-Kulka 1986: 21, Laviosa 2001b: 64, Olohan & Baker 2000).

4.1.1 Expansion replacement and addition

While expansion seems to be by far the most popular shift type with all four translators, there are major differences in the numbers and types of expansion shifts used by the individual translators. For instance, Linturi uses three times as many expansion shifts as Mäkinen, 602 against Mäkinen’s 207; Linturi’s expansion shifts account for 48.7 per cent of all his shifts and Mäkinen’s for 46.3 per cent. In terms of relative proportions, Linturi and Mäkinen are thus close to each other. A more thorough examination of expansion shifts is clearly needed in order to see what differences can be found between the translators in the use of various types of expansion shifts. Suggestions for further analysis will be shown the following tables (Tables 12-14). Some figures are emphasized in boldface in order to draw specific attention to them.
### Table 12. Breakdown of expansion shifts into replacement shifts and addition shifts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shift (% of total expansion)</th>
<th>Joyce</th>
<th>Hemingway</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Saarikoski</td>
<td>Matson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Replacement</td>
<td>148 (60.2%)</td>
<td>186 (33.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Addition</td>
<td>98 (39.8%)</td>
<td>371 (66.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total expansion</td>
<td>246 (100%)</td>
<td>557 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Total shifts)</td>
<td>(559)</td>
<td>(1,385)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As shown in the examples of the various types of shifts dealt with above in this section, **expansion** shifts would appear to fall into two main subcategories: **replacement** of a unit with a longer one (using more words than in the equivalent source text unit) without actually adding any information content that was not present in the source text (see Examples [7–11] above), and **addition** of a new linguistic element (sentence, clause, phrase or word) that adds to the information content of the source text (see Examples [12–17] above). This distinction is an example of the difficulty of separating formal linguistic elements from content elements. In spite of the decision to adhere to formal elements only, it proved practicable to re-introduce a content-level perspective in order to analyse the main categories more closely. This underlines the importance of terminological specification of what is referred to in a discussion of expansion-type shifts, as referred to under 2.8.1: **content-level** shifting or shifting at the **formal level**. While expansion shifts take place at the formal level, they may have content-level implications at the same time. Table 12 above illustrates the division of expansion shifts into the subcategories of **replacement** and **addition**. Saarikoski preferred replacement to addition (60.2 per cent of his total number of expansion shifts), while all the others favoured addition. Linturi displayed few replacement shifts (87 replacement shifts, or 14.5 per cent of his total number of expansion shifts) against a large number of addition shifts (515 addition shifts, or 85.5 per cent of his total number of expansion shifts), while Matson used twice and
Mäkinen three times as much addition as replacement: Matson used 371 addition shifts, which is 66.6 per cent of his total number of expansion shifts, and Mäkinen 156 addition shifts, which is 75.4 per cent of his total number of expansion shifts. The differences in quantities stand out (see Table 12 for the absolute numbers). For instance, Saarikoski made 98 additions against Linturi’s 515.

The subcategories of replacement and addition were broken down further to identify specific features typical of each translator. Table 13 below suggests one way of breaking down the category of expansion replacement shifts.

*Table 13. Breakdown of expansion shifts involving replacement*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shift</th>
<th>Number (% of total expansion replacement)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Joyce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Saarikoski</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expansion replacement</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP/P/W&gt;CL</td>
<td>85 (57.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NFP&gt;CL</td>
<td>60 (40.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subtotal &gt;CL</td>
<td>145 (98.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W&gt;P</td>
<td>3 (2.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total expansion</td>
<td>148 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>replacement</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In all expansion replacements reported in Table 13 above, a source text unit is replaced by a longer one:

1) replacement of a **noun phrase** (NP), some other **phrase** (P) or a **word** (W) by a **clause** (CL) (marked NP/P/W>CL),
2) replacement of a **non-finite phrase** (NFP) by a **clause** (marked NFP>CL) or
3) replacement of a **word** by a **phrase** (marked W>P).

All the translators showed a tendency to replace phrases (including non-finite constructions) with finite clauses, and some of these cases will be examined in more detail in the in-depth analysis in Chapter 5. Nevertheless, it should be kept in mind that while 60.2 per cent of Saarikoski’s expansion shifts were replacements, the proportion was only 33.4 per cent for Matson, 24.6 per cent for Mäkinen and as low as 14.5 per cent for Linturi (Table 12). This would suggest that replacement of short elements with longer ones will play a more significant role in Saarikoski’s overall profile than in those of the other three translators.

Table 14 shows the distribution of the most common **additions** of a new element.
### Table 14. Breakdown of expansion shifts involving addition

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Addition</th>
<th>Saarikoski</th>
<th>Matson</th>
<th>Mäkinen</th>
<th>Linturi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S/CL</td>
<td>3 (3.1%)</td>
<td>7 (1.9%)</td>
<td>3 (1.9%)</td>
<td>19 (3.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
<td>5 (1.3%)</td>
<td>3 (1.9%)</td>
<td>24 (4.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb</td>
<td>25 (25.5%)</td>
<td>102 (27.5%)</td>
<td>96 (61.6%)</td>
<td>89 (17.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noun</td>
<td>21 (21.4%)</td>
<td>97 (26.1%)</td>
<td>12 (7.7%)</td>
<td>107 (20.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adverb</td>
<td>20 (20.4%)</td>
<td>85 (22.9%)</td>
<td>20 (12.8%)</td>
<td>196 (38.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>29 (29.6%)</td>
<td>75 (20.2%)</td>
<td>22 (14.1%)</td>
<td>80 (15.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total addition</td>
<td>98 (100%)</td>
<td>371 (100%)</td>
<td>156 (100%)</td>
<td>515 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The additional new elements presented above in Table 14 are mostly single words. Sentences, clauses and phrases were not added frequently, although the translators favouring addition occasionally added a clause or even a full sentence. For instance, Linturi added as many as 19 clauses and 24 phrases over the 30 pages analysed.

Saarikoski and Matson distributed their additions fairly equally between the most commonly occurring word categories: 25 verbs, 21 nouns and 20 adverbs were added by Saarikoski, and 102 verbs, 97 nouns and 85 adverbs by Matson. Mäkinen added mostly verbs: the 96 added verbs represented 61.6% of all his additions, and he added only 12 nouns and 20 adverbs. Linturi added 89 verbs, 107 nouns and 196 adverbs, adverbs representing 38.1 per cent of all his additions. Linturi was also the only one of the four translators to add more than a few
clauses and phrases. Miscellaneous additions varied in the case of all four translators, and the recurrence frequency per type was low.

4.1.2 Contraction replacement and deletion

A subcategorization similar (although reverse) to the one applied in the case of expansion shifts suggested itself when the attention turned to contraction shifts. Table 15 below shows a breakdown of the category of contraction shifts into shifts involving contraction through replacement of a source text unit by a shorter one (i.e. one applying fewer words) in the target text, but without leaving out any content elements, and to contraction through deletion of a unit in the source text (sentence, clause, phrase or word). The latter may involve deletion of information content.

Table 15. Breakdown of contraction shifts into replacement shifts and deletion shifts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shift (% of total contraction)</th>
<th>Joyce</th>
<th>Hemingway</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Saarikoski</td>
<td>Matson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Replacement</td>
<td>60 (37.7%)</td>
<td>75 (16.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deletion</td>
<td>99 (62.3%)</td>
<td>374 (83.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total contraction</td>
<td>159 (100%)</td>
<td>449 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Total shifts)</td>
<td>559</td>
<td>(1,385)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Regardless of author, contraction was found to be a less popular optional shift type than expansion. Matson used the most contraction, making a total of 449 contraction shifts, 32.4 per cent of his total number of shifts, while the corresponding figures were 159 and 28.5 per cent for Saarikoski, 104 and 23.3 per cent for Mäkinen, and 242 and 19.6 per cent for Linturi.
Table 15 demonstrates that Matson (and to an extent Saarikoski) showed a substantial preference for contraction deletion over contraction replacement: with Saarikoski, 62.3 per cent of the total number of his contraction shifts were achieved by deletion and with Matson the equivalent percentage was as high as 83.3 per cent, while Mäkinen and Linturi appeared to prefer deletion only slightly: 51.0 per cent of Mäkinen's and 52.0 per cent of Linturi's contraction shifts were by deletion.

Table 16 below shows a breakdown of contraction shifts involving the replacement of a longer element with a shorter one:

**Table 16. Breakdown of contraction shifts involving replacement**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number (% of total contraction replacement)</th>
<th>Joyce</th>
<th>Hemingway</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shift</td>
<td>Saarikoski</td>
<td>Matson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL&gt; NP/P/W</td>
<td>17 (28.3%)</td>
<td>41 (54.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL&gt; NFP</td>
<td>36 (60.0%)</td>
<td>31 (41.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subtotal CL&gt;</td>
<td>53 (88.3%)</td>
<td>72 (96.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P&gt; W</td>
<td>7 (11.7%)</td>
<td>3 (4.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total contraction replacement</td>
<td>60 (100%)</td>
<td>75 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As can be seen from Table 16 above, the predominant contraction replacement shift for all four translators was contraction of a clause into a phrase, and specifically, into a non-finite phrase. Saarikoski, who made a total of 60 contraction replacements, replaced a clause with a phrase 53 times. Of the replacing phrases, 36 were non-finite. Matson made a total of 75
contraction replacements, replacing a clause with a shorter phrase 72 times, of which 31 were non-finite phrases. Mäkinen’s 51 contraction replacements involved replacement of a clause with a shorter phrase 47 times, of which as many as 42 were replacements with non-finite phrases, and Linturi made a total of 116 contraction replacements with the replacing element being a shorter phrase in 101 cases, 59 of them non-finite phrases. As can be seen from Table 16, contraction of a phrase into a word was less frequent throughout the studied material.

The figures for contraction involving deletion are given on the following page in Table 17.
Table 17. Breakdown of contraction shifts involving deletion

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Number of items deleted (% of total deletion)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Joyce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deletion</td>
<td>Saarikoski</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL</td>
<td>0 (0 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>12 (12.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb</td>
<td>9 (9.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noun</td>
<td>26 (26.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adverb</td>
<td>23 (23.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjective</td>
<td>12 (12.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pronoun</td>
<td>14 (14.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Numeral</td>
<td>3 (3.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total deletion</td>
<td>99 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 17 above shows that the numbers of contraction shifts applied in the subcategory of deletion vary much more between the individual translators than those in the replacement subcategory: the totals range from Mäkinen’s 53 to Matson’s 374. The most frequently deleted word categories in proportion to the total number of deletions would appear to be nouns and adverbs. Out of a total of 99, Saarikoski deleted 26 nouns and 23 adverbs. Matson’s total was 374, and he deleted 83 adverbs, 73 nouns, 58 pronouns, 54 verbs, 47 phrases and as many as 16 sentences or clauses. Mäkinen deleted 16 adverbs and displayed a remarkably low total of deletion shifts, 53; while Linturi deleted 42 adverbs out of a total of 126, with the rest of his deletions scattered over a number of subcategories. Some recurring deletion of repetition was found in the miscellaneous category, but it is not shown in Table 17 and will be discussed under miscellaneous shifts.
4.1.3 Expansion versus contraction

Expansion and contraction can be regarded as opposite strategies, since expansion uses longer linguistic expressions than the source text or adds linguistic elements in translation, while contraction uses shorter linguistic expressions or deletes elements. If a translator is inclined to use more expansion than contraction (or vice versa), this might be indicative of whether the style is predominantly expansive or contractive. The question also arises whether a translator who, let us say, uses expansion shifts 50 times in a certain text and, correspondingly, also uses contraction shifts 50 times in the same text, changes the text substantially or not. Such expansions and contractions may not be equivalent: a translator may add information or colour in one place and reduce the information available or the colour or emphasis in another. If this happens systematically, such a tendency may warp the focus and emphasis given to the various parts of the fictional world. To find out if there were any intersubjective differences between the translators in this respect, expansion was measured against contraction. The numbers of contraction shifts were subtracted from expansion shifts in order to see whether either type of shift was predominant and the extent to which the impact of expansion might be said to have been offset by contraction shifts of a similar type. Tables 18-20 below illustrate this breakdown. The difference between the numbers of shifts is presented on the right-hand side of the table. Negative differences, i.e. cases where the number of contraction shifts exceeded the number of expansion shifts, are shown in brackets.
### Table 18. Numbers of expansion and contraction shifts compared, including subcategories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total expansion</th>
<th>Total contraction</th>
<th>Difference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Joyce</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saarikoski</td>
<td>246</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matson</td>
<td>557</td>
<td>449</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hemingway</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mäkinen</td>
<td>207</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linturi</td>
<td>602</td>
<td>242</td>
<td>360</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Expansion involving replacement</th>
<th>Contraction involving replacement</th>
<th>Difference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Joyce</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saarikoski</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matson</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hemingway</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mäkinen</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linturi</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>(-29)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Expansion involving addition</th>
<th>Contraction involving deletion</th>
<th>Difference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Joyce</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saarikoski</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>(-1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matson</td>
<td>371</td>
<td>374</td>
<td>(-3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hemingway</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mäkinen</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linturi</td>
<td>515</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>389</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On the whole, there was more **expansion**, as was already obvious from the percentages presented in Table 11. Table 18 above shows that, apart from having the highest expansion total (602), Linturi also had the highest surplus of expansion (360) after the subtraction of **contraction** shifts (242). This supports the observation made from the total number of expansion shifts that Linturi shows a stronger tendency towards expansion than do the other three translators, where the corresponding expansion surplus was 87 for Saarikoski (the
lowest difference of all), 103 for Mäkinen and 108 for Matson. This is further supported by the fact that Linturi uses 515 addition shifts against Saarikoski’s 98, Mäkinen's 156 and Matson's 371 equivalent figures.

In comparison with other categories, replacement figures were fairly low for all four translators. The lowest count for expansion involving replacement of a unit with a longer one was Mäkinen's 51 and the highest Matson's 186. In the case of contraction involving replacement of a source text unit with a shorter one, the lowest count was again Mäkinen’s 51 and the highest Linturi’s 116. Saarikoski and Matson favoured expansion over contraction in shifts involving replacement of units without content-level shifting: their expansion replacements exceeded the number of contraction replacements by 88 and 111, respectively. Mäkinen had exactly the same number of expansion replacements as contraction replacements (51), and Linturi applied contraction replacement in 29 cases more than expansion replacement. The most common type of expansion involving replacement by longer elements was the subcategory of shifts involving replacement of a phrase with a finite clause. Correspondingly, contraction by replacing source text elements with shorter ones was the most common in the subcategory of shifts involving the replacement of a finite clause with a phrase. This might be attributed to a difference in the way subordinate clauses and non-finite phrases operate in English and in Finnish; this is a subject for another study, however. The proportions for replacement of phrases and clauses are shown in Table 19 on the following page.
Table 19. Shifts involving replacement of a phrase with a clause (expansion) or a clause with a phrase (contraction) and differences between the numbers of expansion replacement and contraction replacement shifts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Translator</th>
<th>Expansion involving replacement of a phrase with a clause (total expansion involving replacement in brackets)</th>
<th>Contraction involving replacement of a clause with a phrase (total contraction involving replacement in brackets)</th>
<th>Difference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Saarikoski</td>
<td>145 (148)</td>
<td>53 (60)</td>
<td>92 (80)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matson</td>
<td>176 (186)</td>
<td>72 (75)</td>
<td>104 (111)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mäkinen</td>
<td>49 (51)</td>
<td>47 (51)</td>
<td>2 (0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linturi</td>
<td>79 (87)</td>
<td>101 (116)</td>
<td>(-22) (-29)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As can be seen from a more detailed breakdown in Table 19, Saarikoski and Matson expand a phrase into a finite clause more often than Mäkinen and Linturi, in whose translations replacement in general played a minor role and whose contraction replacements would appear to offset the effect of expansion replacements, at least in terms of number. Linturi actually contracts more clauses into phrases than he expands (101 contractions of finite clauses into phrases against 79 expansions of phrases into finite clauses). This is a notable feature, since Linturi otherwise uses much more expansion than contraction in his shifts, and is a distinct leader in the number of addition shifts he uses (Table 18). Table 18 also shows that Saarikoski and Matson are alike in that both delete as much as they add (Saarikoski 98 additions and 99 deletions, Matson 371 additions and 374 deletions), while Mäkinen is characterized by a surplus of verb additions and Linturi by a surplus of verbs, nouns and adjectives. Matson also deletes as many as 47 phrases against five added phrases.
Table 20. The most frequently recurring expansion shifts involving addition and contraction shifts involving deletion, and their differences. (Only the most frequently recurring additions and deletions are itemized in the table. More details in Table 14, Table 17 and Appendices 1-4.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Translator</th>
<th>Expansion involving addition</th>
<th>Contraction involving deletion</th>
<th>Difference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Saarikoski</td>
<td>Verbs added 25</td>
<td>Verbs deleted 9</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matson</td>
<td>Phrases added 5</td>
<td>Phrases deleted 47</td>
<td>(-42)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Verbs added 102</td>
<td>Verbs deleted 54</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nouns added 97</td>
<td>Nouns deleted 73</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mäkinen</td>
<td>Verbs added 96</td>
<td>Verbs deleted 2</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linturi</td>
<td>Verbs added 89</td>
<td>Verbs deleted 9</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nouns added 107</td>
<td>Nouns deleted 16</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Adverbs added 196</td>
<td>Adverbs deleted 42</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Adjectives added 24</td>
<td>Adjectives deleted 5</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although expansion and contraction have been weighed against each other above, it should by no means be assumed that equal numbers always tend to balance out each other's effects. It is possible that deletion of elements of a certain type and addition of another type may even intensify the aggregate effect of these shifts. The examples given of an in-depth analysis in Chapter 5 will provide further insights into the patterns through which individual expansion and contraction decisions may affect the role of the various style factors in comparison with source texts.
4.1.4 Order

Table 21 is a representation of the shifts of order discovered in the studied material.

Table 21. Shifts of order

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shift</th>
<th>Saarikoski</th>
<th>Matson</th>
<th>Mäkinen</th>
<th>Linturi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number (%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SV/SVO</td>
<td>35 (26.7%)</td>
<td>50 (19.9%)</td>
<td>16 (13.5%)</td>
<td>55 (18.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time</td>
<td>25 (19.1%)</td>
<td>48 (19.0%)</td>
<td>15 (12.6%)</td>
<td>66 (22.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place</td>
<td>14 (10.7%)</td>
<td>49 (19.5%)</td>
<td>56 (47.1%)</td>
<td>69 (23.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL</td>
<td>6 (4.6%)</td>
<td>20 (7.9%)</td>
<td>6 (5.0%)</td>
<td>16 (5.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>51 (38.9%)</td>
<td>85 (33.7%)</td>
<td>26 (21.8%)</td>
<td>85 (29.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total order</td>
<td>131 (100%)</td>
<td>252 (100%)</td>
<td>119 (100%)</td>
<td>291 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As Table 21 shows, Saarikoski and Mäkinen made the fewest shifts in this category; Saarikoski made 131 shifts of order and Mäkinen 119, while Linturi’s equivalent score was the highest, at 291, and Matson’s quite high at 252. Apart from giving the total numbers of shifts of order, Table 21 proposes one possible subcategorization, dividing the shifts into (a) those that take place in the subject–verb (SV) and subject–verb–object (SVO) sequences, (b) those that involve a change in the place of an adverb or a phrase denoting time or place, (c) those in the order of sentences or clauses and (d) other, miscellaneous shifts of order. Adverbs and phrases denoting time and place were moved around the most: Linturi’s score was again the highest here, as he had 135 shifts relating to the order of phrases denoting time or place, against 39 for Saarikoski, 97 for Mäkinen and 71 for Matson. The majority of Mäkinen’s
shifts of order dealt with adverbs or phrases denoting place (47.1%). Mäkinen shifted the order of place expressions with an adverbial function 56 times, 73.6% of all phrases denoting place and time, and time expressions with an adverbial function 15 times (26.4%), while the percentages representing shifting in phrases denoting time or place were divided more evenly in the case of the other translators. Saarikoski favoured shifts in the subject–verb or subject–verb–object sequence. Saarikoski and Mäkinen changed clause order only six times each, while Matson changed clause order 20 times and Linturi 16 times. The subcategory for other shifts of order is quite large, which indicates that a closer analysis (and perhaps a different approach to categorization) is needed to reveal less obvious patterns.

4.1.5 Miscellaneous

The category of miscellaneous shifts is broken down into the most frequently occurring shifts in Table 22 below.

Table 22. Miscellaneous shifts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shift</th>
<th>Saarikoski</th>
<th>Matson</th>
<th>Mäkinen</th>
<th>Linturi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tense/mood</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deleted repetition</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above table shows that Saarikoski made 23 miscellaneous shifts, Matson 127, Mäkinen 17 and Linturi 102. The frequencies were not high compared with the other categories, which indicates that the main categories are fairly comprehensive. Since Matson and Linturi had substantially higher scores here than Saarikoski and Mäkinen, it was considered worth
checking whether they used any recurring shifts in this category. As many as 51 of Matson’s 
127 miscellaneous shifts were cases of deleted repetition, while 24 were shifts of tense or 
mood, and 26 of Linturi’s 102 miscellaneous shifts were cases of deleted repetition, with 15 
cases of shifts of tense or mood. (It should be pointed out here that some shifts of tense, for 
instance, are obligatory in translation from English into Finnish, but that only cases with more 
than one alternative solution were recorded here.) Deletion of repetition will be examined 
more closely with reference to Matson and Linturi in section 5.3.

In the following section, the quantitative material presented above will be summarized in the 
form of translator profiles.

4.2 Quantitative translator profiles

The tendencies revealed in the quantitative analysis indicate that there are grounds for 
constructing ‘translator profiles’ by adding up the quantitative data and allowing the data to 
show what is most characteristic of each translator. Tables 23-25 below suggest ways of 
presenting the individual translators’ characteristic features on the basis of the quantitative 
data given above in 4.1.

Table 23 below is a proportional comparison of the four translators on the basis of the 
material gathered on them. The right-hand column entitled Highest number shows which of 
the translators used each shift type most. The translator scoring the highest in the number of 
shifts in each category is represented by 100 per cent. The translator scoring the lowest in the 
number of shifts has been placed in the column on the left entitled Lowest number. The 
columns in the middle are entitled Second lowest number and Second highest number. The 
percentages given in the three columns on the left reflect the proportion of the shifts made by 
each translator in relation to the highest number represented by 100 per cent.
Table 23. Proportional comparison of translators in relation to number of shifts made

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shifts</th>
<th>Lowest number</th>
<th>Second lowest number</th>
<th>Second highest number</th>
<th>Highest number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) Total</td>
<td>Mäkinen 32.3%</td>
<td>Saarikoski 36.1%</td>
<td>Linturi 89.3%</td>
<td>Matson 100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) Expansion</td>
<td>Mäkinen 34.4%</td>
<td>Saarikoski 40.9%</td>
<td>Matson 92.5%</td>
<td>Linturi 100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) Contraction</td>
<td>Mäkinen 23.1%</td>
<td>Saarikoski 35.4%</td>
<td>Linturi 54.0%</td>
<td>Matson 100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4) Expansion replacement</td>
<td>Mäkinen 27.4%</td>
<td>Linturi 46.8%</td>
<td>Saarikoski 79.6%</td>
<td>Matson 100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5) Contraction replacement</td>
<td>Mäkinen 44.0%</td>
<td>Saarikoski 51.7%</td>
<td>Matson 64.7%</td>
<td>Linturi 100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6) Expansion addition</td>
<td>Saarikoski 19.0%</td>
<td>Mäkinen 30.3%</td>
<td>Matson 72.0%</td>
<td>Linturi 100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7) Contraction deletion</td>
<td>Mäkinen 14.1%</td>
<td>Saarikoski 26.5%</td>
<td>Linturi 33.7%</td>
<td>Matson 100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8) Order</td>
<td>Mäkinen 41.0%</td>
<td>Saarikoski 45.0%</td>
<td>Matson 86.6%</td>
<td>Linturi 100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table shows that Matson and Linturi shared the highest figures in all shift categories between themselves. In the column representing the second highest numbers of shifts, Matson and Linturi again feature high, with Saarikoski as the only exception (in the subcategory of replacement involving expansion). Mäkinen, on the other hand, is characterized by the lowest proportions in all but the subcategory of expansion involving addition. Saarikoski is predominant in the column with the second lowest numbers, with the two exceptions mentioned above: a higher proportion in expansion involving replacement and a lower proportion in expansion involving addition.
4.2.1 Translating Joyce: a comparison of Saarikoski and Matson

In this section I will compare Saarikoski and Matson, who both translated Joyce, in terms of the traits they showed through their choice of optional shift types. Table 24 on the following page lists their most prominent features. The most significant single intersubjective difference between these two translators is the number of shifts: Saarikoski made 559 shifts and Matson 1,385 shifts.
Table 24. Saarikoski and Matson: prominent features

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Saarikoski</th>
<th>Matson</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Low number of shifts 559</strong></td>
<td><strong>High number of shifts 1,385</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expansion replacement 148</td>
<td>Expansion replacement 186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contraction replacement 60</td>
<td>Contraction replacement 75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expansion addition 98</td>
<td>Expansion addition 371</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contraction deletion 99</td>
<td>Contraction deletion 374</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total expansion 246</strong></td>
<td><strong>Total expansion 557</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total contraction 148</strong></td>
<td><strong>Total contraction 449</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difference between expansion and contraction in the category of replacement: +88</td>
<td>Difference between expansion and contraction in the category of replacement: +111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difference between addition and deletion: (-1) including</td>
<td>Difference between addition and deletion: (-3) including</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>verbs: added 25 – deleted 9 = +16</td>
<td>verbs: added 102 – deleted 54 = +48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nouns: added 21 – deleted 26 = (-5)</td>
<td>nouns: added 97 – deleted 73 = +24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adverbs: added 20 – deleted 23 = (-3)</td>
<td>adverbs: added 85 – deleted 83 = +2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adjectives: added 11 – deleted 12 = (-1)</td>
<td>adjectives: added 31 – deleted 42 = (-11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clauses: added 3 – deleted 0 = +3</td>
<td>clauses: added 7 – deleted 16 = (-9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phrases: added 0 – deleted 12 = (-12)</td>
<td>phrases: added 5 – deleted 47 = (-42)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Order 131</strong></td>
<td><strong>Order 252</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>including</td>
<td>including</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adverbs and phrases denoting time 25</td>
<td>adverbs and phrases denoting time 48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adverbs and phrases denoting place 14</td>
<td>adverbs and phrases denoting place 49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Few miscellaneous shifts: 23</td>
<td>Miscellaneous shifts 127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>including</td>
<td>including</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 instances of deleted repetition</td>
<td>51 instances of deleted repetition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 shifts of tense or mood</td>
<td>24 shifts of tense or mood</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The low number of formal shifts suggests that Saarikoski follows the source text closely. The shifts most characteristic of Saarikoski will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.

The large number of formal shifts reflects considerable distance from the source text: a great deal of addition and deletion: addition of verbs and nouns and deletion of clauses, phrases and repetition. These shifts will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.

Saarikoski scored lower than Matson in all four main categories and in the number of shifts. His most distinctive feature is that he favoured expansion replacement shifts, which means that in spite of expanding, he did not tend to add any content that was not present in the source text. His expansions were mostly replacements of phrases with finite main clauses or subordinate clauses. His deletions 'cancelled out' the few additions. He used very few miscellaneous shifts. His translation appears to follow the source text closely in respect of the features studied.

Matson used more than twice as many shifts as Saarikoski. He expanded through both replacement and addition, and his total expansion shifts exceeded contractions by 108. In the subcategories involving replacement, he favoured expansion over contraction, while in the subcategory of addition, he makes 3 deletion shifts more than additions. The deletions were not divided evenly between the secondary subcategories of deletion, however. Matson would appear to have added rather than deleted single words, mostly verbs, as he added 48 verbs more than he deleted while deleting as many as 16 clauses and 47 phrases against seven added clauses and five added phrases. This leaves what might be described as a 'deficit' of nine clauses and 42 phrases. The total number of Matson's expansion shifts was high, 557, as was his number of contraction shifts: 449. Significant features in the miscellaneous category comprised deletion of repetition (51 instances) and shifts of tense and mood (24 instances). These figures reflect a distance from the source text, and compared with Saarikoski, Matson is clearly inclined to apply more purely formal shifting in his translation. The principal characteristics of these translators will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.
4.2.2 Translating Hemingway: a comparison of Mäkinen and Linturi

In comparing Mäkinen and Linturi as translators of Hemingway, Table 25 on the following page lists their most prominent features. The most significant single intersubjective difference between these two translators is, as was the case between Saarikoski and Matson, the total number of optional shifts: Mäkinen made 447 shifts and Linturi 1,237 shifts.
Table 25. Mäkinen and Linturi: prominent features

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mäkinen</th>
<th>Linturi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Low number of shifts</strong></td>
<td><strong>High number of shifts</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Expansion replacement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Contraction replacement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Expansion addition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Contraction deletion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total expansion</strong></td>
<td><strong>Total expansion</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total contraction</strong></td>
<td><strong>Total contraction</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Difference between expansion and contraction in the category of replacement</strong></td>
<td><strong>Difference between expansion and contraction in the category of replacement</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Difference between addition and deletion:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>including</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>verbs: added 96 – deleted 2 = +94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nouns: added 12 – deleted 12 = 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>adverbs: added 20 – deleted 16 = +4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>adjectives: added 4 – deleted 4 = 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>clauses: added 3 – deleted 8 = (-5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>phrases: added 3 – deleted 10 = (-7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Order</strong> 119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>including</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>adverbs and phrases denoting time 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>adverbs and phrases denoting place 56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Miscellaneous</strong> shifts 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>including</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 instances of <strong>deleted repetition</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9 shifts of tense or mood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Order</strong> 291</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>including</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>adverbs and phrases denoting time 66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>adverbs and phrases denoting place 69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Miscellaneous</strong> shifts 102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>including</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>26 instances of <strong>deleted repetition</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15 shifts of tense or mood</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Summary: Mäkinen

The low number of formal shifts indicates closeness to source text, but there is reason to expect that some information is added, since there is a fairly high verb addition surplus. The shifts that are the most characteristic of Mäkinen will be discussed in further detail in Chapter 5.

Summary: Linturi

The large number of shifts suggests considerable distance from source text: Linturi adds a great deal, even larger units, ergo information is likely to have been added. These shifts and their potential impact on the information content will be discussed in Chapter 5.

Mäkinen’s total shift score was the lowest: 447. He did not score very high or low in any of the main shift categories. This places him in the same league as Saarikoski. Close on one half of all his shifts were expansion shifts, mostly additions, as he expanded very little through replacement. His additions outweighed his deletions with a difference of +103, and of this difference, verbs accounted for a surplus of +94. This called for further analysis. Shifts of order involving adverbs and phrases denoting place accounted for half of all his shifts of order, i.e. 56.

Linturi made 1,237 shifts, nearly three times as many as Mäkinen. He displayed the biggest difference between expansion and contraction, with 360 instances of expansion in excess of contraction shifts. Instances of addition exceeded those of deletion by 389. The category of replacement was contraction-oriented by 29 more instances of contraction replacement. Linturi added mostly adverbs. The difference between additions and deletions of adverbs was +154. Nevertheless, he also added verbs (surplus +80) and nouns (surplus +91), and a great many larger units (+8 phrases and +7 clauses more than he deleted). Most shifts of order comprised shifting the place of an adverb or a phrase denoting time or place. Furthermore, Linturi’s translation showed 26 cases of deleted repetition and 15 tense and mood shifts. Some of these features will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5’s in-depth analysis.

The question posed in the following sections (4.2.3 – 4.2.5) is: Does a given translator's translation style remain constant or does it vary depending on the author? In order to answer this question, the style used by Saarikoski in translating Joyce will be compared with his style in translating Bellow (and with Matson's style in translating Joyce). Similarly, the style used by Matson in translating Joyce will be compared with his style in translating Steinbeck (and with Saarikoski's style in translating Joyce). Finally, the style characteristic of Linturi in translating Hemingway will be compared with his style in translating Greene (and with
Mäkinen's style in translating Hemingway). No comparative translation was found for Mäkinen, since his other translation work focused on science fiction, and so he was only used in the comparison with Linturi concerning the translation of Hemingway's style.

4.2.3 Saarikoski: translations of Joyce and Bellow compared

Does a translator's translation style remain the same when he deals with another author, or will it reflect different recurring traits? An answer to this question is sought in Tables 26-28. Table 26 on the following page sets the quantitative data reflecting Saarikoski's style in translating Joyce, quantified as presented above in Chapters 2 and 3, against similar quantitative data obtained from Saarikoski's translation of Bellow's *Herzog*. The material used in this comparison comprises 381 lines of narrative from the beginning of Joyce’s *Dubliners* and 381 lines from the beginning of *Herzog*. Table 26 is a summary representing the main shift categories and the features that are the most characteristic of Saarikoski as a translator. (More detailed figures are available in Appendix 5.) In the right-hand column, corresponding figures for Matson's translation of Joyce are given for comparison, calculated as averages per 381 lines from his total figures and rounded to the nearest full figure.
Table 26. Summarized comparison of Saarikoski's most prominent features when translating Joyce and Bellow and Matson's corresponding averages as a translator of Joyce

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Main categories</th>
<th>Joyce, <em>Dubliners</em> by Saarikoski (381 lines of 60 characters)</th>
<th>Bellow, <em>Herzog</em> by Saarikoski (381 lines of 60 characters)</th>
<th>Joyce, <em>Portrait of the Artist</em> by Matson (averages for 381 lines)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Expansion</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contraction</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Order</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total shifts</strong></td>
<td><strong>199</strong></td>
<td><strong>102</strong></td>
<td><strong>462</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Selected subcategories</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expansion replacement</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contraction replacement</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difference between expansion replacement and contraction replacement</td>
<td>+25</td>
<td>+27</td>
<td>+37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expansion addition</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clause added</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phrase added</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noun added</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>verb added</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contraction deletion</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difference between addition and deletion</td>
<td>(-7)</td>
<td>+13</td>
<td>(-1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tense/mood</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deleted repetition</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 26 indicates that Saarikoski uses fewer shifts in translating Bellow than he does when translating Joyce, possibly because Bellow's style is not as complicated as Joyce's. Nevertheless, a general tendency to stay close to the source text is evident in both of Saarikoski's translations. In contrast, the difference is distinct when Saarikoski's figures are compared with those obtained from Matson's translation of Joyce: Saarikoski makes a total of 199 shifts when translating Joyce and 102 shifts when translating Bellow, while Matson makes a total of 462 shifts in his translation of Joyce, more than double the number made by Saarikoski. Saarikoski's expansion figures for Joyce and Bellow are 79 and 60 respectively, while Matson expands 186 times. Saarikoski contracts 61 and 20 (lower figure for Bellow) times and Matson 150 times. For shifts of order, Saarikoski's count is 49 and 16 (again a low figure for Bellow) and Matson's 84. While there is no great difference in replacement shifts, either in expansion or in contraction, the figures for addition and deletion reflect a distinct difference: Saarikoski's addition figures are 29 and 29 against Matson's 124, and Saarikoski deletes 36 and 16 times against Matson's 125. The greatest differences in the type of addition are in the category of nouns – 3 and 7 for Saarikoski and 32 for Matson – and in the category of verbs – 8 and 5 for Saarikoski and 34 for Matson. A further difference can be seen in deletion of repetition: 3 and 1 instances for Saarikoski and 17 for Matson. The figures would seem to suggest, in certain categories at least, that the impact of the source text author is less decisive than the translators' own propensities.

4.2.4 Matson: translations of Joyce and Steinbeck compared

Table 27 on the following page shows the quantitative data reflecting Matson's style in translating Joyce, quantified and presented in the same way as Table 26 above. (More detailed figures are available in Appendix 6.) In the right-hand column, corresponding figures calculated as averages per 381 lines for Saarikoski from his total figures and rounded to the nearest full figure are given for comparison.
Table 27. Summarized comparison of Matson's most prominent features when translating Joyce and Steinbeck and Saarikoski's corresponding averages as a translator of Joyce

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Joyce. <em>Portrait of the Artist</em> by Matson (381 lines of 60 characters)</th>
<th>Steinbeck, <em>The Pearl</em> by Matson (381 lines of 60 characters)</th>
<th>Joyce, <em>Dubliners</em> by Saarikoski (averages for 381 lines)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Main categories</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expansion</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contraction</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Order</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total shifts</strong></td>
<td>350</td>
<td>304</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Selected subcategories</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expansion replacement</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contraction replacement</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difference between expansion replacement and contraction replacement</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expansion addition</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clause added</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phrase added</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noun added</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>verb added</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contraction deletion</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difference between addition and deletion</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tense/mood</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deleted repetition</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Like Table 26 in the case of Saarikoski, Table 27 indicates that similar tendencies can be detected in the two translations by Matson. The total numbers of shifts made, 350 and 304 respectively, look close compared with the corresponding average (171) calculated for Saarikoski for the same number of lines. The main category of expansion showed 141 shifts in the Joyce translation and 109 in the Steinbeck text against Saarikoski's 76, and the figures for contraction in Matson's translations, 91 and 85, indicate that Matson tends to contract much more than Saarikoski, with 48. On the other hand, Matson resorted to more miscellaneous shifts in his Joyce translation, and it is possible that Joyce's complicated style has exerted some influence here. Nevertheless, he made more shifts of order in the Steinbeck translation than in the Joyce translation. Matson's tendency to add nouns and verbs seems to be present in the Steinbeck translation, and his tendency to delete repetition would appear to be a stable feature.

4.2.5 Linturi: translations of Hemingway and Greene compared

A third comparison was carried out to see if any difference could be detected in Linturi’s style of translation in the case of two different authors. Table 28 on the following page is a presentation of the quantitative data obtained by comparing source and target texts taken from the beginning of Hemingway’s The Sun Also Rises and an equivalent passage from Greene’s The Quiet American. Each passage comprised 455 lines of text altogether, roughly equivalent to ten pages. A more complete presentation of the quantitative data is given in Appendix 7. In the right-hand column, corresponding average figures per 455 lines are calculated for Mäkinen from his total figures and rounded to the nearest full figure are given for comparison.
Table 28. Summarized comparison of Linturi's most prominent features when translating Hemingway and Greene and Mäkinen's corresponding averages as a translator of Hemingway

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Main categories</th>
<th>Hemingway, The Sun Also Rises by Linturi, (455 lines of 60 characters)</th>
<th>Greene, The Quiet American by Linturi, (455 lines of 60 characters)</th>
<th>Hemingway, A Farewell to Arms, Mäkinen (averages for 455 lines)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Expansion</td>
<td>229</td>
<td>366</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contraction</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Order</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total shifts</td>
<td>487</td>
<td>599</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selected subcategories</td>
<td>Expansion addition</td>
<td>193</td>
<td>293</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- added clause</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- added phrase</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- added noun</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- added verb</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- added adverb</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contraction deletion</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difference between addition and deletion</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>242</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Order of phrases with an adverbial function expressing time and place</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tense/mood</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deleted repetition</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 28 above shows that Linturi made more optional shifts in the Greene translation (599) than in his Hemingway translation (487); both figures are high, however, compared with Mäkinen's total of 164 shifts. The relative distribution of the shifts in Linturi's Greene translation and the frequencies in the subcategories make up a profile similar to that constructed on the basis of the data obtained from his Hemingway translation. The inclination to favour addition as a means of expansion is evident in both the Hemingway and the Greene translations, and furthermore, the addition types are similar, although Linturi's addition frequency in the case of Greene (293) is higher than in the Hemingway translation (193); there is the possibility that this is due to the author's influence. The tendency to delete repetition is much stronger in the Hemingway translation (20), but is also evident in the Greene translation (6), while Mäkinen deletes repetition only once. One reason for Linturi's lower figure for deleted repetition in the case of Greene may be that there is more repetition in the descriptive passages at the beginning of Hemingway's novel than in the excerpt from Greene, and so more opportunity to delete instances of it.

What is striking in the above data is that the differences between Saarikoski and Matson in Table 26 are greater than those between Saarikoski's two translations of Joyce and Bellow, and the differences between Saarikoski and Matson are also greater than those between Matson's two translations of Joyce and Steinbeck, as shown in Table 27. Similarly, the differences between Mäkinen and Linturi when they translate Hemingway (Table 28) are distinctly greater than the differences between Linturi's translations of Hemingway and Greene. This, in my view, clearly supports the hypothesis that the translator's voice is in many respects constant and not dependent on the author's style. These findings, although distinctive enough as shown here, should be confirmed statistically by studying a larger number of translators and by using corpus-based methods.

After presenting the quantitative data, I will carry out a more detailed analysis of some of the most prominent features of the four translators in the next chapter.
5. Zooming in: further analysis of quantitative data

The quantitative method presented above provides a foundation for deeper analysis. Quantification has helped to single out the recurring formal shifts characterizing each of the four translators, whose propensities were summed up in the quantitative profiles outlined at the end of Chapter 4. In this chapter, examples will be given of various content-related approaches for further analysis that can be utilized in characterizing the style of the translators concerned. The passages subjected to such in-depth analysis of shifts may be any of the ten-page extracts from each translator, aiming to avoid focus on a single section alone. Attention will be paid to some of the most frequently recurring shift patterns identified through the formal quantitative analysis of optional shifts in the preceding chapter in order to offer angles for in-depth analysis of a translator's style. A link between this in-depth scrutiny at the local level and the macrolevel effect of a work of fiction will then be suggested in Chapter 6 through style factors representing the interaction of the formal and content elements of literary works and leading to macrolevel effects. It is through this interaction that the fictional world is presented to the reader and the experience of the reader created.

The following sections will not comprise a full-fledged analysis of the data. Ways of dealing with the quantitative data are suggested through examples of the most frequently recurring shift types that are considered to characterize the individual translators.
5.1 Expansion through replacement: Saarikoski

In the quantitative analysis, Saarikoski’s most distinctive feature was the low total shift count in comparison with Matson and Linturi. Expansion through replacement appeared to be the optional shift strategy he tended to favour most, and he was the only one of the four translators to prefer expanding through replacement to addition. According to the definitions of the categories of replacement and addition, the information content does not change in the formal cases of expansion through replacement. To recapitulate, Saarikoski expanded a word or phrase by replacing it with a clause 145 times and contracted a clause into a word or phrase 53 times, leaving a replacement expansion surplus of +92 over the 30 pages analysed. Closer analysis revealed that of the 25 contractions he made over the first ten-page section, 12 were contractions of finite clauses (eight of them subordinate clauses beginning with while or as) into non-finite phrases; the rest of the instances of contraction replacement were scattered fairly evenly over other types of clause. In keeping with the principle of focusing on the most frequently occurring shifts, examples will be given below of some of the shifts of expansion replacement that Saarikoski applied most frequently.

Over the first ten pages of his translation of Dubliners, Saarikoski expanded a word or phrase into a finite clause clause 50 times. Of these 50 instances of expansion replacement, 33 were cases in which the source text element expanded was a non-finite phrase. The non-finite phrases were expanded into a main clause 16 times and into a subordinate clause 17 times. Example (39) below shows a replacement of a non-finite phrase by a main clause.

(39) ST: Refreshed by this, Mahony… (Joyce 1914: 23)
TT: Se piristi Mahonya niin, että hän… (Saarikoski 1965: 22)
BT: It refreshed Mahony so that he…

Note that the shift of voice (passive to active) that also occurs in Example (39) is not included in the statistics, since it is obligatory: Finnish does not apply an agent with its passive voice – instead, the Finnish passive implies an unspecified human participant (Shore 1992: 77) and cannot therefore be used here. Still, it would have been a feasible option to keep the non-finite verb form, and to formulate the translation in the following manner, for instance: Tästä piristyneenä Mahony…'Of this refreshed Mahony…' (the prepositional phrase of this is an approximation of the function of the case ending in the word tästä). The latter suggestion would make Mahony the subject of the intransitive verb piristyä as opposed to the transitive
piristää used by Saarikoski with the subject se 'it'. Another option, using the same transitive verb piristää as Saarikoski, might be: Tämän piristämänä Mahony... 'This having refreshed Mahony...' This last option would keep the narrative agency and transitivity relations intact. Apart from illustrating the type of expansion replacement shift typical of Saarikoski, Example (39) shows that the issue of the translator's voice and issues of narrative agency and transitivity are complicated and to some extent tied to the structural differences between the two languages involved. This might be taken to suggest that a research angle focusing on issues of narrative agency and transitivity might prove fruitful. In the alternative Saarikoski opted for in his translation of Dubliners there is the further shift of turning the main clause of the source text sentence into a subordinate clause in the target text. The shift was recorded in the miscellaneous category but will not be analysed here in more detail on account of the low frequency of this type of shift.

Another example of expansion by replacing a non-finite phrase with a finite main clause is given below (Example 40):

(40) ST: (We spent...time)... often being shouted at...by the drivers of...carts. (Joyce 1914: 22)
    TT: ...ja...vaunujen kuljetajat hätistelivät meitä monta kertaa pois... (Saarikoski 1965: 20)
    BT: ...and...the drivers of the...carts shouted at us many times...

In the above example, there is once more an obligatory shift of voice: the Finnish passive voice requires an indefinite agent, and, since the actor is known, the translator resorts to the active voice here. This shift is not recorded as an optional shift. In connection with this obligatory shift, however, the translator chooses to change the non-finite structure often being shouted at into a main clause ja... vaunujen kuljetajat hätistelivät meitä, 'the drivers of the carts... shouted at us'. Although there is practically no shifting in the information content, the question might be posed whether the weight given to the information provided in the phrase changes when a phrase is given the status of a main clause – this may have the consequence of an additional comment in the source text gaining in importance through its new status in the target text. Although such an impact is not particularly clear in the above example, shifts in the emphasis given to various text elements and in weight relations between clauses might be a fruitful sector of focus in future translation studies. Such considerations might
even be extended from clause level to weight relations within the framework of complete paragraphs.

Of the total of 17 replacements of non-finite forms with subordinate clauses, Saarikoski translated seven by replacing them with a relative clause of the types given in Examples (41) and (42) below:

(41) ST: *card pinned on the crape.* (Joyce 1914:10)
    TT: *...korttia, joka oli neulalla kiinnitetty harsoon.* (Saarikoski 1965:9)
    BT: *...the card that had been attached* to the crape with a pin.

In this case and in the other similar cases Saarikoski might have opted for a more compact structure. In Example (41) above, for instance, he might have used a premodifying structure such as: *...neulalla harsoon kiinnitettyä korttia.* '... (with a) pin to the crape attached card'. (The verb *pin* requires a word combination in translation, since there is no single verb conveying the idea of pinning in Finnish.) The latter alternative is more compact, but Saarikoski may have had a conscious or unconscious preference for looser sentence structures.

Another instance of a similar type is given in Example (42)

(42) ST: *a notice...saying*... (Joyce 1914: 10
    TT: *...kilpi, jossa luki...:* (Saarikoski 1965: 9)
    BT: *...a notice that said*...

The example above is a case of an obligatory shift as far as expanding the phrase is concerned, but the type of shift is optional, since the translator also had the option of using a premodifying phrase before the headword *notice* to convey the information. The fact that, in the process of solving the problem of translating non-finite phrases into a language that does not favour similar use of non-finite forms, Saarikoski opts for a relative clause instead of a compact premodifying phrase or of some other more compact phrase is indicative of a tendency to apply elements with a looser structural composition. This is supported by the finding that expansion replacement was in general typical of Saarikoski.
The remaining 17 expansion replacements spread over the first ten pages of Saarikoski’s translation represent expansion of a single word or noun phrase into various types of finite clauses: eight times into a main clause and nine times into a subordinate clause. No particular pattern is evident in the clause type distribution. Example (43) shows expansion of the noun *refusal* into a subordinate clause:

(43) ST:…disappointed at my refusal…(Joyce 1914: 13)
TT: ...pahoillaan siitä että kieltäydyin…(Saarikoski 1965: 12)
BT:...disappointed (at the) fact that I refused...

The nominalization in the source text at my refusal could actually be translated into Finnish as one word (TT: *kieltäymisestäni*) by applying morphological units (the required case ending and possessive suffix, corresponding to the function of the source text preposition and possessive pronoun), but Saarikoski chooses to expand the structure using a subordinate clause. No new information is added, however.

To summarize, expanding phrases into clauses without adding information would appear to be the most distinctive feature in Saarikoski’s style of translating.

5.2 Addition: all four translators

In terms of the total number of addition shifts made, Saarikoski’s total of 98 additions (39.8% of all his expansion shifts) is fairly low, while the other three translators resorted to addition more often: Matson made 557 additions (66.6% of all his expansion shifts), Mäkinen, whose total shift score was the lowest, made 156 additions (75.4% of all his expansion shifts) and Linturi made 515 additions (85.5% of all his expansion shifts). Since single words tended to be added more often than other elements, this tendency will be exemplified by taking a closer look at the occurrence of certain word classes (parts of speech) among the words that were added.

5.2.1 Addition of verbs: a feature common to all four translators

All four translators tended to add verbs. Let us now compare the kinds of verbs they added in order to see if any interindivudual differences can be detected. At this phase it seems feasible
to introduce the semantic angle and consider the additions on the basis of the type of information content the additions carry.

While Saarikoski stands alone in favouring expansion through replacement and his figures for addition were much lower than those of the others, who favoured addition over replacement, he did add a few more verbs than he deleted. Some examples of his additions in the first ten-page extract are given below as Examples (44-46).

(44) ST: ...the crowd on the quay… (Joyce 1914: 23)
TT: ...laiturilla seisova joukko… (Saarikoski 1965: 21)
BT: ...(on) the quay standing crowd...

(45) ST: I had found it lighted …(Joyce 1914: 7)
TT: Olin havainnut sen olevan valaistu... (Saarikoski 1965: 7)
BT: I had found it to be lighted...

(46) ST: …were reading the card… (Joyce 1914: 10)
TT: ...seisoivat ja lukivat…(Saarikoski 1965: 9)
BT: ...were standing and reading...

A closer scrutiny of the eight verbs Saarikoski added in the first ten-page excerpt of his translation of Dubliners shows that three of the additions would appear to have been made merely to facilitate the sentence structure, not to add content information, as Examples (44) and (45) illustrate. Particularly, the addition in Example (44) was a logical structural option, since the post-modifying prepositional phrase denoting place on the quay would be considered to perform an adverbial function in Finnish, and adverbial phrases usually occur with verbs rather than nouns in Finnish. These types of shift do not distinguish Saarikoski from the other three as a translator, as all four translators use such shifts. The addition in Example (45) above is not necessary, even for syntactic reasons, but it makes the Finnish less compact and less heavy-going than the alternative, Olin havainnut sen valaistuksi, 'I had found it lighted'. The latter would be structurally equivalent, but the alternative opted for by Saarikoski takes into account the light, simple structure of the source text, with its short words. There was only one occurrence of this type of addition. In Example (46), Saarikoski appears to have added information unnecessarily by inserting the verb seisoivat, 'standing', in
spite of the fact that there are no structural constraints calling for the addition of this element. There were four additions of this type in the first excerpt by Saarikoski.

Matson added 102 verbs against 54 deleted ones, leaving a surplus of 48. A closer look was taken at the verbs added in the second ten-page excerpt of his translation of Joyce's *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*. An analysis of the 45 verbs Matson added in the second excerpt revealed two distinctive types of addition. First, in 19 cases the additions made by Matson were either a structural option of the type used also by Saarikoski (see Examples 44 and 45 above) or could otherwise be explained as a means to make the sentences concerned more readable, and to facilitate flow. They did not add any substantial information. These shifts will be regarded as semi-obligatory and will not be given particular attention in terms of characterizing the translators. Second, in 21 cases Matson gave more specific information than the source text by adding a verb to specify the meaning of another verb, as in Example (47). In five of the 21 cases of such addition increasing the degree of specification, there would appear to be no obvious reason for expanding or explaining the meaning. The latter shift type is illustrated by Examples (48-49).

(47) ST: …how much temporal punishment he had remitted… (Joyce 1916: 134)
TT: …kuinka paljon ajallista rangaistusta… oli saanut pyyhityksi...
(Matson 1964: 162)
BT: ...how much temporal punishment he had managed to remit...

(48) ST: …his eyes had wandered… (Joyce 1916: 140)
TT: …hän oli antanut katseensa vaeltaa…(Matson 1964: 170)
BT: ... he had allowed his eyes to wander...

(49) ST: …gestures he had noted with various priests. (Joyce 1916: 143)
TT: …liikkeitä, jotka hän oli pannut merkille eri pappeja tarkkaillessaan. (Matson 1964: 175)
BT: ...gestures he had noted various priests observing (=when observing various priests)

In Example (47), Matson’s addition lays more stress on the success of remitting punishment as opposed to potential failure, while the source text version is a simple statement of fact. In Example (48), on the other hand, the nature of the narrative agency shifts, as it makes the
person looking around him to allow his eyes to wander (active decision) as against the eyes just wandering aimlessly without premeditation. In Example (49), the idea of observing is added.

In the shift type shown in Example (50), a colourful descriptive verb has been added to modify plain eating:

(50) ST: ...eating...(Joyce 1916: 142)  
TT: ...syödä mutustelevan...(Matson 1964: 173)  
BT: ...eat munching...

This feature, typical of the Finnish language, is called a colorative construction. A colorative construction consists of two verbs: a neutral infinitive verb and a finite verb which dramatizes or specifies the denotative meaning, adding colour, emotive and expressive force, sometimes also reflecting the perception and attitude of the focalizer (Jarva & Kytölä 2007: 237). It might be useful in translating an English verb–adverb combination, where the adverb is used to describe the nature of the action, but in Example (50) above there is no equivalent colorant in the source text. In the second excerpt there was only one addition of this kind, however.

Discounting Matson's 19 additions that did not result in material changes in the information content, we are left with 21 cases of specification and five other cases of addition in which the motivation for the addition cannot be deduced on the basis of the text. This indicates some shifting at the level of the entire novel.

As far as Linturi's verb additions are concerned, he added 30 verbs over the first ten-page extract of his translation of Hemingway's The Sun also Rises. In seven out of these 30 additions, he added a verb alongside another verb to give more specific information of the type illustrated by Examples (51) and (52) below.

(51) ST: …I had somebody verify the story... (Hemingway 1926: 5)  
TT: …sain houkutelluksi jonkun kysymää...(Linturi 1954: 10)  
BT: ... I managed to persuade someone to ask...
In addition to these seven additions of a specifying verb, there were 16 other instances of adding a verb that provided completely new information. In Example (53), the verb *tiesi* 'knew' was added; and as a result of the addition, the neutral, external point of view in the statement *what she couldn’t have* is turned into Brett’s personal point of view. In Example (54) again, the sound of the clock is added, although the original is a simple statement of time.

(53) ST: *I suppose she only wanted what she couldn’t have.* (Hemingway 1929: 25)
TT: *Brett taisi vain haluta sitä, minkä *tiesi* mahdottomaksi saada.* (Linturi 1954: 44)
BT: I suppose Brett only wanted what she knew (to be) impossible to have.

(54) ST: *At five o’clock I was...* (Hemingway 1929: 32)
TT: *Kellon *lyödessä* viisi minä...* (Linturi 1954: 55)
BT: The clock striking five I...

The addition of the verbs in these examples is a type of shift for which it is difficult to find justification on the basis of the source text. In 24 out of 30 additions, some degree of new information was added by the translator. Since this number concerns merely the first ten pages of Linturi’s translation, the cumulative effect can be expected to be considerable.

Mäkinen’s sole distinctive feature would seem to be the addition of verbs. With only two deleted verbs, there is a surplus of 89 added verbs, and addition of verbs accounts for 61.6% of all his addition shifts. A closer examination shows that of the 44 verbs he added in the first ten-page excerpt, the verb *olla* 'be' is added 18 times in various forms with the apparent purpose of solving the problem involved in translating prepositional phrases, particularly post-modifiers, as illustrated in Example (55). (It would also have been possible to solve this situation by using a single adjectival premodifier such as *etelänpuoleinen*, 'southward'.) As noted above, this structural strategy was applied to some extent by all four translators.

(55) ST: *...on the plateau to the south...* (Hemingway 1929: 8)
TT: *...etelässä olevalla ylängöllä...* (Mäkinen 1946: 9)
BT: …on (the) (to the) south being plateau...
Mäkinen resorted to similar, apparently structurally-motivated strategies with a variety of other verbs, too. Information would appear to have been added in only 14 of all his 44 verb additions. Such addition of information is primarily increased specification, as illustrated in Example (56), but as the example shows, the added information is implied in the source text and is thus not particularly weighty. Similar instances of increased specification of content that is in implied form in the source text are the addition of the verb suoritetut 'carried out' in the phrase attack beyond Lom (Hemingway 1929: 141), Lomin takana suoritettu hyökkäys (Mäkinen 1946: 186), 'attack carried out beyond Lom' and the verb saattoi, 'could', in You heard the report (Hemingway 1929: 141), translated as saattoi kuulla laukauksen (Mäkinen 1946: 186), 'you could hear the report'.

Table 29 on the following page summarizes the addition of verbs made by the four translators, allowing comparison between them by using figures calculated for 100 lines. Verb additions that might be considered likely for structural reasons are presented separately from those verb additions for which no potential explanation could be found. At the bottom of the table, total verb additions and deletions, the differences between additions and deletions and total additions of all types with total deletions of all types are shown so that comparisons can be made between the total addition and verb addition. The highest figures are emphasized in boldface: Mäkinen, whose verb additions show the highest surplus when deleted verbs are subtracted from those added, uses verb additions primarily for structural effects, while Matson and Linturi tend to add information. Matson adds the most verbs, but also deletes a great many, while Linturi shows a verb surplus of 6.45 calculated per 100 lines against Matson's 3.87. Note that Linturi's overall addition surplus per 100 lines is as high as 31.37, while Saarikoski's corresponding figure is -0.08, Matson's 8.71 and Mäkinen's 8.31. (A hundred lines equals roughly three pages.)
Table 29. Summary of verb additions per 100 lines: breakdown into verb additions made apparently for structural effects and those clearly adding information

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbs added</th>
<th>Saarikoski (calculated for 413 lines)</th>
<th>Matson (calculated for 524 lines)</th>
<th>Mäkinen (calculated for 510 lines)</th>
<th>Linturi (calculated for 455 lines)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Structural effects /100 lines</td>
<td>0.97</td>
<td>3.63</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>1.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Information added /100 lines</td>
<td>0.97</td>
<td>4.96</td>
<td>2.75</td>
<td>4.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total verbs added for both structural and information effects /100 lines</td>
<td>1.94</td>
<td>8.59</td>
<td>8.64</td>
<td>6.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total verb addition surplus with deletion of verbs (Table 17) subtracted from all verb additions (Table 14) over the 30 pages studied /100 lines</td>
<td>1.29</td>
<td>3.87</td>
<td>7.58</td>
<td>6.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total addition surplus with total deletion (Table 15) subtracted from all additions (Table 12) over the 30 pages studied /100 lines</td>
<td>-0.08</td>
<td>0.24</td>
<td>8.31</td>
<td>31.37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The high frequencies in the case of verb addition and the tendency of both Matson and Linturi in particular to add information while adding verbs suggest that a semantically oriented analysis of verbs in general might shed further light on the tendency to add information or colour through addition. A tendency in Matson and Linturi to favour emotive or otherwise evocative tones might be evident not only in their addition of verbs but in their semantic choices in general. A sample analysis of the semantic choices made by Matson and Linturi in the use of verbs in general is given below under section 6.1.
5.2.2 Addition of nouns: Matson and Linturi

Matson and Linturi both added far more nouns than Saarikoski and Mäkinen did, although Matson also deleted a fair amount. As Table 20 under 4.1.3 shows, Matson's total count was 97 added nouns and 73 deleted ones. A closer analysis of the 32 nouns added in his third excerpt, for instance, shows that Matson appears to have added nouns mostly for reasons of clarity, as illustrated by Examples (57) and (58).

(57) ST: ...the first verses... (Joyce 1916: 197)
    TT: ...runon alkusäkeitä...(Matson 1964: 242)
    BT: ...the poem's first verses...

(58) ST: ...shapeless thoughts... (Joyce 191semantic6: 203)
    TT: ...joukko...ajatuksia...(Matson 1964: 249)
    BT: ...a flock of thoughts

The translation in Example (57) adds the word runo 'poem' and Example (58) adds the word joukko 'flock'. In Example (58), a further shift is evident: the adjective shapeless has been deleted, which means omitting a fairly conspicuous element characterizing the thoughts expressed in the sentence in question. Additions such as those shown above, although providing additional information by specifying the context in more detail than the source text, would usually seem to mediate the kind of information that is implied in the context. It is clear from the expression the first verses that we are talking about a poem, and the expression shapeless thoughts suggests that there are many. The reason for such additions may not be immediately apparent from the context, and in many cases the question arises whether these additions might be regarded as structural aids facilitating sentence construction or affecting rhythm. It would be an interesting line of future study to look into translation from this angle.

While Linturi added a total of 107 nouns, unlike Matson he deleted only 16. An analysis of the third excerpt by Linturi, which (for reasons of finding fairly continuous narrative passages, as explained in Chapter 2) is somewhat shorter than the others, reveals that his strategy in adding nouns is very similar to Matson's. Example (59) below represents Linturi's strategies: the 28 added nouns in this excerpt all appear to have been used mostly to make it easier to solve structural problems or clarify referential relations.
Thus Linturi, while adding information through his verb additions, would not seem to apply nouns for the same purpose. Furthermore, the semantic analysis described under 6.1 will reveal a tendency in Linturi’s work to add colour and emotive intensity through verb choices where formal expansion does not take place.

5.2.3 Addition of adverbs: Linturi

In addition to adding a great many other elements, Linturi also added a total of 196 adverbs, deleting only 42. Over the first ten pages, he added an adverb 81 times. A closer examination reveals that this figure for the first excerpt included 24 different adverbs of time, many of them added repeatedly:

- *sitten* 'then' seven times
- *jo* 'already', 'as early as' five times
- *vielä* 'still' three times
- *taas* 'again' twice, and
- *aina* 'always' twice.

Other recurring additions include *myös*, 'also', which was added five times and *niinpä*, 'so', added five times. Intensifiers, such as *hyvin*, 'very', and *vain*, 'only', were applied nine times in the first section. While these additions would not appear to carry a great deal of weight in an individual case, when repeated frequently they are likely to affect the impression made by Hemingway’s extremely stripped style, which uses redundant or intensifying elements sparingly. Some of the added words also enhance the emotive impression given by the text in the form of noticeable attitude changes: *jyrkästi*, 'drastically/radically' and *muka*, 'pretending that' in *made some remark of it being a very good example of...* which was translated as *että se muka oli erinomainen...* , *pretending that it was...*. 

In addition to individual adverbs, 13 adverb combinations included in the total figure were added by Linturi over the first ten-page section. Example (60) below shows how the added element may be seen as carrying some emotive or attitudinal weight, while the addition of *sitää*...
paitsi recorded in Example (61), although adding some information, is neutral in terms of emotive effect.

(60) ST: He had often wondered what had become of him. (Hemingway 1926: 5)
TT: …oli kaiken kukkuraksi usein itsekseen tuumiskellut…(Linturi 1954: 10)
BT: …had on top of it all often wondered…

(61) ST: …and he discovered he liked… (Hemingway 1926: 6)
TT: .. ja sitä paitsi hän totesi… (Linturi 1954: 11)
BT: … and in addition he discovered...

Examples (60-61) above show that the source text offers no apparent justification for adding these specifications. Frequent addition of such specifications can be expected to produce some effect at the macrolevel: it would appear that Linturi tends to move from Hemingway's characteristically paratactic style – i.e. style avoiding connections or expression of relations other than the noncommittal and (Abrams 1981: 191-192) – towards a more hypotactic one with relations expressed with a variety of adverbs.

5.3 Deletion: Matson and Linturi

The figures for deletion given in Table 15 show that the 374 deletions of units by Matson in the three excerpts from his translation of A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man represent a conspicuous feature compared with the other three translators. Of the other three, Linturi deletes the most, but his score is considerably lower than Matson's: 126 deletions in the excerpts studied. Saarikoski resorted to deletion 99 times and Mäkinen 53 times. Matson’s deletions include 16 clauses, 47 phrases and 73 nouns, for example. It is impossible to know how many of these deletions are oversights and how many have been arrived at consciously, but regardless of the cause of the deletions, they are a definite characteristic of Matson's translating style. A closer analysis will now be carried out regarding some of the deletions made by Matson.

As far as the 27 nouns deleted by Matson in the third excerpt are concerned, the only pattern that emerged was a tendency to simplify complicated clusters of expressions, exemplified by the deletion of the noun tinges in tinges of suffocated anger (Joyce 1916: 146; Matson 1964:
Another probable tendency detected was avoidance of translation problems, as might be the case in the sentence where a list of rhyming nouns (ways, days, blaze, praise, raise) has been deleted. To find rhyming words is not easy in the Finnish language, and rhyming monosyllables even less so. In this particular case, however, Matson actually translated the verse in which the rhyming words occur and made an effort to reproduce the rhymes there (lopoton, hurmion, liekeiss’ on, aavikon, kohtalon); thus he had the option of using them in the narrative, too. It is possible that he found the Finnish words, which are longer than the original source text nouns and mostly inflected, so heavy that he decided not to repeat them. A case similar to that of the rhyming nouns may be that of the deletion of a rhythmically arranged sentence in the protagonist’s spelling book: Canker is a disease of plants, cancer one of animals. It is obvious that the word play involving paronymy (see Delabastita 1996 and Vries & Verheij 1997) is all but impossible to reproduce in Finnish, since the Finnish language is not rich in words resembling each other closely and does not readily lend itself to such word play. This may be the reason why the sentence has been deleted from the translation. A more adventurous translator might have ventured a different type of wordplay to imitate spelling book style, but Matson may have wished to avoid the risk of resorting to clumsy solutions. In most of the deletion cases there is no immediately obvious explanation, however, and occasionally the deletion may be due to inadvertent omission.

In his third excerpt Matson deletes the highest number of finite clauses, i.e. 13 in all; of these deleted clauses, seven are relative clauses. In some of these cases it could be argued that translation of the relative clause would burden the sentence structure excessively, but in others there seems to be no apparent reason. Two of the four deletions of main clauses might be due to difficulty in translating them, although they are not impossible to translate. There are two cases in which there seems to be no apparent reason for the deletion of the main clause. The following is an example of a deleted main clause: The white spray nodded to her dancing and... (Joyce 1916: 199; Matson 1964: 243)

Deletion of repetition may often also result in linguistic contraction, but this form of deletion will be discussed below in 5.5 under miscellaneous shifts.
5.4 Shifts of order in closer analysis

The examples given below of shifts of order involving either shorter elements, for instance single words, or even such longer elements as phrases and clauses, may affect not only the emphasis given to various elements but also the rhythmical arrangement of the text in much the same way as repetition will be shown to do.

An analysis of the subject–verb–object sequence reveals that Saarikoski changes the subject–verb or subject–verb–object order in a total of 35 cases, Matson in 50 cases, Linturi in 55 cases and Mäkinen in 16 cases. Mäkinen would seem to follow the order of the source text the most closely. The following examples are from the first ten-page sections of Saarikoski and Linturi. Saarikoski moves the verb before its subject four times out of 11 in the first excerpt, as illustrated by Example (62), where the place of the auxiliary verb is shifted, and Linturi uses a similar subject–verb shift 11 times out of 25 (Example 63). It should perhaps be pointed out here that cases where Finnish requires a change of word order on account of new information being introduced towards the end of the sentence were regarded as obligatory shifts and are not included in the statistics. In order to facilitate observation of the shift of order, the verb is in normal bold typeface and the subject in italic bold typeface in the source and target text Examples (62-63) given below.

(62) ST: Perhaps my aunt would have given... (Joyce 1914: 10)
TT: Kenties olisi täti antanut...(Saarikoski 1965: 10)
BT: Perhaps would aunt have given...

(63) ST:...but the coffee came... (Hemingway 1926: 16)
TT:... mutta samassa tuli kahvi...(Linturi 1954: 28)
BT:...but at the same time came the coffee...

Example (64) below illustrates a less conspicuous shift of order: moving the object towards the beginning of the sentence. It should be noted that in this particular instance the source text has a prepositional object while the equivalent Finnish object is a direct one. In the first ten-page section of Dubliners, Saarikoski moves the object of a sentence forward seven times out of a total 11 shifts in the subject–verb/subject–verb–object order. Linturi does the same nine times out of the 25 shifts he makes in the subject–verb/subject–verb–object order in the first section of The Sun Also Rises. In the Finnish language, it is a common option to put the object
before the verb, as it may enhance the rhythmical flow of the Finnish clause, even if it is not obligatory. In three of the nine cases of shifting the object forward, Linturi turns the object into a subject – as in Example (65) – deleting the introductory it is...to discover structure. While this changes the sentence structure and rhythm noticeably, it does not appear to have much other stylistic or content-related weight.

(64) ST:...often when I thought of this… (Joyce 1914: 12)
    TT:...usein tätä ajatellessani... (Saarikoski 1965: 11)
    BT:...often (of) this thinking... (equal to: often when of this I thought)

(65) ST: It is very important to discover graceful exits… (Hemingway 1926: 10)
    TT: Tällaiset hienotunteiset karistelukeinot ovat perin tärkeitä… (Linturi 1954: 19)
    BT: Such graceful exits are very important…

In three cases Linturi would appear to have changed the subject–verb order in order to present unknown information as opposed to known information, as in Example (66) below, in which the element providing the new information in the sentences is placed last after the verb, which is typical of Finnish but nevertheless not always done (for more information on theme–rheme relations in Finnish, see e.g. Chesterman 1991: 116 and Shore 1992: 319-344 and 2008). Furthermore, in two cases Linturi turns a prepositional object occurring towards the end of a sentence into the subject, thus moving it forward as in Example (67). In order to facilitate observation of order, the verb is in normal bold typeface and the subject in italic bold typeface in the source and target text examples below.

(66) ST: Five nights a week the working people of the Panthéon quarter danced there. (Hemingway 1926:16)
    TT: Viitenä iltana viikossa siellä tanssivat Panthéonin seutujen työläiset. (Linturi 1954: 28)

No back-translation is provided for Example 66, since the order can be seen from the source text and target text examples.
In the case of phrases with an adverbial function, Mäkinen shifted the place of an adverbial phrase 97 times altogether in his translation of *A Farewell to Arms*, while the equivalent figure in Saarikoski’s translation of *Dubliners* was 90. The figure for Matson’s translation of *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* was 182 and for Linturi’s translation of *The Sun Also Rises* 220, approximately twice the number recorded for Saarikoski and Mäkinen. As an example, a closer analysis will be carried out of the shifts that took place in the order of expressions with an adverbial function in Mäkinen's first ten-page excerpt. Most of Mäkinen’s shifts like this, 19 out of 30, were accounted for by phrases denoting place and consisting of either a single word or a phrase. Some examples are given below. Example (68) illustrates how a phrase denoting place, in the source text *on the road* and *teillä* in the target text and an adverbial expression of time – source text *at night* and target text *öisin* – were moved towards the beginning of a sentence. The translation of an existential subject structure such as the one in this example, *there was*, calls for obligatory shifting in the order of components, but there may be various optional solutions available as to the place chosen for the various components. Mäkinen resorted to this kind of shift 14 times out of the total of 19 shifts of words or phrases denoting place in his first ten-page excerpt. On three occasions, Mäkinen moved a phrase denoting place in front of an expression denoting manner, as he did with *liikenteessä*, 'in the traffic', in Example (69), and in two cases he moved a phrase denoting place towards the end of a sentence, as he did with *alhaalta kaupungista*, 'below in the town', in Example (70). Back-translations were not considered necessary for Examples (68-70) but the phrase denoting place is in normal bold typeface to facilitate observation of the shift of order.

(68)  
ST: *There was much traffic at night and many mules on the road*… (Hemingway 1929: 7)  
TT: *Öisin oli teillä runsaasti liikennettä ja paljon muuleja*… (Mäkinen 1946: 7)
A general tendency with all four translators appears to be the propensity to move elements towards the beginning of the sentence rather than the end. The general tendency to shift the order of elements in the target text may be explained by at least three characteristics of the Finnish language. First of all, as has been pointed out before, Finnish allows for greater freedom in word order. Secondly, if word order is not varied at all in Finnish texts, they tend to be rhythmically more monotonous than English texts, and this may induce the translator to resort to variation. Thirdly, issues of definiteness and theme–rheme relations may play a role in optional choices made by the translators (as in Example 66). Therefore, in order to find specific strategies applied by translators in dealing with issues of order, a more detailed analysis or a different approach to comparing the order of elements in connection with the distribution of information could yield interesting results. Example (71) below shows how a stylistically effective placement by Joyce of information on the shoes of the girls at the beginning of a sentence, making all other elements subordinate to it, changes into a less striking arrangement in the translation. The figures denoting parts of the sentence precede the element they refer to.

(71) ST: (1) Their trim boots prattled (2) as they stood on the steps of the colonnade, (3) talking quietly and gaily, (4) glancing at the clouds, (5) holding their umbrellas at cunning angles against the few last raindrops, (6) closing them again, (7) holding their skirts demurely. (Joyce 1916: 196)

TT: (2) Tytöt seisoivat pylväskäytävän portailta, (3) puhelivat hiljaa ja iloisesti, (4) vilkaisivat pilviin, (5) kääntelivät taitavasti sateensuojiaan viimeisiä sadepisaroita vastaan, (6) sulkivat ne jälleen, (7) kokosivat varovasti helmojaan, (1) ja heidän sievät kenkänsä kopisivat hauskasti pois.
The girls stood on the steps of the colonnade, talked quietly and gaily, glanced at the clouds, held their umbrellas skillfully against the last raindrops, closed them again, held their skirts demurely, and their trim boots pattered delightfully away.

By moving the unusual beginning, the boots of the girls, to the end, Linturi loses the striking effect created by giving a weighty position to a minor element in the picture of the girls standing on the steps. Furthermore, the prattle of the shoes of the girls standing is presented as something taking place when the girls go away. At the same time the structure is simplified, and the shift in the syntactic status of the elements makes the sentence rhythmically more monotonous, since the three different levels of sentence components are reduced to one.
5.5 Miscellaneous shifts

The category of miscellaneous shifts was created for shifts that could not be placed in any of the three main categories, expansion, contraction and order.

In the miscellaneous category, deletion of repetition was the most conspicuous shift type. Such deletion might also be classified under contraction, since it often means contraction of the linguistic form, but it should nevertheless be noted that loss of repetition does not necessarily contract the formal appearance of the text; neither does it necessarily reduce the information content. Repetition may also be deleted simply by choosing a different semantic equivalent for a repeated source text element. A powerful stylistic instrument, repetition affects the presentation of the fictional content through intermediate-level style factors such as rhythm, order of presentation and, in the form of emotive evocativeness, distance of the focalizer from the object of description.

Out of the total of 51 cases of deleted repetition in the entire sample of Matson's translation of Joyce's *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, the 17 cases of deleted repetition found over the first ten pages are illustrated here by the following examples: the repetition of the word *noise* (Example 72), which is repeated five times in the source text but only twice in the target text, and the expression *darkly lit* (Example 73), which is not repeated at all in the target text. The examples show how the rhythmical effects of the repetition and the added intensity achieved through it are lost because of the deletion. Example (74), from the third translation excerpt, illustrates the loss of the parallel status of the clauses achieved by repeating the introductory *he saw*.

(72) ST: **Noises of welcome. (…)**

*Noises…*

*There was a noise of curtainrings running back along the rod… (…) There was a noise of rising and dressing and washing in the dormitory: a noise of clapping of hands as the prefect went up and down*(Joyce 1916: 19)
TT: Tervetuliaisitätä. (…)

Ääniä…

Renkaat kilisivät tankoja vasten kun verhoja vedettiin syrjään… (…)
Makuuhallissa oli heräämisen ja pukeutumisen ja pesemisen ääniä;
luokanvalvoja kulki edestakaisin, löi käsiään yhteen ja… (Matson 1964: 22)

BT: A hubbub of welcomes. (…)

Noises…

Rings clattered against the rods as curtains were being drawn aside…(…) There were noises of rising and dressing and washing in the dormitory: the prefect went up and down, clapped his hands and…

(73) ST: The corridors were darkly lit and the chapel was darkly lit. (Joyce 1916: 16)

TT: Käytävissä oli valaistus himmeä, kappelissa myös. (Matson 1964: 18)

BT: In the corridors was lighting dark, in the chapel too.

(74) ST: He saw her approach him… Then he saw himself sitting… (Joyce 1916: 198)

TT: …tyttö tuli lähenemäksi… Sitten hän näki itsensä istuutuvan...(Matson 1964: 243)

BT: …the girl approached… Then he saw himself sitting…

As seen from the above examples, Matson’s high frequency in deletions suggests that in view of the overall novel, some information content may have been lost and the effect of repetition as a stylistic instrument is likely to have been reduced in his translation.

Linturi's frequent (20) deletions of repetition in the first ten-page excerpt of Hemingway's The Sun Also Rises – considerably more than in the latter two excerpts (four occurrences in the second excerpt and two in the last excerpt) – might be explained in part by the fact that there is more description using repetition at the beginning of the book and in part by the fact that Linturi fails to reproduce the source text repetition in a passage in which the adjective funny is used six times. This particular instance of repetition is apparently geared to emphasize the main character's muddled thoughts that go round and round in his head. Since Linturi so carefully chooses a different word each time, this instance might be accounted for by the general tendency (Toury 1991, Jääskeläinen 2004) to avoid repetition in translations and might be attributed to the general advice given to creative writers to avoid repetition lest it might result in undesirable monotony. The translator's situation is slightly different from that
of a source-text author, however, since the source text already exists, including the repetition. Jääskeläinen (2004) indeed shows that translators in training can be made aware of the stylistic importance of repetition and that this actually changes their translatorial behaviour. In two of the 20 cases it could be argued that the repetition would have been too heavy or clumsy in Finnish, as illustrated by Example (75), in which repetition of the word *boy*, 'poika', has been deleted. Even so, the translator preserves the rhythmical effect.

(75) ST: …he was a nice boy, a friendly *boy*, and very shy… (Hemingway 1926: 6)  
TT: …*hän oli siivo poika*, ystävällinen ja ylen ujo…(Linturi 1954: 10)  
BT: …he was a nice *boy*, friendly and very shy...

Example (76) below is an illustration of how the source-text author uses repetition to establish two rhythmically parallel structures in juxtaposition beginning with *through*, 'kautta', (which is actually a postposition in Finnish when used in this particular sense). This prepositional phrase is followed by the phrase *one of*, 'yksi...’ Let us now see how the translator deals with the repetition-based parallel structures:

(76) ST: Robert Cohn was a member, *through his father*, of one of the richest Jewish families in New York, and *through his mother* of one of the oldest. (Hemingway 1926: 5)  
TT: Robert Cohn *polveutui isänsä kautta* New Yorkin äveräimpiin lukeutuvasta juutalaissuvusta; hänen äitinsä taas kuului yhteen sen vanhimmista. (Linturi 1954: 10)  
BT: Robert Cohn was a member *through his father* of one of the richest Jewish families in New York; his mother again was a member of one of its oldest.

The source text phrase *through his father* is translated fairly literally with the Finnish postposition which is equivalent to the preposition *through* (*kautta*), but the phrase is not repeated in the latter part of the sentence referring to his mother. Instead, the translator opted for a semi-colon and expansion of the phrase *and through his mother* into a main clause, thus ignoring some of the rhythmical patterning which would not have been difficult to repeat in the translation, but nevertheless compensating for the loss by introducing the word *taas*, 'again', which restores some of the juxtaposition.
Example (77) shows how the mirror-image structure (chiasmus) is lost with the deletion of the repetition:

(77)  ST: *He had been taken in hand by a lady who... ... and Cohn never had a chance of not being taken in hand.* (Hemingway 1926: 6)

TT: *Hänet oli ottanut hoiviinsa muuan naisihminen... ... eikä Cohnilla ollut alun alkaenkaan pyristelemisen mahdollisuksia.* (Linturi 1954: 11)

BT: *He had been taken in hand by a lady... ...and Cohn had never had a chance of resisting.*

On pages 24-25 of *The Sun Also Rises*, Hemingway uses the word *funny* six times in a passage of 31 lines. On pages 42-43 of the Finnish translation, Linturi uses six different translations for the word. This particular passage depicts the thoughts of the principal character going round and round in circles, and the repetition intensifies this impression. In the same passage, *I suppose* is used twice in two consecutive sentences but translated by Linturi in two different ways: *kai*, which is approximately the same as 'probably' and *kaiketi*, a rough equivalent of 'I suppose'.

The last example on the effects of deletion of repetition in this section, Example (78) below from *The Sun Also Rises*, shows how the deletion of two small adverbs may affect the rhythmical composition of a sentence. In the source text example, Hemingway uses the adverb *then* three times in the rhythmic organization of a long sentence describing the movement of a taxi in the streets of Paris. Linturi uses the Finnish equivalent 'sitten' only once, deleting the repeated instances.

Although issues of order were already discussed in the previous section 5.4, the brief comment will be made here that Example (78) also illustrates the rhythmic effect of changing the order of elements in item (5) of the example (the figures precede the item referred to). When the translator decides to place the adverb *sitten* ('then' in the source text) after the verb and not before, *tullen sitten*, or 'coming then', this produces an effect that is rhythmically different from *sitten tullen*, 'then coming'. Thus, while the translation deletes the added rhythmic effect achieved by repeating the adverb *then* in the source text and thereby strips the description of rhythmic depth, it also renders the expression more matter-of-fact: placing *then* after *coming* is a more neutral way of expression, and the emphasis achieved by placing it before the verb is thus not reproduced.
The taxi went up the hill, passed the lighted square, then on into the dark, still climbing, then levelled out on to a dark street behind St. Etienne du Mont, went smoothly down the asphalt, passed the trees and the standing bus at the Place de la Contrescarpe, then turned on to the cobbles of the rue Mouffetard. (Hemingway 1926: 20)

TT: (1) Taksi kakkulanrinnettä pitkin ylös, (2) ajoi valaistun aukion halki (3) pimeyteen, (4) kapusi aina vain ylemmäksi (5) tullen sitten St. Etienne du Montin takapuolella kulkevalle tasaiselle, pimeälle kadulle, (6) liukui pehmeästi pitkin sen asfalittia, (7) sivuutti Place de la Contrescarpen puut ja siellä seisoivan bussin (8) ja kääntyi nupukiviselle rue Mouffetardille. (Linturi 1954: 36)

BT: (1) The taxi climbed up the hill, drove across the lighted square (3) ( - ) into the dark, climbed higher and higher (5) coming then to a dark street behind St. Etienne du Mont, slid smoothly down its asphalt, passed the trees at the Place de la Contrescarpe and the bus standing there (8) and ( - ) turned on to the cobbles of the rue Mouffetard.

A graphic presentation given below of the above sentence shows the rhythmic relations between the various parts of the sentence in the source text. The clauses are preceded by the number referring to them in the text above. The parts of the sentence beginning with the word then are at the same level rhythmically, the finite verb forms at another level, and the non-finite still climbing at yet another level. This gives a rhythmically varying sequence.

The rhythmical arrangement of the parts of the sentence is different in the target text shown below in back-translation. All the numbered elements but one have been given equal rhythmical and syntactic weight. This might also be called deletion of rhythm.

This example thus illustrates the interrelations of order, rhythm and repetition.
It is obvious from the above examples that deletion of repetition is one of the most powerful shifts affecting the atmosphere conveyed in a description. It not only adds to the force of expression through recurrence but also contributes to the rhythmical composition of sentences by affecting the balance between various elements.

It should be pointed out here, though, that in a few cases a degree of repetition was also added a few times by some of the translators. The frequencies of such additions were not high enough to warrant closer scrutiny within the framework of this study, however.

The second most frequently recurring subcategory was shifts of tense and mood. A closer examination of Matson’s 19 shifts of tense and mood in the first section shows that there were seven cases of past perfect turned into past tense. These cases are of the type shown in Example (79).

(79) ST: ...the fellows *had told* him ... (Joyce 1914: 18)
    TT: ...niin pojat *kertoivat*... (Matson 1964: 21)
    BT: ...so the fellows *told*...

In another six cases, the shift was made the other way around, from past tense to past perfect. Neither type of tense shift would appear to change the content or order of events. The fact that the Finnish language does not operate on the grammatical principle of sequence of tenses may in part explain why shifts of tense happen in translation. No clear patterns relating to presentation would seem to emerge here, other than the rhythmical effect of the number of words applied. Changes of mood show no pattern either, and appear to depend on their environment. Example (80) illustrates this: was and *the right answer* are combined into *olisi pitänyt vastata* , 'should have answered', which conveys the same meaning but is an indefinite expression implying an unspecified personal subject.

(80) ST: *What was the right answer to the question?* (Joyce 1916: 13)
    TT: *Miten olisi pitänyt vastata?* (Matson 1964: 15)
    BT: How should (one) have answered?/What answer should have been given?

It might be argued that the use of *should* implies there was an outside influence, possibly a norm that defined the way a person should behave in the situation concerned, while the source text merely states there was a single right answer to the question. The angle may shift slightly,
but there does not seem to be a pattern of recurrence in this respect. A more detailed and more extensive semantically-based analysis of the impact of changes of mood on the presentation of content might, however, prove fruitful in the study of literary translation.

This chapter has discussed the findings concerning the most frequently recurring shifts in more detail, introducing some content-related angles to complement the quantitative data. In the next chapter, the observations made in this chapter will be linked with the intermediate-level style factors presented in Chapter 2 in order to relate the findings with macrolevel effects resulting from the recurrence of certain types of shifts.
6. Focus on style factors

This chapter constitutes a step from the local level of translation shifts towards the global level – in other words, from microlevel shifts to macrolevel impacts. A model based on style factors was suggested for this purpose in 2.7 and in Table 7 under 2.8.3. In this model for moving from microlevel shifts towards macrolevel impacts, style factors form an intermediate-level link between the two levels. They consist of repeated use of similar types of shift choices in the translation process. The style factors applied in this study are the degree of specification in the information provided, the order of presentation of the fictional material, focalization (point of view, attitude and distance of focalizer from the fictional events, focus and emphasis), and, finally, rhythm. These factors are used in this study to build a bridge from formal linguistic building blocks to the overall macrolevel effect of the complete work of art. Frequent recurrence of formal microlevel shifts works through these intermediate-level factors, intertwining formal and content-level elements and making up a translator's individual style.

At the intermediate level, a major role is played by the focalization process, in which the focalizer in the form of the narrator or a character or characters in the novel directs the limelight illuminating the fictional world and its events. This limelight is directed through a variety of linguistic means. The original focalizer is naturally the author, who uses a narrator and the narrator's point of view for this purpose. The author may make use of several sub-focalizers within the framework of a single novel. While it is more challenging to fathom the author's intention, the practical process of focalization is simpler to study. The utilization of
linguistic tools to manipulate the focus of the reader's attention is manifested in the text itself. It is possible to point out, for instance, that the author uses repetition to strengthen certain effects and to see if the translator has done the same. It is possible to compare the semantic fields of the words and expressions used by the author and the translator, and to see if the degree of emotive evocativeness involving the characters and the reader in the events going on in the novel are close to each other. It is also possible to identify various syntactic arrangements resulting in certain effects. These linguistic choices are readily available for analysis. By making recurring choices, the author of a novel produces stronger effects, and recurrence plays an equal role in the choices made by the translator producing a target text. The translator thus acts as a second-phase focalizer, and the translator's choices, particularly when repeated, are not without consequences. It has already become evident that even a minor shift, such as the addition of a word, may shift the angle of presentation.

The formal quantitative analysis carried out in the main body of the research material allowed identification of the most frequently recurring formal microlevel elements that characterized each translator. In the in-depth analysis that followed, the focus was extended to content elements mediated through the frequently recurring formal characteristics. Semantic shifts (which were not the primary focus in this study), often resulting from the fact that semantic fields are seldom identical in any two languages, are a fairly clear-cut shift category and are easy to identify in terms of content. Yet semantic shifts are not the only content-related shifts. While the formal arrangement of elements affects the order of presentation and the rhythm of the prose, various formal shifts in the order and status of clauses and clause elements and in their interrelations may also carry content value through such factors as emphasis and focalization, for instance. Formal and content-related elements thus form a tight network of interrelations. In this context, it might be pointed out once more that while similarity concerning a formal element, e.g. order, does not necessarily mean similarity of emphasis in translation, formal non-shifts are not included in this study.

Some content-related aspects were already examined in the previous sections in order to see if they provide further illumination as to the findings obtained by studying formal shifts. This analysis will be utilized in this chapter in order to reveal links between systematic microlevel shifting, that is the characteristic traits of each translator, and the style factors they add up to, and thereby their macrolevel effect.
Style factors are affected by optional shifts to varying degrees. Some optional shifting may take place without addition, deletion or modification of information content, primarily in the subcategories for replacement, where merely the form in which information is presented is either expanded or contracted. Shifts of order may likewise take place without affecting content information, particularly in the case of Finnish, which, compared with English, both allows and requires more freedom in the arrangement of sentence elements. The types of shift referred to above have a primarily structural function. It should also be noted here that the role played by shifts is in general dependent on the overall work concerned and will not necessarily be the same in different novels.

On the basis of this study, the types of shift most affecting the content at the macrolevel would appear to be those causing shifting in focalization and in rhythm. These shifts will be analysed more closely in the following sections on the various style factors. Judging from the analyses carried out concerning the addition of words and phrases, it would appear that verbs as vehicles of action carry a great deal of weight. The case of Mäkinen shows, however, that it is also possible for the translator to add verbs, particularly olla, 'to be', for instance in order to avoid structural complexity or compactness, without causing excessive information or other content-related impacts. In her discussion of grammatical transfer operations, Klaudy (2003: 321-435) refers to such additions as 'empty'.

In the second section of this chapter, translator profiles will be returned to and presented in the form of two tables based on a combination of the quantified data and the content-oriented analysis of shifts. The four translators will be presented as pairs, one pair representing the type of translator that stays close to the source text, and the other representing a translation style that creates some distance between source text and target text.

6.1 From microlevel shifts to macrolevel impacts

In the following, the various style factors will be discussed in relation to the individual characteristics of the four translators identified in the previous analysis. This intermediate-level discussion is a step towards identifying the macrolevel impacts of frequently recurring microlevel translatorial choices.
1. Degree of specification

The information provided by the author – or the translator – constitutes the world of the work of fiction. The light in which the fictional world is presented depends in part on how much specific information the author provides for the reader. The degree of specification may shift in translation if information is added, deleted or changed. As far as this study is concerned, it was found that the type of shifts resorted to by Saarikoski and Mäkinen did not tend to change the degree of specification. Shifts of addition and deletion, as shown by the characterization of Matson and Linturi, would appear to be the main shifts affecting the degree of specification. Other types of shift increasing specification were also found, as shown in Example (81) below.

(81) ST: ...he read too much... (Hemingway 1926: 5)
TT: ...uurasti liiankin ahkerasti... (Linturi 1954: 10)
BT: ... toiled even too hard...

Although the initial stages of this study started out on the principle that semantic aspects would not be analysed, it eventually proved necessary to introduce a content-related angle in the stages following the initial quantification process. Particularly when discussing factors such as the degree of specification, it is all but impossible to ignore content-related aspects.

Introduction of the content-related angle allows a closer semantic analysis of additions. Matson's and Linturi's tendency to add nouns and the use by all four translators of the verb *olla*, 'to be' – possibly to facilitate structural solutions in the translation – shows that not all additions affect the degree of specification. On the other hand, a closer scrutiny of the nature of the verbs added – excluding *olla*, 'to be' – would seem to indicate that verbs, as vehicles of action, often carry specific information about the nature of the action concerned, as happens in the case of the verbs added by Matson and Linturi in their translations (see 5.2.1). It was shown above in Chapter 5 that specification of information, by adding verbs relating to sensory perception for instance, may also affect issues of point of view and distance of the focalizer. Though the focus of this study is on formal shifts, it should be noted that specification may also take place through semantic choices not involving formal shifts. A reference will be made to this below in the section discussing focalization.

Let us consider Matson's tendency to both add and delete elements. He removes some information that is present in the source text and thus simplifies certain aspects while adding other, more specific information elements. The balance in the information offered is thus
shifted, and the end result is a fictional macrolevel world that is arranged differently from that created in the source text. No immediately obvious systematicity can be detected in these changes, however – perhaps further content-weighted analysis would reveal some patterning. On the other hand, Linturi's most notable feature, the tendency to add, serves primarily to increase the degree of specification by providing additional information. This process of specification also adds new colour through Linturi's semantic choices. The macrolevel effect in Matson's and Linturi's translations, then, is a more specific fictional environment and more specific events: their fictional world also tends to be more vivid than that in the source texts as a result of the information added through colourful lexical choices in the translation.

2. Order of presentation
The analysis of shifts carried out in the previous two chapters indicated that there was no distinctive systematic shifting in the order of the content elements. Rather, shifts in the category of order seemed to have been made primarily in order to adhere to the usage and rhythmic tendencies of the target language. Nevertheless, the examination also revealed cases where the rhythmic arrangement of the source text by the author, apparently for reasons of text flow and emphasis, was ignored and deleted by the translator or where the placement of a content element in a less conspicuous position reduced the striking effect achieved through its placement in the source text (see 5.4 and 5.5). One more type of shift in order of presentation is shown in Example (82) below. The example contains a number of other shifts, too, (e.g. addition and deletion), but the focus here is on the order of presentation.

(82) ST: *He saw her approach him in a lull of the talk and beg him to sing one of his curious songs.* (Joyce 1916: 198)
TT: *Kun keskustelu taukosi ja huoneessa syntyi hiljaisuus, tytö tuli lähemmäksi pyytäen häntä laulamaan vanhoja kummallisia laulujaan.* (Matson 1964: 243)
BT: When there was a lull in the talk and silence fell in the room, the girl approached him, begging him to sing some of his curious old songs.

Apart from the fact that the rhythmic arrangement is slightly different in the translation, the order in which the sentence elements are presented alters their status: the elements with main clause status in the source text are given a less weighty role in the target text: the focus of the narrative is thus shifted.

It should be noted, however, that the frequency scores in the category of order were on the whole lower than those in the categories of expansion and contraction. Since shifts in the
order of presentation of content-level elements accounted for only a minor proportion of shifts of order in all the translations, it may be assumed that no major macrolevel effects can be suggested in this category and that these features cannot be included in a list of frequently recurring features characterizing any of the translators of this study.

3. Focalization

Apart from the choice of narrator, point of view can be manipulated by a number of linguistic means relating to referential relations and issues of narrative agency and transitivity. Example (82) above shows how deleting he saw changes the point of view, weakening the emphasis on the protagonist's visual observation. Another example of the effect of deletion on point of view is given below in Example (83). The deleted element is emphasized in boldface.

(83) ST: ...a girl he had glanced at, attracted by her small ripe mouth as she passed out of Jacob's biscuit factory, who had cried to him... (Joyce 1916: 199)

TT: ...tyttö, joka oli tullut Jacobsin keksitehtaasta, ja jonka pieni kypsä suu oli huutanut hänelle.... (Matson 1964: 244)

BT: ...a girl who had passed out of Jacob's biscuit factory and whose small ripe mouth had cried to him...

In the above example, the emphasis of the seeing subject and the attraction felt by him are deleted, which makes the presentation of the point of view less marked.

Also, the choice of a certain noun or the choice of a noun instead of a pronoun or vice versa, and the choice of voice may cause shifting in point of view. This may, however, be inevitable in some cases because of differences between languages – Finnish, for example, has only one third-person singular pronoun hän with no gender distinction, while English has two: he and she. This sometimes makes it necessary to replace the third-person singular pronoun with a proper name or some other noun in order to avoid confusion as to who is being referred to. Furthermore, it was found in 5.2.1 that the addition of an extra verb may turn an impersonal statement into an expression of the intention of the character described or turn a neutral, external point of view into a character's personal point of view. Obligatory shifting offering the translator alternative solutions may be occasioned by English passive-voice expressions involving an agent, often used in order to organize the English text. In the Finnish language, however, such an arrangement is not normally possible (although there are a few exceptions involving agent-like structures which are used infrequently), and the active voice must
normally be used when the actor is known. This is pointed out by Shore (1992: 304-305), who maintains that the Finnish passive implies a personal subject, but this actor is unknown or indefinite. Other expressions involving an unspecified agency also work differently in the two languages. However, no frequent recurrence of shift patterns was discovered in the formal analysis that might be judged to be systematical manipulation of point of view with macrolevel impacts.

**Attitude**, a concept closely related to point of view, may be conveyed primarily through the connotations of the **semantic** units chosen by the author or translator, but also through **mood** and **referential relations**. Attitude might, for instance, be reflected in the choice of (approving or disapproving) adjectives, (dynamic or static) verbs, or objective or subjective attributes, choice of a certain pronoun, placement of units to give them added weight and importance, etc. (e.g. Leech & Short 1981: 180-185). Linturi's addition of *muka* 'pretending that' (the shift is discussed under 5.2.3) is an example of a noticeable attitude change in the focalizer: instead of a mere descriptive comment, the focalizer offers the opinion that the statement is not true. It is indicative of the close interaction between the various style factors that the addition of *muka* is also related to the focalizer's **distance** from the object of description, since it draws the focalizer closer from the position of a distant observer and involves him in the events emotionally. The distance of the focalizer/s from the object of description and the overall fictional world is often represented for instance by the emotive evocativeness of the semantic units used in the presentation (Leech & Short, 1981). For instance, the addition of more specific, often colourful verbs by Matson and Linturi (5.2.1) invites emotional involvement with the fictional world. Another example of this kind of emotive shifting is the addition of adverbs with emotive colouring, not only Linturi's addition of *muka* referred to above but also his addition of linking adverbs that shift Hemingway's disinterested, paratactic style towards a more involved hypotactic one (see 5.2.3). Incidentally, Linturi's tendency to add emotive colour is confirmed by a quick examination of his verbs: he displays an overall inclination to replace a neutral verb denoting action with a more descriptive (and subjective) one. An additional semantic analysis of all the verbs used by Linturi in the first ten-page section of his translation of *The Sun Also Rises* reveals that he does this 12 times in that excerpt alone. Examples (84-86) below represent instances of such semantic shifting. These examples also illustrate the importance of the inclusion of the semantic angle at some point in any study of shifts.
Shifts like those in Examples (84-86) above add colour and emotive involvement, thereby reducing the effect of Hemingway's camera-eye description. Hemingway gives an unadorned, simple, almost bleak presentation of the fictional world through an impersonal focalizer who merely states facts and does not become involved even when the narrative takes place in the first person. Mäkinen, unlike Linturi, keeps fairly close to the author in his rendering of Hemingway's style in *A Farewell to Arms*, since his additions – like Saarikoski's expansion replacements in rendering Joyce's style in *Dubliners* – are predominantly structurally rather than content-oriented. The shifts made by Mäkinen and Saarikoski are therefore not considered to cause macrolevel effects through shifting in focalizer distance, whereas Matson and Linturi in particular may cause considerable shifting in macrolevel vividness through their recurring translation choices relating to focalization.

Since Saarikoski appears to follow the formal characteristics of the author of his source text fairly closely, the question naturally rose of whether his reputation as a translator who made a strong personal contribution to his translations might be due rather to semantic distance between the source text and the target text. A semantic analysis of the first ten pages of *Dubliners* showed, however, that Saarikoski made only 11 distinct semantic shifts in this section. Six of these were cases where he had chosen among various dictionary meanings a semantic alternative that might be questioned in the context: for instance, Saarikoski translated the verb *absolve* as *suoda anteeksi*, 'forgive', which conveys some of the meaning of the source text but does not bring in the religious association with release from sins. The remaining five semantic shifts are likely to have been errors: for instance the verb *patter* (when a young boy repeats by heart the responses of the Mass) is translated with *takellella*,
'stammer'. This may be an indication of some carelessness, and, as was mentioned in the introductory comments on the translators in Chapter 2, Nyman & Kovala (2007: 180) criticize Saarikoski for inconsistencies and omissions. On the other hand, Koskinen (2007a: 461-463) reports evaluations of Saarikoski’s translation of Joyce's *Ulysses* as reliable and goes on to point out that his ability to capture the essence of the source text style of has been commended. Such contradictory comments would indicate that there may be controversial aspects to Saarikoski's style that call for further research. On the basis of the material studied here and the formal aspects of language, however, Saarikoski's translations would appear to remain close to the source text.

**Focus** and **emphasis** are closely related factors. Both are used as instruments of focalization: to direct attention and to give weight to what is being expressed. These factors may interact with the order of presentation: an important piece of information may be placed in a position of emphasis (first or last, for instance) in a sentence, important information may be repeated or enhanced by repeating certain words that are used to describe it or intensifying qualifiers may be added (as described in section 5.2.3). Particular recurrence of shifts relating to this type of focalization was found in the deletion of repetition by Matson and Linturi, which caused shifting in the balance between the various items described, and consequently in the focus on the information elements introduced in descriptive passages reported in 5.5. Shifts affecting focus and emphasis also have an impact through the rhythmic effects they generate.

**4. Rhythm**

As was found in the analysis presented in Chapter 5, rhythm consists of various arrangements in the order, length and nature of the elements used and of use of a number of different ways of directing emphasis, such as repetition. Phonological aspects are not discussed in this study, but they cannot be excluded as ways of handling rhythmic effects. Chapter 5 (see 5.4 and 5.5) showed how simplification of the rhythmic structure is reflected in the rhythmical movement of the prose and how this may reduce the emotive evocativeness of the target text.

Saarikoski’s tendency to favour expansion through replacement would, on the other hand, appear to affect rhythm through formal expansion of the sentence structure. Saarikoski's tendency to expand compactness of expression may not have major macrolevel effects, since differences in the use of non-finite forms and the passive voice, for instance, may call for less compact renderings in the target language environment (see 3.2.3 for differences between English and Finnish). Saarikoski and Mäkinen do not, however, use shifts affecting rhythm with sufficient frequency to cause major macrolevel shifting. The fairly frequent deletions of
repetition made by Matson and Linturi, on the other hand, indicate some macrolevel simplification of rhythmical movement and evocativeness. Though the choice and length of words, phrases, clauses and sentences also have a role in the composition of rhythm, these will not be discussed here, since they were not included in the original scope of the research.

6.2 Profiles revisited: quantitative and qualitative perspectives as mutually complementary approaches

Although Tim Parks (1998) underlines the impact of the author’s style on the translator, analysis of the shifts made by the four translators in this study confirms the previous observation that the author’s style is not an overriding factor when it comes to individual translators' personal styles. There are conspicuous differences in the translation styles of the translators examined. They would seem to form two pairs, for Saarikoski’s translation of Joyce’s text seems to be close in style to Mäkinen’s translation of Hemingway, while Matson's translation of Joyce and Linturi's translation of Hemingway have characteristics in common.

The profiles outlined in 4.2 were purely formal and devised on a quantitative basis. They show that one significant factor in terms of which the translators studied here differ is the number of shifts. The number of optional shifts made would seem to be an unambiguous personality feature characterizing translation style and a handy overall measure of distance from the source text. If a great deal of expansion is used, this may indicate that more information has been provided in the translation than in the source text. Even where expansion shifts might be described as being 'offset' by contraction shifts, the nature of the shifts should be studied in more detail, since they may affect focalization by removing certain types of information and by adding other types. Another point to be underlined, as pointed out above, is that non-shifts may also affect the presentation of the fictional world.

Let us first consider Saarikoski and Mäkinen. They both use few shifts and thus, as has been shown, stay close to the formal appearance of the source text. Their shifts of order and addition do not usually introduce conspicuous new content elements but are likely to be geared towards lighter linguistic structures and fluency of reading. Saarikoski favours expansion by replacement over addition, while Mäkinen, although he favours addition over
expansion through replacement, uses additions that are ‘empty’ in terms of content and mostly affect only the structural composition of the text.

Neither Saarikoski nor Mäkinen makes frequent changes in the order of presentation, focalization or rhythm. The only recurring rhythmical effect is the influence of the less compact structural composition of sentences. This may well be intentional, since Finnish often uses longer and therefore structurally heavier words than English. The low number of shifts and the structural closeness to the source text in Saarikoski’s and Mäkinen’s translations raises the question of whether an analysis of non-shifts or semantic shifts in their translations might shed further light on their personalities as translators. The additional semantic analysis carried out on Mäkinen’s first ten-page section and reported at the beginning of Chapter 4 revealed 19 purely semantic shifts, while the equivalent figure reported for Saarikoski in 6.1 was 11. Neither of these two translators appeared to show a tendency to make conspicuous semantic choices departing from the source text.

Table 30 on the following page is a simplified representation of the translator profile characterizing Saarikoski and Mäkinen. The characteristic features of the two translators are shown at various levels: frequently recurring microlevel shifts characterizing the target text, intermediate-level style factors through which the recurring microlevel shifts exercise influence and macrolevel impact in the overall target text.
Table 30. Translator profiles revisited: Saarikoski and Mäkinen – two of a kind

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Saarikoski</th>
<th>Mäkinen</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>MICROLEVEL FEATURES</strong></td>
<td>Predominant personal feature:</td>
<td>Predominant personal feature:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Structural replacement</td>
<td>Structural addition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Common feature:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Structural expansion</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>INTERMEDIATE-LEVEL STYLE FACTORS</strong></td>
<td>Common:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rhythm:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Slight structural shifting from compactness towards <strong>looser structures</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>MACROLEVEL EFFECTS</strong></td>
<td>Common:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Closeness to source text</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTE: An analysis of non-shifts needed.
Matson and Linturi, on the other hand, apply many more shifts in their translations, and are both predominantly 'expansive' translators, although there is a distinct difference between them in that Matson tends to contract more than Linturi, particularly in instances where the deleted elements present some difficulty in terms of linguistic or cultural differences between English and Finnish. Matson's total contraction shift count is 449 against a total of 557 expansion shifts, while Linturi's equivalent figures are 242 against 602. Thus Matson is characterized by a lower degree of specification in some instances and by a higher degree of specialization and explanation in other instances: he therefore causes shifting in the balance of the information content available to the reader. Matson also uses slightly more replacement than Linturi, not adding quite so much information as Linturi, but occasionally adding some colour and emotive evocativeness that is not present in the source text. This impression might be strengthened if Matson's semantic shifts were studied – a semantic shift count carried out in Matson's first ten-page excerpt in order to get some idea of the proportional relations of semantic and formal shifts (reported at the beginning of Chapter 4) revealed that Matson made 52 semantic shifts in his first excerpt. Furthermore, there is some, though unsystematical, shifting in point of view.

Linturi expands predominantly through addition. It is to be expected on the basis of the quantitative analysis that the impact of his 515 additions over the some 30 pages studied is multiplied when the entire work is considered. Since *The Sun Also Rises* has some 200 pages altogether, the addition shifts made by Linturi over the 30 pages studied would equal some 3,400 additions in the entire novel. Linturi thereby increases the distance of the translation from the source text through increased specification, shifted points of view, shifted focalizer attitudes and shifted emotive involvement and emphasis. As a macrolevel result, Hemingway's bleak camera-eye view of the fictional world takes on colour and emotive overtones and interprets and explains more than the non-participatory source text. This is particularly notable in the case of Hemingway, whose style – as was pointed out in Chapter 3 – is known as much for what is left unsaid as for what is said.

Another characteristic feature common to Matson and Linturi is deletion of repetition. Although deletion of repetition is considered to be a fairly usual trait in translators (Toury 1991, Jääskeläinen 2004), this is clearly a feature that distinguishes Matson and Linturi from Saarikoski and Mäkinen. In Matson's case, the deletion of repetition would appear to affect the rich rhythmic arrangement of Joyce's text, reducing its effect on the macrolevel entity, which loses some of Joyce's musical evocativeness and poetic impact and some of the balance between the weight relations of various items. Linturi's deletion of repetition would appear to
affect the rhythmic flow of Hemingway's bare sentences, and his strikingly numerous additions not only add information but also alter the rigorous rhythmic arrangement of Hemingway's prose and the general atmosphere it creates in the macrolevel work.

Table 31 on the following page is a representation of Matson's and Linturi's profiles. Here, too, it should be noted that an analysis of non-shifts and a closer semantic analysis could well produce complementary information.
Table 31. Translator profiles revisited: Matson and Linturi – two of a kind

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Matson</th>
<th>Linturi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>MICROLEVEL FEATURES</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Predominant personal feature:</td>
<td><strong>Expansion addition</strong></td>
<td><strong>Expansion addition</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Contraction deletion (especially problem elements)</strong></td>
<td>(Some deletion of repetition)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Deletion of repetition</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Common:</strong></td>
<td><strong>Expansion addition</strong></td>
<td><strong>(Deletion of repetition)</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>INTERMEDIATE-LEVEL STYLE FACTORS</strong></th>
<th></th>
<th><strong>MACROLEVEL EFFECTS</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shifting balance in <strong>degree of specification</strong></td>
<td>Increased <strong>degree of specification</strong></td>
<td><strong>Distant from source text.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Rhythmic variation simplified</strong></td>
<td><strong>Rhythmic elements added</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Common:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shifts in degree of specification</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Focalization shifts:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>point of view of characters</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>attitude and focalizer distance</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>focus and emphasis</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhythmic shifting</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| **Personal:**                        | **Personal:**             | **Common:**                                                          |
| Shifting of emphasis                 | More colourful and vivid presentation | **Distant from source text.**                                       |
| in presentation of fictional world   | More personal and emotional involvement |                                                                         |
| Reduced poetic impact and evocativeness |                                     |                                                                         |

Note: Semantic analysis called for.
The characterization of the four translators presented above shows that similarities and dissimilarities can be identified between individual translators. Such identification does not explain why these similarities and differences arise, but the results indicate that certain features can be detected that are related to the translator's persona, rather than external factors such as the source text author's style or the translator's environment. This is supported by the finding that Mäkinen's 1946 translation of Hemingway's *A Farewell to Arms* and Saarikoski's 1965 translation of Joyce's *Dubliners* are close to each other in translation style even though the time span between them is the longest in the research material. Naturally this kind of characterization of translation style is not exhaustive. It is offered as an example of potential ways of analysing translations, and I would like to underline that it is possible to examine translations in similar detail from a number of other angles. Some of the advantages and disadvantages of this type of analysis will be discussed in Chapter 7 below.
7. Discussion and evaluation

This chapter will recapitulate briefly the research process and findings and take a critical look at the research material and method. Answers to the research questions will be discussed and the degree to which the objectives were achieved considered. Some of the weaknesses and potential strengths of this study will also be given attention. The final section will discuss some implications for further research.

7.1 The research, the translators and the choice of material

The focus of this study is on literary translation, specifically on characterization of the style of translations and the personal contribution of individual translators through the shifts that take place in their translation process. The shifts included in the study were formal and optional and they were identified by comparing the translation product with the source text.

The main body of the material used consisted of samples from four different novels written in the English language and their translations into Finnish: the two novels written by James Joyce were translated by Pentti Saarikoski and Alex Matson respectively, and the two novels written by Ernest Hemingway by Hugo M. Mäkinen and Jouko Linturi. An additional analysis was carried out on shorter samples from a novel by Saul Bellow, translated by Pentti Saarikoski, a novel by Graham Greene, translated by Jouko Linturi, and a novel by John Steinbeck, translated by Alex Matson (see 3.1 for a full outline of the material).
The quantitative data on the shifts was collected manually. The shifts identified through formal comparative analysis were recorded, and recurring shifts were arranged into categories by type. The categories were then broken down into subcategories for closer analysis. In the next stage, some of the most frequently recurring shifts were subjected to in-depth analysis in order to determine which style factors they affected, and the influence of these style factors at the macrolevel was considered. The method is explained in detail in Chapter 3, and the quantitative data is reported in Chapter 4, in the various tables and in the appendices.

It was found on the basis of the quantitative data that the translators studied could be characterized by the extent to which they

1) resorted to **optional** shifts
and whether they opted for
2) **expansion** shifts,
3) **contraction** shifts,
4) shifts involving **expansion** through **replacement** without adding elements,
5) **addition** of elements,
6) shifts involving **contraction** through **replacement** without deleting elements,
7) **deletion** of elements and
8) shifts in the **order** of various elements.

As the percentages illustrating the relative proportions of optional shifts used by the individual translators already indicated (Table 11 in Chapter 4), the quantitative profiles of Saarikoski and Mäkinen (Tables 24 and 25 in Chapter 4) were found to be close to each other in that they used far fewer shifts than Matson and Linturi, who in turn showed a shared tendency to apply large numbers of shifts. Mäkinen was inclined to use **addition** shifts to shift the **order** of various elements, while Saarikoski relied heavily on **expansion by replacing** source text expressions **with longer target text translations**. Keeping in mind that **expansion replacement** shifts were defined as not adding to information content despite using more words than the source text, the claim is made that Saarikoski's translation displays a fairly close relationship with the source text. Mäkinen expanded primarily by adding, but it was found in closer analysis that his additions were basically of a structural nature and thus did not introduce new content elements. On the other hand, the translations by Linturi and
Matson reflected more distance from the source text, particularly as there was a great deal of **addition** of content elements in their translations – and in Matson's case also **deletion**.

In the next stage of the research process, a content-related angle was introduced in further in-depth analysis to complement the findings of the formal analysis. Some of each of the four translators' most frequent shifts were examined in order to establish the primary type of style factor through which the shifts influenced the macrolevel product. No major effect deriving from optional shifts was detected in Mäkinen's or Saarikoski's translations, and their styles might therefore be characterized as following the source text closely. On the other hand, Matson and Linturi were found to have left their mark on the target text content by changing the focus of attention, giving emphasis to various elements and adding emotive colouring, that is, in general reducing the distance of the narrator/focalizer from the object of description. Furthermore, Matson's style in particular also displayed differences in rhythmical variation between source text and target text, which served to reduce the poetic impact and the intensity of the atmosphere – this in spite of the fact that Matson is also known to have been a creative writer.

At the time when the translations studied here appeared it was not as usual as it is today to attach attention to the translator's role. Perhaps partly because of his colourful personality, Saarikoski was something of an exception, and it was the general impression at the time that he was first and foremost an author and a poet himself. In making the translator's agency more visible, he actually refused to comply with the existing literary norm, when he, in connection with his famous translation of J.D. Salinger's *Catcher in the Rye (Sieppari ruispellossa)* into Finnish, criticized the contemporary literary Finnish as dated and agrarian and felt Salinger's urban non-standard language required a creative translation (Saarikoski 1960: 226). Routti (2000) cites several contemporary critiques of Saarikoski's translation, three that are critical of Saarikoski's free translation and four maintaining that the translation has merits or is even skilful. In a later review of the translation of *Dubliners*, Suutari (2003) discusses the issue of faithfulness to the source text, pointing out that Saarikoski had a great respect for Joyce and may therefore have followed the original more closely than in the case of Salinger. She finds Saarikoski's translation of *Dubliners* enjoyable as a whole but comments on some less successful semantic choices. It should be noted that Joyce's and Salinger's novels are very different in character and that a contemporary novel, particularly one using informal and modern language such as *Catcher in the Rye*, which appeared in 1951, makes different requirements of the translator than a classic like *Dubliners*. Could it be that Saarikoski, as a
creative poet, adapted his translation style to different works of fiction? It is also difficult to judge the extent to which stylistic choice is conscious. Against this background, further analysis of other translations would seem to be needed before Saarikoski's overall profile as a translator can be drawn.

Mäkinen, Matson and Linturi have not attracted so much attention as translators as Saarikoski. It is illustrative of the traditionally inconspicuous role of the translator that, even in a review written in Finnish on *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* as late as 2001, Kemppainen does not even mention Matson in the actual body of the text, although he quotes the Finnish translation.

The authors of the main body of the present material, Hemingway and Joyce, both have a clearly distinguishable style (see 3.1 for a description) and also differ noticeably from each other. Authors with distinctly different styles were chosen for this study to test the assumption that the effect of the author's style is so overbearing that translators working on the same author would tend to make similar choices in the use of optional shifts in their translations. It turns out that this was not the case here and that the translator's personal style is detectable even where two different translators translated texts by the same author. The material for the additional analysis carried out on Saarikoski, Matson and Linturi comprised samples from their translations of Bellow, Greene and Steinbeck. Their principal stylistic propensities as found in the main analysis were also found to surface in this additional material. In order to establish whether the recurring stylistic choices were made consistently throughout the novels, the 30-page samples chosen for the main analysis from each novel were taken from the beginning, middle and end. It speaks for the representativeness of these samples that the shift frequencies were found to be fairly consistent when the data on the excerpts from the beginning, middle and end of the novels were compared.

The fact that only narrative passages were analysed ruled out representation of speech. It was considered that the specific nature of direct speech representation, in many respects very different from narrative, made it difficult to study in the same context.

Finally, it should be pointed out that the translations chosen were published within a period of 19 years: in 1946, 1954, 1957, 1962, 1964 and 1965. Since translations naturally also represent the (spoken or unspoken) translation conventions of their time, this short time span serves to minimize any differences caused by different conventions prevailing at the time of translation. The convention aspect has not been dealt with in this study. The period of
transition and rapid increase in the amount of foreign literature translated which took place in
the late 1950s (see 3.1) would not appear to have affected the results, since the differences
between individual translators appear greater than the differences between the translations
produced at different times. This conclusion is supported by Eskola (2002: 239-240) who
found that differences between individual translators are unexpectedly great and appear to
override translation conventions. Puurtinen (1995: 192-193) also reports findings indicating
that there is a great deal of intersubjective variation between translators’ styles.

7.2 Evaluation of the research method

The problem of dealing with two different language systems such as Finnish, which is an
agglutinative Finno-Ugrian language, and English, which is a member of the Germanic Group
of Indo-European languages, is that the terminology and linguistic units used to describe the
various elements of these languages differ. Since the main focus of the analysis was on the
product of the translation process, the decision was made in this study (see 3.2.3) to view the
matter from the angle of the target language in this rather than that of the source language.
Thus the discussion of shifts relies primarily on terms traditionally applied in describing the
Finnish language. This may make it slightly more complicated for non-speakers of Finnish to
get a clear picture of the individual examples illustrating the shifts studied. It is in order to
minimize this difficulty that fairly literal back-translations and additional explanations are
provided.

Attempts to define the key concept used in the study, i.e. ‘shift’, have been discussed widely
by researchers (e.g. Munday, 1998: 11, Hermans 1999: 63). Definitions are provided in earlier
research at a variety of levels, ranging from changes in simple grammatical categories such as
those used by Catford (1965), to more complicated units extending beyond sentences, as
suggested by Munday (1998: 11). Considering the nature of this particular study, it was not
considered necessary to start with a rigid definition of the unit of comparison. The aim was
rather to see what kind of optional shift types could be detected with a formally oriented
approach at multiple levels: words, phrases, clauses, sentences. This was done in order to
allow information to surface that might not have emerged if predetermined definitions had
restricted the focus of the study to certain types of shifts. As all optional formal shifts were
recorded, room was left for the emergence of unexpected elements. For the same reason, no
predetermined categorization was established for the shifts that might emerge. They were
recorded individually, and shifts of a similar type were then grouped together to form
categories. The main body of the optional shifts detected proved to fall within the three
categories of expansion, contraction and order; it could therefore be said that the method
produced a readily interpretable result supported by earlier research and was thus satisfactory
in that respect. Furthermore, more detailed scrutiny of subcategories and the subsequent focus
on content-related issues following the initial study of formal shifts ensured that the level of
analysis did not remain excessively general and left the researcher a route for zooming in on
more detailed shift characteristics.

The process of collecting the quantitative data presented certain problems. As was pointed out
above, the fact that a purely formal approach was adopted in the initial stage of the study is
open to criticism. Although content-level elements were introduced at a later stage as
described in Chapter 5, the collection of the quantitative data did not include any content-
related elements, which meant that some information was left out in the initial stages of
collecting the data. While being aware of this, I decided to choose this approach, since it was
necessary to restrict the focus when considering a multifaceted concept such as style.
Furthermore, the semantically-oriented research carried out earlier often focuses exclusively
on content-related elements – e.g. Gullin (1998: 265) puts emphasis on recurrent patterns of a
lexical or semantic nature. The semantic approach is often applied to shifts arising in
translation through cultural differences, for instance cases where it is difficult to find a
semantically similar equivalent in the target text. In her discussion of the translator's motives
leading to shifts, Malmkjaer (2004: 141-155) also predominantly deals with semantic shifts. I
felt inclined to try a new angle, and cover the entire range of formal shift elements. It should
be pointed out here, however, that the additional analyses involving obligatory and semantic
shifts carried out in the course of this study (on Määkinen and Matson in Chapter 4 and a
semantic analysis of Saarikoski in 5.1) showed that the relative proportion of optional formal
shifts was considerably greater than the proportion accounted for by strictly obligatory and
semantic shifts. Nevertheless, in a later research project it is my intention to carry out a
further, initially content-oriented analysis and to compare the results of such an analysis with
the findings of the present study.

Human error is a factor that must be taken into account in research involving manual methods
of collecting the research data. Furthermore, if several collectors were involved in the
collection of the quantitative data, they might make differing decisions regarding the
eligibility of borderline cases as optional shifts; there might, for instance, be disagreement on
what is an acceptable or possible alternative. This should not, however, constitute a significant
source of error, since such borderline cases will be a minority among the recurring features
and thus tend not to emerge as distinctive characteristics in a translation. The element of recurrence guarantees the inclusion of characteristics typical of the translator’s idiolect. In the present study, some errors were discovered in the course of the qualitative re-examination of some of the most frequently recurring shifts: an occasional shift had been overlooked in the initial collection of material. It was also found that in some cases the shift might have been recorded in a different category. For instance, let us consider Example (87) below:

(87) ST: *He saw her approach him... Then he saw himself sitting...* Joyce (1916: 198)
    TT: ...tyttö tuli lähenmääksi... *Sitten hän näki itsensä istuutuvan*...(Matson 1964: 243)
    BT: ...the girl approached... Then he saw himself sitting...

This was recorded as a deletion of repetition, since the latter was regarded as a category carrying a lot of stylistic weight, but it could also have been recorded as having to do with the subject–verb–object structure and narrative agency leading to a shift in point of view. Mistakes may thus be accounted for by either simple human error or by occasional difficulties in making decisions in borderline cases; this is a clear source of error in the adoption of this method, especially if several different persons with slightly differing criteria carry out the data collection. It is nevertheless suggested that this will not warp the overall research result, since the method is based on the frequency of recurrence. If a certain type of shift recurs frequently, hundreds of times, say, as was the case with much of the data collected for this study, an error in one or two cases will not cause a major distortion in the overall picture. As a further corrective measure, occurrences of a frequently recurring shift will be re-examined for qualitative implications, and any errors can be eliminated at that stage. It is therefore argued that the method brings into the limelight characteristics typical of the translation and/or translator and offers a fair degree of reliability.

Some of the advantages of this method are that it is fairly simple to apply and produces a relatively representative result without being excessively time-consuming. It is also fairly simple to replicate for different texts and languages. It allows the researcher to go systematically into more and more detail and to adopt supplementary methodology in the process. Anything that does not show a recurring pattern can be discarded, and pertinent features can be identified. Although this particular study begins with a purely formal analysis, the method as such does not require this approach. It is flexibly adaptable to a number of content-oriented or other approaches, including multifaceted concepts such as complexity, ambivalence, intertextuality, stratification, cohesion and so on.
7.3 Discussion of findings

7.3.1 Research questions

The first research question asked **what kind of recurring shifts related to formal units such as sentences, clauses and various minor elements take place in the translation of English literary texts into Finnish**. This question was answered through a process that started by comparing target text with source text samples with the purpose of identifying formal shifts that had taken place in the translation process. The types of shifts found were then grouped by type into categories – **expansion**, **contraction**, **order** and **miscellaneous** shifts – and a closer analysis of these categories was performed in an attempt to establish subcategories. The main categories that emerged were in keeping with earlier research as referred to in Chapter 2, but it should be kept in mind that broad categories such as those formed in this study cannot be fully utilized without further local-level analysis intertwining content elements with the formal data nor without investigating potential macrolevel implications.

The second research question focused on the **intersubjective differences between the types of shifts that were found to characterize the individual translators' work**. It was found that individual translators tended to opt for different types of shifts. Distinct intersubjective differences can thus be said to exist between the translators. The existence of such differences was confirmed by the additional finding that the same principal propensities, or tendencies, which were found to be characteristic of a certain translator in the main analysis were also evident in his translation of a work by another author. Thus there would appear to be grounds for giving an affirmative answer to the third question – **Is it possible to draw up 'translator profiles' or talk about individual translators' styles?** – and claiming that profiles can be drawn up for translators consisting of the characteristic features of their texts; hence, it is indeed possible to talk about style in the case of individual translators.

The fourth question – **What kind of stylistic macrolevel implications can be detected?** – directed the focus at stylistic macrolevel effects resulting from the recurring microlevel choices made by the individual translators. The model for moving from formal microlevel elements to macrolevel impacts relied largely on the view that it is a feasible approach to examine the stylistic features of literary works from the point of view of style factors representing the means that an author uses in presenting the fictional content. In his characterization of literary stylistics, Toolan (1990: 43), for instance, refers to what I call
manipulation of **style factors** in this study by describing how discourses achieve their effects, about the 'how' of writing, that is, the writer's craftsmanship and effectiveness in the use of language. The answer to the fourth research question allows the conclusion that there are macrolevel implications affecting the relationship between the narrator/focalizer and the reader in terms of the amount and order of the information provided, point of view, attitude, focalizer distance, focus, emphasis and rhythm. The linguistic expression of the style factors applied via the narrator/focalizer thus acts as a filter through which the content of the original novel travels on its way to becoming the target text translation.

**7.3.2 Objectives: method used to analyse style and terminological clarification**

It was one the objectives of this project to establish a simple method for characterizing translations from the point of view of the propensities of individual translators. The fact that the method applied in this particular study starts from the formal level, focusing on formal differences between source text and target text, restricts the extent of the findings. For instance, cases of formal similarity, or 'non-shifts', are automatically discarded from the analysis. If it is established that no formal shifting takes place, this may lead to the somewhat rushed conclusion that no shifting whatsoever takes place. In closer analysis, it may prove to be the case that cultural differences and the different language environment may cause content-related or rhythmic shifting. Although formal non-shifts are not discussed in this particular study, studying them is a feasible approach and worthy of attention. Furthermore, the purely formal approach adopted at the initial stage of this study does not reveal differences between the semantic fields of the source language and target language words used. Content elements are tackled only in relation to the most frequently recurring formal shifts (and used in the definition of replacement shifts). This does not mean that they are not considered important, but it was necessary to limit the scope of study in some way. The decision made in this particular case does not exclude the possibility of applying the same method to a semantically-based comparative analysis or the use of some other content-oriented approach at an early stage. This method would also allow scrutiny that takes into account issues such as metaphor, phonological features and stylistic characteristics such as alliteration or assonance, which may play an important role in some texts. It is therefore argued that the method presented here is flexible and suited to a variety of approaches. It is indeed my recommendation that multiple approaches be applied to achieve a fuller translator profile. This shift-based method is proposed for the examination of style in translations as one way of
channeling the focus among the wide variety of stratified stylistic and other features that manifest themselves in translated texts.

Regarding the method used to collect research data for closer scrutiny in a further content-related and textual environment-related analysis along the lines outlined in this study, corpus-based methods would facilitate the assembly of large amounts of data consisting of predetermined formal units, while the manual method presented here is used to approach large corpora by taking representative samples and identifying their characteristic features. Both methods rely on frequency of recurrence. While corpus-based methods have the advantage of allowing the use of larger corpora, the present sample method, on the other hand, has the advantage that there need not be any initial preconception of what may be found, while also allowing differentiation between various intratextual varieties of style. The manual method based on representative samples might also be useful in identifying suitable units for analysing larger corpora.

In addition to the objective of preparing ground for replicable methods that can easily be applied to study a wide range of translatorial choices independently of specific language pairs, and to study style in literary (and other) translations in general, there was the additional objective of avoiding the excessive generalization which may result from dealing with very general concepts such as translation universals. On the basis of what is outlined in the previous paragraphs, and in view of the possibility offered by the method of zooming in on details and looking for patterns characterizing individual translators, it is suggested that the method applied in this study may be useful as one way of approaching such methodological issues.

As far as the aspiration towards simplified terminology (expressed in 1.3) is concerned, it is hoped that the use of simple, descriptive terminology would reduce the confusion created by a wide variety of long, non-transparent terms in earlier research. Also, some of the distinctions suggested might be considered useful when discussing shifts (or translation in general). Clarity might thus be increased with specification regarding whether reference is made to
1) **local** = microlevel or **global** = macrolevel
2) **formal** or content-related elements
3) **obligatory** or optional elements.

Following the principle of clarity, the particular terms referring to the categories of shifts in this study (e.g. **expansion**, **contraction**), which are recapitulated in section 7.3.4 (and most of which have been discussed by other scholars under a variety of labels as shown in Chapter 2), were chosen in the hope that they would be simple and transparent. I feel very strongly that it would facilitate discussion between scholars if a uniform usage were to be adopted across the entire discipline of translation studies.

### 7.3.3 Characterization of the styles of the translators studied

It was found that the styles of the translators could be characterized by the extent to which they applied shifts and by the type of shifts they were inclined to use. The main results were that there were major intersubjective differences between the individual translation styles and that the differences in the numbers of shifts applied varied considerably by translator, while remaining relatively consistent across two different translations by the same translator. Even at the very general level of the four principal categories of shifts it was evident that there were translator-specific differences, and an analysis of subcategories revealed further differences. There were also notable differences in the in-depth characterizations of the translators. Since the research material was concise, it was not possible to carry out a statistical analysis to test the results for statistical significance – this could be done with a slightly larger group of translators or by using corpus-based methods. Nevertheless, the distinctive nature of the differences found cannot be ignored. On the basis of what was discovered about the four translators studied here, it would seem that there is definitely justification for speaking about styles that are characteristic of individual translators, or translator profiles. The shifting described as the translator's style, or the profile characteristics constituting such a style, would seem to result in macrolevel shifting in the target text entity – in other words, one translator's voice may ring out more loudly than another's in the duets sung by authors and translators.
7.3.4 Categorization of the most common shifts

The emergence of three fairly general principal categories – expansion, contraction and order – indicates a certain degree of universality, and as such these general categories are not very informative. They would seem to constitute umbrella concepts that call for subcategorization and further analysis. This study used replacement resulting in either expansion or contraction determined on the basis of a word count, addition and deletion as subcategories, which provided a route for further analysis through still more detailed subdivision into sub-types of shifts. Using the number of words as a criterion for comparison might be questioned, though, particularly where very different language systems are being dealt with. Word counts of the numbers of words in the Finnish and English phrases and clauses studied here showed that allowances had to be made: for instance, prepositions and articles had to be disregarded in the count, since their functions are often expressed with various case endings or other arrangements in Finnish. It is nevertheless argued that in the principal categories of expansion and contraction, the method made it possible to reveal individual differences and to direct the focus at specific characteristics of translators within the principal categories by identifying different types of expansion and contraction. On the other hand, the subdivisions of the principal category of order cannot be considered satisfactory. Although the subcategory of shifts in the subject–verb/subject–verb–object order appeared practical and would appear to have macrolevel impacts through emphasis and focus, for example, no clearly definable systematic tendencies could be identified in any other sentence elements. Though it would seem likely that the location of various sentence elements is significant in terms of overall focalization and rhythm, a better framework needs to be worked out to represent the interaction of style factors through which the order of formal elements is manifested in macrolevel style. Systematic tendencies in the order of sentence elements may also have impacts on the reader's attention span and memory. Moving elements towards the beginning or towards the end of a sentence in translation may either facilitate comprehension or place a burden on the reader's memory.

In summary, it would seem that in discussing the placement of an element in a clause or sentence, more attention should be given to the ways in which issues such as the emphasis given to the various units of information, the direction of the focalizer's eye movement and rhythmic effects are manipulated in the source and target languages. Elements occurring early or towards the end of the sentence or in a certain relation to the verb will need to be analysed against the distribution of focus and emphasis among the content material and the weight
relations between units of information. Examples of an alternative approach to the rhythm-based analysis of text were given in 5.4 and 5.5. It should also be noted that the category labelled as miscellaneous is fairly small in all the four translations studied and thus does not appear to have major significance (which also speaks for the extensive coverage of the other primary categories). Nevertheless, study of miscellaneous shifts may help in revealing interesting recurring shifts such as deletion of repetition, which, as a distinctive feature, carries a lot of stylistic weight even when not applied as frequently as addition, for instance. A more organized approach might be called for in the miscellaneous category, which could be broken down into subcategories providing a systematic framework for referential relations and subfactors relating to focus and emphasis, for instance.

This categorization of microlevel shifts is a new attempt to propose a simple but comprehensive categorization for shifts based on actual occurrence, and as such will require a fair amount of testing and further improvement. Such a categorization is clearly called for, however, since it is one route towards a more comprehensive understanding of the role of the translator.

7.3.5 Style factors and macrolevel effects

Style factors were proposed in this study as a key element in linking the microlevel linguistic choices made by the author/translator to the finished literary work. Manipulation of the style factors was understood to be similar to application of a tool kit by the author in presenting the fictional world to the reader. The style-factor tool kit contains instruments such as 1) the degree of specification in the information provided, 2) the order of presentation of the information, 3) focalization including point of view, attitude, distance of the focalizer, focus and emphasis and 4) rhythm. These style factors were defined as consisting of recurring individual linguistic elements which through their recurrence direct the way in which the fictional world is presented to the reader. It is a fairly straightforward task to compare the degree of specification provided in the source and target texts and to compare the order of presentation, but focalization and rhythm are more complex factors, since they are the results of a complex interaction between a number of stylistic elements. Complementary content-level study is therefore recommendable. It is also likely that a better framework for analysing both the order of linguistic elements, the order in which content elements are presented and their interrelations would allow more comprehensive extrication of pertinent information in the case of rhythm, for instance.
In examining the end product of the translation process, the researcher comes up against the borderline between the actual work of art and its reception by the reader: different readers may experience a work of fiction in a variety of ways. The actual constituents of the work of art itself remain the same for all readers, however, and therefore this study has restricted itself to studying them, focusing on recurring shift types and arguing that frequently recurring shifts modify both the content and the light in which that content is presented. An effort has been made to focus predominantly on the means of linguistic expression and their inherent characteristics rather than to make assumptions as to the reactions of the reading audiences or to suggest or even prescribe the way in which shifts should be applied.

The discussion and evaluation in the above sections would seem to justify the conclusion that this study found answers to the research questions and that the objectives were achieved to a satisfactory extent. Something that can be called a translator's style, voice, presence or fingerprints could be identified convincingly, and it was possible to deal with this style in terms of concrete linguistic units. The intersubjective differences found between the individual translators corroborated the assumption that the translator's voice can be heard in duet with that of the author and that it has identifiable characteristics not arising from the source text alone.

Some elements suggested by this study as a contribution to translation studies are listed below. This study

1) confirms that translation shifts, although difficult to define accurately, can be used fruitfully and efficiently in the analysis of translations as part of the chain from local shift to style factor to macrolevel effect;

2) shows that style, although difficult to define accurately, can be studied as a comprehensive entity by concentrating on its principal characteristics based on frequency of actual occurrence and not on predefined stylistic features or individual instances of striking choices;

3) supports the view that shifts can be used to study translation style as a comprehensive entity. This will help in avoiding situations to which Boase-Beier (2006: 146) refers when she criticizes evaluations that talk about preserving the style of the original in translation without elaborating what style means;
4) offers a method of analysis that can be combined with various other methods of data collection and analysis and thus provides a platform for a wide variety of complementary research;

5) proposes a way of organizing one sector in the extensive field of translation studies through adoption of systematic methodology and simple, transparent terminology;

6) lifts the literary translator into the limelight as an interpretative artist comparable to singers, musicians and actors who interpret another artist's work. In this capacity, translators lend the work of art concerned some of their own personality and may either choose an interpretation with some distance from the source text or decide to stay close to the source and tone down their 'cadences'. (In an interview, Michael Hamburger describes the difference between original writing and translation as similar to the difference between composing and playing music [Honig 1985: 175]. The translator's role as an interpretative artist is particularly evident in retranslation, where different interpretations of a work can be compared. On retranslation, see Paloski & Koskinen 2004 and forthcoming.)

7) justifies the claim that evaluation of literary translations should be based on the network of interrelations between frequently recurring characteristics rather than one or two striking semantic choices or other single individual characteristics; and

8) leads to the assumption that making student translators aware of their own and others' personal propensities will allow students to develop as translators who can make conscious choices with an awareness of the macrolevel effects of their decisions. (This is supported by Jääskeläinen's (2004) study on how making students aware of the role of repetition in literary translation affects their decisions as translators.)

The following section will conclude the study by discussing implications for further research.
7.4 Concluding remarks

The present study is an attempt to address style in translation as a comprehensive entity consisting of style factors manifested at the local level through a variety of the shifts carried out by individual translators. Consequently, it offers ample opportunities for further research.

First of all, this initial study should be replicated using a number of different authors and translators, and indeed researchers, to test my suggestion that the method is feasible, flexible and replicable with sufficient reliability. Second, the range of work done by individual translators could be analysed to find out the degree to which each translator's style varies depending on the type of text translated. Indeed, even the degree of variation may vary by translator. Third, it would be interesting to compare translations made at some other point in time, after 2000, for example, with those studied here. The conventions prevailing at the date of any given translation may be found to have affected the type of shifts favoured by the translators.

Another aspect already mentioned is that future study could start from content-oriented elements instead of formal linguistic ones. Attention might be given to how closely the semantic fields of the words chosen by the author of the original text and the translator match, for instance in comparison with the semantic content carried by a complete sentence. It might also prove useful to focus on units comprising more than one word or a short phrase: clauses, sentences and paragraphs. The interrelations between the longer elements are key factors in examining the ways in which information content is arranged and rhythm produced.

When analysing the impact that shifts or non-shifts relating to order may have on the final artistic effect of a work of fiction, it might be more fruitful in future to focus on units of content as a starting point, instead of formal elements described in grammatical terms. The ways in which the order of various elements interacts with the emphasis given to various elements, the direction of focus and structural and evocative rhythmic effects in the flow of the text would seem interesting subjects for further study.

Various further approaches relating to the style factors proposed in this study would appear to offer another line of study. It is obvious that the entire route from the individual linguistic choices made by the source text author, through the individual linguistic choices made by the translator, up to the finished translation of a work of fiction offers a veritable treasure trove of material for research.
The present research results are presented in the hope that they might add a contribution towards understanding translations, the stages of the translation process and the role of the translator in that process. The research process described here has confirmed my experience-based conviction of the important role of shifts in translation and translation studies. This process has also confirmed my firm belief that quantitative and qualitative methods do not compete with each other, nor are they mutually exclusive. They approach the object of study from different angles, and combined in suitable proportions will provide a fuller picture of the subject than if applied alone.

Finally, the metaphor of the translator singing in duet with the author seems appropriate in the sense that different translators with different voices apparently end up producing differently interpreted duets with their authors. Decisions on how successful these duets are or to what extent harmony is preserved – or desirable – will be left to readers or experts focusing on value assessments.
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Appendix 1. Shifts by category and subcategory: Saarikoski and *Dubliners*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Exp/Repl</th>
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<th>II</th>
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Appendix 2. Shifts by category and subcategory: Matson and *Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*

E: 7-19 (381 lines)/ II: 134-150 (524 lines)/ III: 196-211 (335 lines) = 1240 lines of 60 characters

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### Appendix 3. Shifts by category and subcategory: Mäkinen and *A Farewell to Arms*

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**Expansion addition**

| - MC                  | 0   | 1   | 0   | 1     |
| - SC                  | 2   | 0   | 0   | 2     |
| - P                   | 3   | 0   | 0   | 3     |
| - verb                | 44  | 29  | 23  | 96    |
| - noun                | 7   | 5   | 0   | 12    |
| - adverb              | 11  | 7   | 2   | 20    |
| - adjective           | 1   | 2   | 1   | 4     |
| - pronoun             | 11  | 4   | 3   | 18    |
| - numeral             | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0     |
| Total expansion addition | 79 | 48 | 29 | 156   |

**Total expansion**

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**Contraction replacement**

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| - SC> NFP         | 15  | 14  | 13  | 42    |
| - SC> W/NP        | 3   | 1   | 0   | 4     |
| - P> W            | 1   | 1   | 2   | 4     |
| Total contraction replacement | 19 | 16 | 16 | 51    |

**Contraction deletion**

| - CL               | 4   | 2   | 2   | 8     |
| - P                | 4   | 2   | 4   | 10    |
| - verb             | 1   | 0   | 1   | 2     |
| - noun             | 4   | 2   | 6   | 12    |
| - adverb           | 7   | 7   | 2   | 16    |
| - adjective        | 3   | 1   | 4   | 8     |
| - pronoun          | 1   | 1   | 1   | 3     |
| - numeral          |     |     |     |       |
| Total contraction deletion | 24 | 13 | 16 | 53    |

**Total contraction**

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**Order**

| - SV–SVO          | 8   | 6   | 2   | 16    |
| - CL              | 6   | 0   | 0   | 6     |
| - time            | 3   | 7   | 5   | 15    |
| - place           | 19  | 15  | 22  | 56    |
| - other           | 8   | 12  | 6   | 26    |
| Total order       | 44  | 40  | 35  | 119   |

**Miscellaneous**

| - tense/mood      | 4   | 0   | 0   | 4     |
| - deletion of repetition | 5 | 1 | 3 | 9 |
| - other           | 0   | 4   | 0   | 4     |
| Total miscellaneous | 9  | 5   | 3   | 17    |

**Total shifts**

|                  | 197 | 140 | 110 | 447   |


Appendix 4. Shifts by category and subcategory: Linturi and The Sun Also Rises

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<td>- other</td>
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Appendix 5. Quantitative comparison of data for Saarikoski translating Joyce and Bellow

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<th>HERZOG 413 lines of 60 characters</th>
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<tr>
<td>W/P&gt;SC</td>
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<td>24</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>2</td>
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<tr>
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## Appendix 6. Quantitative comparison of data for Matson translating Joyce and Steinbeck

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<tr>
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<td>- pronoun</td>
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<tr>
<td>- place</td>
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Appendix 7. Quantitative comparison of data for Linturi translating Hemingway and Greene

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<td>SC</td>
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<td>4</td>
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| Contraction replacement |                     |                    |
|                        |                     |                    |
| MC> P/W               | 4                   | 11                  |
| SC> NFP               | 16                  | 21                  |
| SC> W/NP              | 7                   | 11                  |
| P > W                 | 0                   | 5                   |
| Total contraction replacement | **27**              | **48**              |

| Contraction deletion  |                     |                    |
|                       |                     |                    |
| CL                    | 5                   | 0                   |
| P                     | 2                   | 2                   |
| verb                  | 13                  | 5                   |
| noun                  | 7                   | 11                  |
| adverb                | 19                  | 17                  |
| adjective             | 1                   | 7                   |
| pronoun               | 5                   | 9                   |
| Total contraction deletion | **42**              | **51**              |
| Total contraction     | **69**              | **99**              |

| Order                 |                     |                    |
|                       |                     |                    |
| SV/complement         | 0                   | 5                   |
| SVO/SV               | 25                  | 24                  |
| CL                   | 9                   | 11                  |
| time                 | 32                  | 25                  |
| place                | 25                  | 18                  |
| other                | 21                  | 27                  |
| Total order          | **112**             | **110**             |

| Miscellaneous         |                     |                    |
|                       |                     |                    |
| tense/mood            | 10                  | 6                   |
| deletion of repetition | 20                | 6                   |
| other                | 47                  | 12                  |
| Total miscellaneous   | 77                  | 24                  |
| Total shifts          | 487                 | 601                 |