

The Changing Cultural Perceptions of Love and Romance

A Comparative study of Dutch Translations of Austen's *Pride and Prejudice*.



Mr. Darcy, you must allow me to present this young lady to you as a very desirable partner.

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1 Introduction

“It is a truth universally acknowledged, that a single man in possession of a good fortune must be in want of a wife.” The opening sentence of one of Jane Austen’s most famous romantic novel *Pride and Prejudice* does not only claim a universal truth on love and marriage, it also provides insight into the perceptions of love and the norms and values that govern love in the 19th Century, as does the entire novel. “Despite being accused of insensibility Jane Austen gives us a sensible portrait of love, based on respect and understanding” (Hernandez: 195). *Pride and Prejudice*, thus, offers a portrait of nineteenth-century conventions around love, and ultimately marriage. A lot of things have changed socially and culturally that affected our views on relationships, marriage and the way we perceive love since Austen wrote her novel. The Industrial revolution, two World Wars, Feminism, the hippie culture of the seventies, and modern society where it is considered more than normal for a woman to have it all; a career, social life and a family. According to Maas, van Leeuwen and Mandemakers ‘changes in the way people choose to shape their lives can sometimes be very abrupt - ... More often, the lives of people change very slowly, from one generation to the next. Grandparents might still relate to their children, while they often cannot with their grandchildren. To grandchildren, the way their grandparents lived is unimaginable’ (my translation).¹ These changes in society and perceptions then can be considered a natural process, and the reason people often speak of a generation gap between the older and younger generations; the younger generation simply doesn’t understand the perceptions, values and social cultural norms of the older generation. If society’s perceptions and norms and values change over generations, and thus with time, the less likely it is, the further we go back in time, for a young contemporary audience to be able to (fully) understand the social conventions and values of generations before them. And since society has changed immensely since the nineteenth-century world of *Pride and Prejudice*, it is more than likely that a modern contemporary audience, without any social-historical or cultural background, would not fully understand the social and cultural setting of the novel.

While love itself is often seen as universal and “humans in all corners of the globe crave affection, there are differences in our perceptions of love and marriage” (Swidler: 243). These differences in perceptions, norms and values are determined by a person’s culture. But to what extent? Nowadays the majority of people in the Netherlands and Britain are free to choose whom they love and or marry. Generally speaking, Western societies nowadays consider marriage to be an

¹ “Veranderingen in de wijze waarop mensen hun leven vormgeven zijn soms heel abrupt - ... Vaker echter veranderen de levenslopen van mensen langzaam, van de ene generatie op de andere. Grootouders herkennen zich nog in hun kinderen, maar nauwelijks nog in hun kleinkinderen. Voor kleinkinderen is het onvoorstelbaar hoe hun grootouders leefden” (Maas, van Leeuwen & Mandemakers: 7).

institution in which you share your life with the partner of your choice and whom you love. However, in modern society marriage is not the only option available to you if you want to live with the person you love. Western societies, like the Netherlands, have accepted numerous other forms of love, relationships and living arrangements. Casual sex, long-distance relationships, cohabitation and even single-parenthood and homosexuality are (legally) accepted forms of love within Dutch and English society. The law also caters to these different types of relationships in which cohabitation agreements and registered partnerships serve as an alternative to marriage, allowing partners to obtain some, or all, of the legal rights that married couples would have within society. Marriage is no longer a social obligation in order to experience love or have children, marriage has become an option. But this has not always been the case. "When it comes to any particular marital practice or behavior, there may be nothing new under the sun. But when it comes to the overall place of marriage in society and the relationships between husband and wives, nothing in the past is anything like what we have today, even if it may look similar at first glance" (Coontz: 12). Before and in the 17th century traditional marriages were often arranged to economically benefit the family as a whole, relationships between men and women were a lot different than they are today, women had no legal rights, men were head of the household, and love or personal fulfilment were often not the primary incentive. "Marriage was the most important marker of adulthood and respectability as well as the main source of social security, medical care, and unemployment insurance" (Coontz: 18). In other words, women needed to get married for their social security because they could not legally possess land or property and were, therefore, unable to sustain themselves, Men, on the other hand, needed to get married to gain land or property (the wife and her dowry, which would often in addition to money contain land) and to produce a legal heir.

As indicated above, society has changed immensely since the 17th century and with it the cultural perceptions and norms of love and marriage. However, society and culture are not the only things that have changed over time, the practice of and ideas surrounding translation also underwent great change. According to Hermans "Translations from English remained insignificant until around 1700, then established a constant presence for most of the century and declined only towards the end of the period – when French revolutionary armies had overrun the Netherlands" (Hermans: 397). The rise of new and popular genres, like the novel, reached the Netherlands first through translations of popular works. And according to Hermans around 60 percent of novels published in the 1820s and 30s were translations, with German being the most popular source language. According to Delabastita the exact proportions between translated works, newly produced works, and old works still in print "may vary strongly between cultures and they are likely to fluctuate across time within a culture. The interactions between production, translation and tradition may be taken to reflect the dynamics of cultural change" (69). The translations of *Pride and Prejudice*, for instance, can be said to

reflect such cultural change. *Pride and Prejudice* was published in 1813, however, there is no translation into Dutch from that period. This is probably due to the fact that translation from English wasn't nearly as popular as it is nowadays. This, together with the fact that "In the latter part of the twentieth century the ascendancy of English has been particularly noticeable in virtually every domain, from the sciences and the arts to the audiovisual media" (Hermans: 398) might explain why the first translation of *Pride and Prejudice* into Dutch dates from 1946. Another reason that the famous novel was not translated before might be that:

[t]he transition to an author with broad appeal in Anglo-American circles moves through polite interest within her own lifetime to the early control of the author's literary reputation by her brothers' descendants, to increasing and discerning enthusiasm through the early and mid twentieth century, to a veritable explosion of interest in 'popular culture' from the mid 1990s, an interest that shows no sign of abating. (Dow: 122)

This trend can also be seen when looking at the publishing dates of Dutch translations and retranslations of *Pride and Prejudice*; they become increasingly numerous from the 90s onwards and seem to mimic the ongoing popularity of the novel in 'popular culture'. Even though the novel is over 200 years old, the immense popularity of *Pride and Prejudice* amongst Dutch readers, as well as the majority of the translations date from the last 25 years. Translations from before this period are noticeably fewer in number. Furthermore, Dow claims that "[t]here is an additional complicating layer of interpretative material for foreign readers and translators of Austen to navigate that seems to apply less to translations of other English authors. Her presumed inability to travel into other languages is felt to be because of her inherent Englishness" (Dow: 124). These translation problems often stem from the fact that the source language (SL) also has a different culture than the target language (TL) and therefore contains elements that pose translation problems when translating them into the TL and target culture (TC). Focussing on cultural elements in translation, it would, therefore, be interesting to conduct a diachronic comparison of how the Dutch translations differ from one another. I would like to research whether the changes in sociocultural norms and perceptions are noticeable in diachronic research of romantic literature in translation.

According to Desmidt: "All social life is constantly influenced by norms, which makes it impossible to dissociate translation from its broader historical context" (670). If society and societal or cultural norms did not change, there would be no need for retranslations (i.e. new translations of earlier translated texts), except for economic reasons when ordering a new translation is cheaper for the publishing company than renewing the rights on the old translation, because the existing translation would not age and would still comply with the target culture's requirements. However, society and culture do change over time. It seems only logical that the more time has passed since the source text was written, the more society has changed, and thus the bigger the socio-cultural gap

is between the ST and its contemporary audience, but also between the historical ST and a contemporary TT. According to Desmidt “[r]etranslations result from the wish to meet the requirements of the receiving culture, requirements that are obviously not (no longer or not entirely) met by the existing translation(s)” (670). This would explain the need for new editions or retranslations of works that have already been translated, but it also implies that the newest (re)translation must conform with the norms of the target society or culture at that point in time.

Berman’s ‘retranslation hypothesis’, however, claims that first translations “deviate from the original to a higher degree than subsequent, more recent translations” (Desmidt: 671), in other words, that first translations are more domesticating (TT-oriented) than retranslations. I want to test the ‘retranslation theory’ and investigate whether the perceptions of love and romance are universal in literature and translation, or whether the perceptions of love and romance are socially and culturally determined, and therefore change with time and change in translation according to the target culture and target era.

Desmidt is not alone in her claim that social norms and history influence translations. Other theorists throughout the years have argued that translations are connected to the target culture. In the 70s the Israeli scholar Itamar Even-Zohar developed the Polysystem theory is based on the idea that translated literature is “a system operating in the larger social, literary and historical systems of the target culture” (Munday: 165). Toury has even structured his three-phase methodology for systematic descriptive translation studies on the claim that “translations first and foremost occupy a position in the social and literary systems of the target culture, and this position determines the translation strategies that are employed” (Munday:170). With his methodology, Toury offers a system to describe translation choices and to uncover general norms that were applied during the translation process. Translation is a social process and translational norms are strongly connected to the decision making process of the translator, who in turn is influenced by society and culture. “These norms are sociocultural constraints specific to a culture, society and time” (Munday:172). Textual analysis can be used to identify the decision making process and the matching norms of the translator. Norms can be reconstructed through the examination or analysis of texts, or by examining explicit statements made by the translator on this topic. Reconstruction of the translator’s norms through textual analysis will allow me to determine, through analysis of the ST and the different TTs from different periods, if the time-specific sociocultural norms of the translator have transferred into the translations, or whether the source culture has prevailed.

This thesis, as mentioned before, will research whether the changes in sociocultural norms and perceptions are noticeable in diachronic research of romantic literature in translation, and whether the translator’s norms have influenced or imposed on the translation in terms of culture, style, and connotation. In order to test this I will be conducting a diachronic comparative study in

which several excerpts of Dutch (re)translations of Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice* will be analysed and compared, because according to Leppihalme "[c]omparing renderings for realia in several translations of one source text into one target language over time ... may provide rich material for investigating how translation aims and norms have changed from one period to another in the target culture" (128). I will be taking Toury's three-phase methodology and Holmes' translator's poetics as a model, making use of Leech & Short's *Style in Fiction*, to make a textual analysis. Since according to Munday the aim of "case studies is to distinguish trends of translation behaviour, to make generalizations regarding the decision-making process of the translator and then to 'reconstruct' the norms that have been in operation in the translation" (Munday: 171).

First, I will discuss the historical background; the social-cultural conventions at the time the novel was written and how society and these norms and conventions changed over time into modern contemporary society. Second, I will focus on subject- and research-related translation theories and translation history to see how general translational norms formed and changed over time. Third, I will describe the methodology of the research and textual analysis, discussing how Toury's three-phase methodology, Leech & Short's *Style in Fiction*, and Holmes' charting system will be used in the textual analysis. Subsequently, I will discuss the results from the textual analysis, in which the focus will lie on analysing differences between the English source text and the Dutch target texts. This analysis will compare excerpts of the Dutch translations with the source text and with each other. During this process I will focus on stylistic features; syntactic equivalence and equivalence of meaning (sense for sense) and the translation strategies and procedures the Dutch translators applied in order to make their translations retentive or recreative, in order to recreate the underlying translational norms. "Retentive translation comprises the strategies of historicization and exoticization with respect to the linguistic context, literary intertext and socio-cultural situation pertaining to the text pair(s). Recreative translation comprises the strategies of naturalization and modernization" (Koster: 23). In order to clearly identify and illustrate these differences I will be making use of Holmes' charting-system. In conclusion, I expect to find cultural differences in the translations that are relevant to the changes in views and values in Dutch Culture, making the most modern translation the most recreative translation and therefore the one culturally farthest removed from the source text, proving that the retranslation theory should be reconsidered and that the perceptions and values of love and romance are culturally related and change over time.

2 Social Historical Background

Pride and Prejudice is one of the world's most famous and praised classic romantic novels. Written in 1813, the novel gives the readers of today a peek into early 19th Century social norms and structures. The novel is generally understood to be about the Bennet sisters and their quest to find love.

However, all the Bennet sisters are really in pursuit of is, in fact, not love but a husband.

Furthermore, Hui argues that “[f]or women in the novel, the only identity is to become someone’s wife. Otherwise, her life will become worthless” (Hui: 90). This is because women had a different position in society in the nineteenth century from the one they have now, and economic or status-related reasons often outweighed love. This view had to be imbedded in society, and according to Suanet and Brass, if women were to adhere to this tradition of sacrificing their personal happiness for the common good, it had to stem from a cultural norm. This popular view and practice is clearly illustrated by this quote from Elizabeth’s best friend, Charlotte;

Mr. Collins, to be sure, was neither sensible nor agreeable; his society was irksome, and his attachment to her must be imaginary. But still he would be her husband. Without thinking highly either of men or of matrimony, marriage had always been her object; it was the only honourable provision for well-educated young women of small fortune, and however uncertain of giving happiness, must be their pleasantest preservative from want. This preservative she had now obtained; and at the age of twenty-seven, without having ever been handsome, she felt all the good luck of it. (Austen, 1813: 120)

According to Swidler *Pride and Prejudice* is a classic example of a Bourgeois love story. Bourgeois love is, essentially, about maturing and finding and getting to know your true self while finding your true love, and according to Swidler Bourgeois love alters “the tension between individual morality and social demands, reconciling the two through a love that tests and rewards a person's true merits” (113). In *Pride and Prejudice* Elizabeth is only able to find love when she overcomes her own pride and prejudice against Mr. Darcy, matures, and thus discovers her true self. Love, and marriage, is therefore not merely seen as an emotion, but rather as a part of and extension of the self.

Over the past decades modern western societies and cultures, influenced by globalisation, seem to be changing faster than ever and are generally said, and appear, to become more uniform. This growing cultural uniformity is also noticeable in the way society has structured the forms of love and marriage and the values surrounding them. These dramatic changes, I believe, are not sudden or unexpected when reviewing history, but rather a linear process where the changes in the social and cultural perceptions of love, courtship, and marriage of earlier days developed into our modern views on and societal norms of love and marriage.

2.1 Romantic Conventions in the Era of Jane Austen

Throughout history, marriage was considered the most important commitment a person could make in their lives. And for most women it was also seen as the most important economic investment into their future. This was because in most European countries women could not inherit or own property, and the only way of securing what was theirs was through marriage. “In Europe, from the early Middle Ages through the eighteenth century, the dowry a wife brought with her at marriage was often the biggest infusion of cash, goods, or land a man would ever acquire.” (Coontz: 17). On the other hand, as Kok and Leinarte mention, it is also possible women refrained from marriage because they had more assets or income than their partners. Nevertheless, not many people chose cohabitation over marriage, often due to strict internalised religious or societal norms, and the fact that premarital sexuality was frowned upon and in some countries even penalised or punished. Some countries, like the Calvinist Netherlands, even prosecuted cohabitation as a form of fornication in their strive for moral purity. In the Netherlands, according to Kok and Leinarte, these punishments could range from a heavy fine, or 10 to 12 year banishment, to juvenile courts threatening with out-of-home placement of the children. These sanctions, and avoiding them, proved a powerful stimulus for people to get married.

However, the nineteenth century saw a lot of economic and social shifts that resulted in new ideologies that, in turn, resulted in many new social issues like liberalism and socialism. And according to Van Poppel and Nelissen “the specific social issues attracting attention were pauperism, women’s rights, social Darwinism, neo-Malthusianism, the public health movement etc. In almost all these ideologies..., the family and marriage played an important role” (54). All these changes influenced partner and gender roles, in and outside relationships and marriage. And by the end of the 18th century this resulted in a change in the social ideology where, instead of arranged marriages, personal choice and marrying for love was gaining the upper hand. For the first time, marriage was seen as a personal and private relationship rather than a political or economic alliance; “[w]here once marriage had been seen as the fundamental unit of work and politics, it was now viewed as a place of refuge from work, politics, and community obligations” (Coontz: 202).

And this was not the only change that occurred. The image of both husband and wife underwent great change in the eighteenth century; before, the husband was seen as the head of the ‘family labour force’ and women had economic input that contributed to the family income. But now, the man was suddenly seen as the sole provider or breadwinner, and women were no longer expected to contribute financially. Instead of an economic contribution, women were expected to

focus on their emotional and moral contributions to family life, or as Coontz put it; on being the sentimental core.

This change of view, as a result of the Enlightenment, posed some problems for both men and women, and most still did not support the idea that women were equal or had to have equal rights. "What emerged was a peculiar compromise between egalitarian and patriarchal views of marriage. People began to view each sex as having a distinctive character" (Coontz: 213). Within this view, women were no longer seen as inferior, but simply different from men. However, this view did not only boil down to 'women being from Venus and men from Mars', it also allowed for and meant that, although women were on the whole more appreciated for their qualities, they still 'needed to be protected' from interfering in a man's business since according to this view it simply wasn't in a woman's nature to do so.

The traditional gender roles of men and women were established, and in turn influenced society's standards of married life. More and more women became housewives, and did no longer earn wages to contribute to the household like the women had done in the centuries before them. This trend was not only for the rich or well-off, since a woman could save the family more money by doing the essential housework than she could make working outside the home, and thus it made economic sense for her to stay at home growing food, tending to the animals, cooking, cleaning, sewing clothing, etc. The growing division between the male breadwinner and the stay at home housewife only seemed to reinforce the idea or view that men and women were inherently different and lived in different spheres: "with the man's sphere divorced from domesticity and the woman's divorced from the "economy." (Coontz: 215). As a result, the work a women did at home to support the family were no longer considered as economic activities or real work, but rather as labour out of love. Housekeeping became homemaking, and as a result women became financially more dependent on their husbands.

However, not everyone saw marrying for love as an improvement, and many feared this would have severe consequences for the stability of the marital institution. Many, at that time, already warned that the values that were to increase satisfaction in marriage could, on the other hand, also prove to be the thing undermining marriage as an institution. If love is what makes marriage such a special and personal type of relationship, it could in turn make marriage optional, fragile and less stable.

2.2 Victorian Views on Love and Marriage.

What exactly happened after the period of *Pride and Prejudice*? For the first time in history, the focus was on love within marriage, and on marriage being the most important experience in one's life.

“Despite the stilted language of the era, Victorian marriage harbored all the hopes for romantic love, intimacy, personal fulfillment, and mutual happiness that were to be expressed more openly and urgently during the early twentieth century. But these hopes for love and intimacy were continually frustrated by the rigidity of nineteenth-century gender roles (Coontz: 243). The idea prevailed that people should actually be allowed to select their partners on the basis of love, instead of selecting a partner primarily for social or economic reasons. And the idea of ‘true love’, and it being something you cannot help nor fight, came into existence. Although true love and the intimate marriage was glorified as a social ideal, people had not massively started to act upon it due to the strict gender roles of the 19th century.

Another factor that stood in the way of intimate marriage was the Enlightenment view. This view was still popular and entailed that love needed time to grow, and that it was based on appreciation, admiration and respect. Furthermore, the expression of sexual desire was a taboo, and romantic love was often considered to be no different to the love for a sister, friend or an idea. More or less, everything remained as it had been in Austen's time, with marriage still being a very important factor for women, since “[i]n the absence of job security and pensions, a woman who was not married by her thirties generally had to move in with relatives” (Coontz: 254) and become an old spinster.

The end of the nineteenth century, however, sees some changes in behavioural patterns. More and more girls from the middle class started to attend high school, who afterwards considered adjusting to the role of housewife increasingly difficult, since many wanted to work outside the house or pursue higher education. Women's legal status was also improving due to the women's rights movement, which became increasingly popularity during the closing decades of the nineteenth century, demanding political rights and personal freedoms. As a result, many youths from the working class started to reject traditional gender roles and the age-old ideal of female modesty. Furthermore, according to Liefbroer, the improved overall wealth and the improved economic independence of women, did not only make it easier to marry, but also to end an unsatisfying relationship.

Nevertheless, the number of working women was low and marriage was still extremely common. “Apart from having social, legal and financial advantages, official marriage had symbolic value and promised more protection, stability and endurance, if only because getting divorced was costly and difficult until the second half of the twentieth century. Especially for women who, after

divorce, had no income to support themselves, this might have been an important reason to press for marriage” (Kok and Leinarte: 497).

2.3 Love and Marriage post-WWII

In the first half of the twentieth century more and more women began to fight for their legal rights and position within society, with an increasing number of women becoming higher educated and working out of the home. This did not only affect their political views, but it also had a great impact on society. A more liberal stance toward sex and birth control became widely accepted, and the popular culture of the ‘roaring twenties’ became saturated with sex. Even though views on women in general and women’s position within society were changing, this did not mean that every woman suddenly had a job, was politically active, and higher educated. Nor did it mean that the traditional values and norms of the general population had changed overnight. Although certain (feminist) groups aimed to change women’s position in society, most of them did not threaten conservative relationship and marriage norms.

By associating women’s work with men’s economic failure, the Depression had reinforced the appeal of the male breadwinner family. World War II, by contrast, left a much more positive image of working women. For years afterward women spoke nostalgically about their wartime work experiences, and many sought to rejoin the workforce in the 1950s. But the end of the war also brought a renewed enthusiasm for marriage, female homemaking, and the male breadwinner family. (Coontz: 301)

After the war the institute of marriage seems to have gotten a boost; marriage rates surged in Europe, and were higher than they had been in the last hundreds of years, and people started to get married at a significantly younger age. The former habit of marrying at a higher age was not only determined by social norms, but also by economical ones because people could not marry until they were able to financially support themselves. However, in the fifties, people of the working class earned more, and were able to support themselves not only at an earlier age, but also on a single income.

Moreover, after WWII, people were more focussed on the self and less focussed on the church’s opinion due to secularisation and individualization. And for more people cohabitation and divorce became a viable option. According to Liefbroer, people did not commit as easily to a partner as before, expectation of romantic relationships rose, and people proved more willing to end their relationship when it did not rise to their expectations. Nevertheless, marriage was extremely popular during this period, and “[n]o 1950s version of the New Woman arose to flout convention or celebrate the single life. Nor was there any sign of a resurrected feminist movement” (Coontz: 305).

2.4 Romantic Conventions in the 60s

Marriage reached its peak of popularity in the sixties. According to Coontz, at this time, almost 95 percent of the total population of North America and Western Europe married. At the same time, divorce rates seemed to stabilize or even decrease. Subsequently, people spent more time and a bigger part of their lives in marriage than ever before, since they married younger and the general life expectancy increased. Liefbroer explains that people's behaviour in relationships was also influenced by certain modern technological developments like the birth-control pill. The birth-control pill became widely accepted in the sixties, and because of it, people were not only able to control having children inside marriage, but also outside of marriage. This "led to an informalization of norms. Consequently sexuality became detached from reproduction and marriage" (Ravesloot, du Bois-Reymond and Poel: 3), paving the way for cohabitation and other forms of relationships. This contraceptive gave women more options, and most women pursuing a professional career decided to postpone marriage or starting a family, and naturally resorted to cohabitation as the logical option. Because of these factors cohabitation has been on the increase from the sixties onwards.

2.5 Love and Romance in the 70s and 80s

A great shift occurred, and in less than twenty years the whole (social) concept of marriage was transformed; legally, politically and economically. In the seventies there is a more general acceptance of the different types of relationships. The new economy made it harder to sustain the single breadwinner family of the fifties and sixties, resulting in a general increase in the number of married working women, especially in the working classes. Moreover, women suddenly had a world of possibilities available to them, the generations before them could only dream of, like access to legal rights, education, birth control, and decent jobs. Furthermore, the hippie movement caused a shift in morality and socio-cultural norms relating to sexuality, a general tolerance for having children outside of marriage, and a focus on happiness and self-fulfillment, which in turn also changed the way people acted in and perceived relationships. Dutch divorce law is changed to make it easier for people to get divorced, and cohabiting couples gain almost the same rights as married couples, having an effect on the relationships of the generations to come.

People begin to move away from marriage and towards cohabitation, not only seeing cohabitation as a short-term solution but increasingly as a solution to a long-term relationship. "In the 1970s when divorce rates surged and marriage lost its aura of stability and permanence, it may also have lost its comparative advantage of offering more permanence. Indeed, some social scientists see cohabitation as a 'strategic long-term response' to the prevalent divorce culture" (Kok and Leinarte: 497).

2.6 Modern Values and Norms

Eventually, divorce rates and unwed pregnancy decreased, but cohabitation rates, however, have continued to increase into the twentieth century. Cohabitation is a now generally accepted form of long-term committed relationship, and many people see it either as a stage in courtship leading up to marriage, or as an alternative to marriage. Nowadays, most people have cohabited before getting married. Furthermore, Coontz explains that marriage is less popular than in the decades before, and although less people get married divorce rates have tripled in the Netherlands and quadrupled in Britain from the seventies till the nineties. Moreover, according to Liefbroer, only about twenty-five percent of men and women get married without having cohabited before marriage, and about twenty percent of relationships is ended within five years. The increase of cohabitation and the falling rates of marriage seems to imply a growing rejection of marriage or that marriage is replaced by other forms of relationships, like cohabitation. But according to Kok and Leinarte this is not the case, since “[m]arriage is perceived as a higher level of commitment; it stands for ‘the real deal’, the most durable expression of love. Cohabitation, either as a trial for testing compatibility or as a temporary recourse, is seen as subordinate to the marriage ideal” (507), meaning that marriage and cohabitation have different functions and are therefore able to co-exist in society. Furthermore, although there is a general trend to postpone marriage, probably due to economic constraints, people often still tend to get married when planning a family.

In conclusion, the socio-cultural norms and perceptions of marriage were transformed between the eighteenth and twenty-first century. Patriarchal marriage where women sacrificed personal happiness for the common good was replaced by the love-based marriage ideal of the male breadwinner family and lifelong intimacy. And subsequent changes in the seventies, like the birth-control pill, secularization, further emancipation, led to a change in the value system and norms surrounding love and relationships.

Marriage no longer constitutes the exclusive access to sexuality, reproduction, inheritance rights, adult status and social recognition. The meaning of marriage has been reduced to its symbolic role of representing lasting commitment. But that is not a negligible legacy.

Furthermore, history seems to play a role in determining how long cohabitations will last, whether pregnancy will stimulate a conversion to marriage, and what social gradients exist in the duration and sequences of cohabitation and marriage. (Kok and Leinarte: 508)

3 Theoretical Background

This chapter, as the name states, will provide the theoretical background this research is based upon, considering culture, ideology, and norms in translation, and defining the retranslation theory and the concepts of retentive and recreative translation.

3.1 Culture and Ideology in Translation

Jane Austen's novels are often said to be a representation of everyday life at the turn of the nineteenth century. This is because "Jane Austen deliberately avoids effect, exaggeration and excess. She applied the microscope to human character and motivation, which makes her novels unique as representations of universal patterns of behaviour. The characters in this novel behave according to the rules of society, whereby love and passion are perfectly recognisable and civilised" (Hernandez: 187). But are these features truly universal or are they fixed in the period the novel was written? Because of the importance of these features in the novel, Dow asks the question: "Is it possible to translate Austen's characters from their spatial and temporal locations in late eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century England? Should one even try?" (122). This is a very good question. However, almost every contemporary translator would answer it with no.

Modern views on translation tend to favour a foreignizing approach, and according to Muñoz-Calvo, "a language postulates in itself a model of reality and a phonic association with the universe it describes, so we cannot separate language from culture. Both linguistic equivalence and cultural transfer are at stake when translating. Translation is a cultural fact that means necessarily cross-cultural communication because translation enables language to cross borders and helps intercultural exchange and understanding" (2). This means that language, culture and perceptions are interrelated. If language is a phonic representation of perceptions and culture, how can a text ever be translated and be expected to have the same effect and represent the same cultural universe? According to Leppihalme:

Translators do not consider only individual lexical items when solving translation problems but look for solutions that serve current target-cultural norms and other aspects of the translation situation. They have many ways of coping with realia, conveying information and filling lexical gaps, even though some of the connotations of the items may change or get lost in the process. ... Translators may choose to foreground the foreign or play it down, depending on how they see their task and what they want to achieve. Decisions are made with the overall function of the translation in mind – though the choice is not necessarily the translator's alone: commercial and sociocultural considerations also come into play. (128)

These decisions are often influenced or determined by ideology. "Ideology is rooted in individual and social consciousness. Ideology regulates how people perceive the world, what they know and believe about it. Being closely related to perception, knowledge and beliefs, ideology determines what people regard as the aesthetic or factual truth at a certain place and time" (Baumgarten: 60). He also mentions that "Any translation event is therefore embedded in a situational and sociocultural setting and conditioned by the agency of the individuals involved" (Baumgarten: 61). But, since every language pair is made up of two different languages, and thus, two different cultures, every language pair comes with different culture-specific translation problems: "That translation frequently cannot be regarded as equal cross-cultural exchange implies that there is no straightforward 'meaning transfer' between languages. Because it is always an effect of sociocultural contingencies, meaning cannot be seen as a stable conceptual entity. It is therefore not seen within texts but rather as dynamically constructed through the process of interpretation. Thus, the production and interpretation of meaning and by extension thinking about and practising translation is to a large extent ideological" (Baumgarten: 63).

The translation of cultural elements, is according to Brisset, not only a matter of two different language systems and two different cultures, and she claims that the translation of realia "become more complex when historical time is factored in. Should the translator recreate the feeling of the time period of the text for the contemporary reader? Or, conversely, should the archaic form of the language be modernized to make the text more accessible to the contemporary reader?" (344).

3.2 Norms in translation

One of the first statements Toury makes in his ground-breaking essay *The Nature and Role of Norms in Translation* is that instead of looking at translation from a purely linguistic angle and as a mere reproduction of textual features, "[t]ranslation activities should rather be regarded as having cultural significance" (198). With this essay from 1978, Toury was not only part of the cultural turn, but also introduced a brand new target oriented approach, focussing on the TTs cultural and historical role, with his three-step methodology and the reconstruction of norms in translation through textual analysis. This new approach also played an important role to further development of Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS), a branch of Pure Translation Studies, as mapped by Holmes, which deals with describing phenomena of translation and translating. According to Assis Rosa:

Toury's most important proposals for DTS are the definition of this approach as descriptive-explanatory and interdisciplinary; the definition of its subject-matter, assumed translations as a result of a target-oriented approach; the proposal of a three-stage methodology for

descriptive studies; the contextually motivated redefinition of equivalence as a descriptive concept; the formulation of translational norms (a notion that is central to Toury's position) as the epitome for a target oriented approach; and the formulation of theoretical (possibly universal) laws of translation behaviour as a goal beyond descriptive studies. (97-8)

Toury's research was thus very influential on multiple levels within the field of Translation Studies. And the effects it had on the field were, according to Assis Rosa that, "[s]uch proposals for DTS amount to a shift of paradigm from the a-historical prescription of what translation should be to a description of what translation is in a particular historical context. As a consequence, attention is shifted from the comparison of source and target text to the study of the relations between target texts and between target texts and their context, the target culture" (Assis Rosa: 98-9). The main focus was placed on historical and cultural context, in line with the cultural turn. Assis Rosa also claims that due to these shifts in orientation the way in which a translator "as a target culture agent negotiates contextual constraints pertaining to the target culture, in its historical, geographical, social and ideological coordinates" (99), in other words; how a translator shapes and deals with translational norms, is also affected. Toury ascribes norms a certain value or validity, with some norms being stronger and having a higher validity than others. The norm's validity can change over time, and these "[s]hifts of validity and force often have to do with changes of status within a society" (Toury: 199), implying that norms and their validity change according to and together with culture and ideology of society. In fact, "[s]ociologists and social psychologists have long regarded norms as the translation of general values or ideas shared by a community—as to what is right and wrong, adequate and inadequate—into performance instructions appropriate for and applicable to particular situations, specifying what is prescribed and forbidden as well as what is tolerated and permitted in a certain behavioural dimension" (Toury: 199).

Toury distinguishes two variations of the initial norm derived from two types of requirements;

- 1 being a text in a certain language, and hence occupying a position, or filling in a slot, in the appropriate culture, or in a certain section thereof;

- 2 constituting a representation in that language/culture of another, preexisting text in some other language, belonging to some other culture and occupying a definite position within it.

(Toury: 200)

If the first stance, derived from the first requirement, is adopted the norms in play will be that of the target culture, creating a target-oriented approach, while the second stance, derived from the second requirement, will adhere to the norms prevalent in the ST, creating a source-oriented approach. These two different stances warrant different approaches and will therefore give a different end result; "whereas adherence to source norms determines a translation's adequacy as

compared to the source text, subscription to norms originating in the target culture determines its acceptability” (Toury: 201). Because *Pride and Prejudice* has been recognised as classic or world literature since the closing decades of the twentieth century, and because of this, the ST would fall under Toury’s second requirement. As a result, I would expect the TTs from 1980 and 2012 to have opted for the source oriented approach, since for a classic novel or world literature adequacy will be (overall) more important than acceptability.

Moreover, this great a shift also influenced what was understood by and the usage of the term equivalence. According to Assis Rosa, “DTS discards the traditional, a-historical, invariant, ideal and prescriptive concept of equivalence, and replaces it with a functional-relational, historical, variable, empirical and descriptive concept of the translational relationship” (Assis Rosa: 99). In turn, Leal, looking at the bigger picture in hindsight, claims that the cultural turn, unlike popular belief, “had little to do with turning equivalence – and translation theory in general, for that matter – into a descriptive rather than prescriptive concept. Instead, it placed equivalence within a target-oriented framework concerned first and foremost with aspects of target cultures rather than with linguistic elements of source texts” (43). Meaning a shift from formal equivalence (or formal correspondence), focussing on accuracy and correctness and close approximation of the ST structure, to dynamic equivalence (or functional equivalence), focussing on Nida’s principle of equivalent effect.

This principle of equivalent effect means that the message the target audience or receptor receives is the same as the message that the ST conveys to its audience. However, a totally dynamic approach to translation will entail a great deal of (cultural) adaptation if it is to achieve ‘naturalness’, meaning that in true dynamic translations all cultural references are to be domesticated to fit the target audience’s culture and reference frame, since in order to achieve naturalness there should be no interference in the TT from the ST. Thus, minimizing the foreignness of the ST setting “in a way that would now be criticized by later culturally oriented translation theorists” (Munday: 67). I wonder, if dynamic equivalence is able to create a similar effect in the TT, since there is no way of knowing for sure what the effect was on the ST audience in 1813, let alone how to recreate this. Especially since *Pride and Prejudice* would also contain a certain level of foreignness or historicizing effect when read by a modern contemporary British audience. I believe that, especially when dealing with historical novels, a certain degree of foreignness is allowed, and maybe even expected by the target audience, since completely domesticating the novel would not only lead to loss of cultural, but also of historical references, creating a whole different story altogether in the TT.

3.3 Berman's Retranslation Hypothesis

Since the cultural turn of the 80's many scholars have noted that the preferred approach in literary translation is foreignizing, or exoticizing, where, in general, earlier translators are said to have preferred a more domesticating or naturalizing approach. According to Dow, this shift and difference in approaches is clearly noticeable in the translations of *Pride and Prejudice*: "the twentyfirst-century scholar of Austen holds a different viewpoint from her nineteenth-century predecessors. Translation theorists now tend to view the purpose of translation as to provide a guide to the original, by which I mean an accurate sense of the 'foreignness' of the source text" (Dow: 124). Although this research is not looking at nineteenth-century translations, the cultural turn only took place around the 1980s, qualifying the two oldest Dutch TTs in the corpus (from 1946 and 1964) as translations that, according to translation theory, should have followed the domesticating approach. Furthermore, Dow also claims that "All early translations adopted the domesticating model of translation, in which the source text is made to fit the horizon of expectations of the reader in the target language. Through this translation model, Austen's characters become less English, and more like characters who would be known to readers in the literatures of their own countries" (Dow: 124).

But what exactly is 'Englishness', and in what way or on what level is the TT domesticated? Through domestication and adaptation of realia, the style, the meaning, the syntax, or the effect it has on the readers? It could even mean that domestication, in general, is considered a combination of all of the above mentioned features and forms of adaptation. Although not specified, Dow is probably focussed on the translation of cultural elements. Dow claims that translation approaches change over time and that nineteenth-century translators domesticated and twentyfirst-century translators exoticize. However, unlike Dow, Berman does not claim his Retranslation Theory within a certain time frame or period. Berman's Retranslation Theory claims that first translations are adapted to the norms that govern the target audience, and can be considered domesticating, and that later translations or retranslations tend to be more source- oriented, or foreignizing. This theory is based on the idea that:

first translations determine whether or not a text (and its author) is (are) going to be accepted in the target culture; [and that] the text is therefore adapted to the norms that govern the target audience. At a later stage, when it has become familiar with the text (and author), the target culture allows for and demands new translations – retranslations – that are no longer definitively target oriented, but source text oriented" (Desmidt: 671).

The issue with the retranslation theory is that it does not specify what exactly is understood or meant by these adaptations or domestications. Nor does it specify on what level or features (linguistic, stylistic, cultural) the text is considered to be target or source text oriented, but I believe it

is meant as a general translation theory (and therefore covering the different levels). Although Desmidt mentions that the Retranslation Theory can seem plausible for many reasons (i.e. critical revision of the earlier translations, the fact that the TL and TC develops or becomes less rigid), she also questions to what extent this theory is supported by empirical evidence. In recent years more and more researchers like Desmidt have looked into Berman's Retranslation Theory and criticized it for the lack of empirical evidence and the fact that it is too general, and Desmidt's research into children's literature showed that although "in recent years there certainly had been a wish to show consideration for the original source text" (Desmidt: 676), a clash of different norms made that the Retranslation theory was only valid to some extent but had no general value.

Pride and Prejudice has been translated into numerous languages, and often more than once into the same language. Currently there are over twenty Dutch translations, of which the majority dates from the 1990s onwards. This is, according to Dow, because of the increased popularity due to the success of the film and television-series that came out in the closing decades of the twentieth century. "In the twenty-first century, Austen is re-translated not because of, but rather, in spite of, earlier translations, because *Pride and Prejudice* has been recognised a priori as world literature by publishers, editors and translators, and indeed by readers themselves" (Dow: 136). And because of this popularity, it would make sense that the target audience has grown to be more appreciative and accepting of foreign elements in the later translations in comparison to the earlier translations that were made in a time when the general public had never heard of Jane Austen. If Berman's theory applies, it would mean that of the translations examined, the one from 1946 would on all levels be the most naturalizing, and that the TT from 2012 would be the most retentive and conserving of the SC and SL.

3.4 Retentive and Recreative Translation

Holmes mentions that when considering the translation of historical works (or cross-temporal translation), one should take into account that the fact that the text was written, not only in a different language but also in a different time and socio-cultural system, poses a set of specific translation problems. "Moreover it would appear that translators tend to deal with these cross-temporal problems in ways that are quite similar to the approaches of native speakers who are reading a non-contemporary poem" (Holmes, 1994: 36). In order to make a good translation of a historical work Holmes claims, in relation to the translation problems that cross-temporal translation poses, that: "[t]he translator of today, unlike his counterpart of the fifteenth century, cannot consider these features by themselves; he must relate them to a series of cross-temporal problems. These problems, too, are not solely linguistic, but also literary and socio-cultural" (Holmes, 1994: 37),

and that for all these features the translator must make a choice. Holmes offers a bipolar model to describe the two choices, or routes, a translator can make or take: “[t]he choice in each individual case may be to attempt to retain the specific aspect of the original poem, even though that aspect is now experienced as historical rather than as directly relevant today; this approach might be called ‘historicizing translation’ or ‘retentive translation’. Or the choice may be to seek ‘equivalents’ (which are, of course, always equivalent only to a greater or lesser degree) to ‘re-create’ a contemporary relevance, an approach that could be called ‘modernizing translation’ or ‘re-creative translation’” (Holmes, 1994: 37). However, he also mentions that this choice can differ on the different levels, or for each different translation issue the translator comes across.

Holmes’ hypothesis is that it is possible that “the pressures towards (and the resistance to) either modernizing or historicizing are different in regard to each of the various systems” (1994: 42), and that these pressures could prove, after extensive study, to vary from age to age and from country to country. Moreover, Holmes also mentions that in general there is a tendency amongst contemporary translators to modernize and naturalize the linguistic context, and to exoticize and historicize the socio-cultural situation (a retentive approach). This could mean that, for example, the resistance towards recreative translation on a socio-cultural level nowadays might be higher than the resistance towards recreative translations on the other levels, and that this level of resistance could have been different in the past for the three different levels or spheres; the linguistic context, literary intertext, and the socio-cultural situation. The linguistic context deals with the meaning and message of the text and its syntactic features, the literary intertext deals with the literary aspects of the text (i.e. the punctuation, rhythm, metre, rhyme and assonance), and the socio-cultural situation deals with the differences between and constraints of the source culture (SC) and the target culture (TC) (i.e. images and symbols from the SC; realia). As mentioned before, when doing research into translation of historical works, these spheres can be examined along the axes of historicizing vs. modernizing translation. However, the axes that apply to the translation of contemporary works also apply to the translation of historical works, creating a system of two axes; with exoticizing vs. naturalizing on the x-axis, and historicizing vs. modernizing on the y-axis.² Furthermore, Holmes also mentions that this chart, instead of being applied to one sentence only, can also be applied to an entire text. However, the chart tends to become extremely complex.

² Explanation in own words of “Kortom, iedere vertaler van poëzie werkt, bewust of onbewust, steeds in diverse dimensies tegelijk, waarbij hij moet kiezen op drie niveaus – het linguïstische, literaire en socioculturele – en tevens op de x-as van exotiseren tegenover naturaliseren en de y-as van historiseren tegenover moderniseren” (Holmes, 2010: 186).

4 Methodology

This chapter's function is to explain the choices made in selecting the text and the excerpts, and the methodology used in order to conduct the diachronic research and the comparative analysis of Dutch translations of Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice*.

The aim of this translation research is to provide new data and propose a new hypothesis by testing an existing translation theory. The new hypothesis is that the changes in sociocultural norms and perceptions over time create socio-cultural translation problems in the translation of the historic novel *Pride and Prejudice*, and that the translator's norms influenced or imposed on the translation in terms of socio-cultural norms and perceptions relating to love and romance, going against Berman's retranslation theory and making the most recent translation the most modernizing and domesticating one in terms of socio-cultural ideals, and thus farthest removed from the ST. The new data provided will be the analysis of *Pride and Prejudice* and four Dutch translations that were published over a period of seventy years. "As it is impossible to research the totality of a novel, or even a short story, it is important to select one aspect" (Williams and Chesterman: 10). Because of this I have decided to focus on realia and sentences that display socio-cultural norms or perceptions. And since I will be analysing and discussing five novels, the ST and four TTs, I have chosen to use only the first three chapters for my research. I have selected the first three chapters of the ST and TTs because these chapters do not only introduce the main characters, but also contain a lot of emotion words and many references to social and romantic conventions of the time. "Sometimes it can make sense to concentrate on the first chapter or opening scene, since this often sets the tone for the remainder of the work" (Williams and Chesterman: 10), which is certainly the case with *Pride and Prejudice*. I have selected *Pride and Prejudice* by Jane Austen because the novel's main theme is love and the socio-cultural norms surrounding it and because it was written in 1813; a social and cultural setting that differs a lot from modern contemporary social and cultural norms. Furthermore, the novel being considered classic literature and its immense popularity in the last few decades, reinforced by the release of several motion pictures and a BBC series, gave rise to numerous (re)translations and adaptations (i.e. *Pride and Prejudice and zombies*) of the novel, offering me a large corpus of more than twenty TTs to select from. Adaptations of *Pride and Prejudice* were not taken into consideration for the purpose of this research.

One needs a model and method, in order to conduct any kind of reliable research. The field of Translation Studies offers an array of different models for the many different types of research that can be conducted. According to Chesterman these models "illustrate different theoretical approaches to translation, and show how the field has developed" (108). He also claims that,

historically speaking, the first models were comparative; meaning that “there is a source text ST and a target text TT, and the relation between them is approximately equal. This “approximately equal” is of course where the concepts of correspondence and equivalence and similarity come in” (Chesterman: 108), and that this comparative model is static, product based, primarily concerned with texts, and studies the differences between the ST and TT(‘s). Chesterman also mentions causal models which represent all types of causality that can influence a translation, for instance “socio-cultural and historical factors such as traditions and norms, economic factors, the translator’s personality and mood, the time and resources available, the text type, the translation skopos, etc.” (Chesterman: 109), and are strongly predictive. However, there does not seem to be one approved or perfect method within Translation Studies that suits the different types of research, and according to Chesterman;

It might be felt that TS [Translation Studies] has not yet matured enough to set up properly testable models, and that empirical research should aim at more modest goals, such as generating and testing individual hypotheses. Well-supported hypotheses could then be built into models. But a model itself is also a hypothesis, in the sense that it should be testable, and then perhaps refined or even rejected ... In building and improving models in TS, a major challenge is therefore to make them as explicit and predictive as possible so that they can be tested, and we may then arrive at better explanatory theories. (113)

In order to be able to investigate and describe the differences between the ST and the TTs, and to describe the differences in socio-cultural and translational norms, this research will feature a combined comparative and causal model.

According to Koster, “[a]ny comparative effort necessarily involves a **corpus** of texts and has to take into account three interrelated dimensions: it a) sets out with a certain **aim**, an idea, a theoretical notion, of what aspect(s) of the corpus is (are) to be studied, b) provides for a **conceptual apparatus**, a set of terms suitable to describe the relationship between the texts in the corpus, and c) uses a specific **method**, which provides for different stages, a *tertium comparationis*, and a unit of comparison” (Koster: 21). Since the aim of this diachronic research is to look at how changing socio-cultural values and translatable norms affect or influence (re)translations, I have compiled a corpus of four parallel translations into Dutch of a single source text, namely *Pride and Prejudice*, to be compared among each other, and to the ST. “The aim of a comparative effort within this framework, then, is to reconstruct the norms underlying the translational choices made in the corpus”, the strategies chosen by the translator, and to reconstruct the Translator’s poetics. Toury states that viewing translation as a norm- governed type of behaviour can apply to all genres, and that “[i]n principle, the claim is also valid for every society and historical period, thus offering a framework for historically oriented studies which would also allow for comparison” (202).

Because of the limited time available for this comparative research, only four translations were selected to be able to select larger excerpts for analysis and get more reliable results. For the purpose of the diachronic and socio-cultural research I have selected TTs that have a reasonable time gap between them in order to clearly distinguish between the different socio-cultural changes within Dutch society that might have influenced the TTs. The selected translations date from 1946, 1964, 1980, and 2012 and range from hardcover to paperback, and even pocket editions called 'dwarsligger' or Flipback. Chapter 4 on the theoretical background, containing Berman's Retranslation Theory, Toury's norms in translation and Holmes' basic strategies of retentive and recreative translation, provides the conceptual apparatus.

With regard to the specific method, it requires a *tertium comparationis* and a unit of comparison. There are several choices for a *tertium comparationis* in comparative research. What one needs in order to compare, is a standard to be able to distinguish between the similarities and differences. Equivalence is a term much used in translation research and analysis to refer to things that are the same, i.e.; equivalent. As explained in chapter 3, there are two basic forms of equivalence; formal and dynamic equivalence. Both have their pros and cons. However, Hoey & Houghton claim that

“[f]ormal similarity is unreliable for several reasons. In the first place, a particular grammatical structure in one language may be a requirement while in another it may be one choice amongst several; in the second place, the choice represented by a grammatical structure in one language may have a different significance in that language from the choice represented by an apparently equivalent structure in another language; in the third place, in one language a particular structure may be unmarked while in another it may be marked” (47).

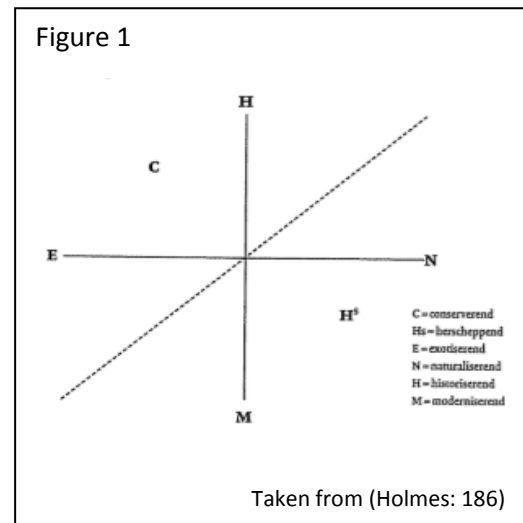
On the other hand, dynamic equivalence focusses on equivalent effect, but in the process erases all cultural and historical features the ST displays in order to create 'naturalness' in the TT. Equivalent effect also poses a problem, since *Pride and Prejudice* is a historical novel, it would be almost impossible to create the same effect in the TT as the ST would have had on their readership in the early nineteenth century. And why would one want to read a translation of a historical novel that is fully modernized and domesticated, to the extent that all references to the ST's setting, culture and historical time frame are lost? This view, according to Leal, stems from the cultural shift in the 80s; “[b]y shifting the focus from language to culture, source-texts were not the only ones to be dethroned, but the notion of equivalence also seems to have lost much of its vigour. Yet until today equivalence in translation is very much present, predominantly as a blanket, useful concept” (Leal: 44).

Therefore, in order to retain the cultural and historical references, as the *tertium comparationis* of this contrastive analysis I have selected to focus on an equivalent literary effect; focussing on style, register, meaning, and connotations in order to create, more or less, the same effect this historical novel would have on a modern contemporary British audience. To analyse and determine the level of literary equivalence in the TTs I will be making use of the field of stylistics. This primarily because “[t]ranslation is closely connected with stylistics because stylistics aims to explain how a text means rather than just what it means ... Stylistics also aims to help explain the source text writer’s choices by identifying what the usual syntactic pattern or collocation would be” (Boase-Beier: 154-5). And more importantly, because “a translation might sometimes be evaluated less by its closeness to the source text than by whether it fulfils the stylistic criteria of the text-type it belongs to in the degree and nature of interaction it allows its reader” (Boase-Beier: 156). Furthermore, the field of stylistics analyses writer’s style, and with it the choices he made during the writing process, since “every writer necessarily makes choices of expression, and that it is in these choices, in a particular ‘way of putting things’, that style resides” (Leech and Short: 16). If, through stylistic analysis, we are able to analyse the choices made by the writer, stylistic analysis of a translation would not only provide insight into the stylistic differences between the ST and TT but also the stylistic choices the translator made during the translation process. And according to Assis Rosa, “[a]ny descriptive study will consequently reveal the target culture since a culture’s own self-definition within intercultural relations is betrayed by the way in which translation decisions are made” (Assis Rosa: 99). Therefore, as the unit of comparison I have selected realia and the sociocultural situation.

One of the most important features of stylistic analysis is that: “the study of the literary function of language can be directed towards the stylistic values associated with stylistic variants; that is, with forms of language which can be seen as equivalent in terms of the ‘referential reality’ they describe” (Leech and Short: 32). This can also be applied to the analysis of the level of literary equivalence between an ST and TTs. However, one of the issues with stylistic analysis is that, up to a certain degree, most of the observations are subjective, or at least, not totally objective and often difficult to support with empirical evidence. According to Leech and Short, “linguistic evidence, to be firm, must be couched in terms of numerical frequency” (38), but in practise this is extremely difficult to accomplish since this would not only require quantitative evidence from the corpus you are studying, but also a reference point (an average of that certain feature within the SL) to which the results from your corpus can be compared. Creating a corpus of all literary works (of a certain language) in order to create an average reference point for all types of linguistic and stylistic features that can be researched, would not only be extremely time consuming, but also near to impossible to accomplish. Subsequently, “[s]tyle is such a complicated phenomenon that it would be impractical to

demand hard evidence for every observation made. It may be sufficient for many purposes just to enumerate textual examples of the feature under discussion” (Leech and Short: 38). For the purpose of this translation research, the ST will provide the mean from which the TTs may display stylistic deviation and variation. Comparative stylistics is thus used to ‘measure’ where and how the TTs deviate from the ST.

According to Künzli, “[t]ranslation Studies has long been dominated by speculative and prescriptive writing, relying on theoretical entities or anecdotal evidence rather than on facts derived from direct experience or systematic observation” (53). However, this all changed when “Holmes’ ‘map’ of Translation Studies, with its descriptive



and applied branches, was developed in the 1970s” (Künzli: 53) as a more objective and empirical reaction against the shortcomings of the former highly subjective system. Holmes is considered by many to have been highly influential in the newly emerging discipline of empirical research, which since then has become an essential part of the field of Translation Studies. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Holmes distinguishes three spheres (the linguistic context, literary intertext, and the socio-cultural situation) that can be translated along four axes; exoticizing (foreignizing) vs. naturalizing (domesticizing) and historicizing vs. modernizing. The socio-cultural situation, as well as the translation theories surrounding it, have been thoroughly researched in chapter 2 and 3. The linguistic context, as well as the literary intertext, will be provided by the stylistic analysis of each of the TT excerpts, and will deal with changes in the message and meaning, syntax or style, since the stylistic analysis of the ST and TTs cover not only stylistic, but also grammatical features. Moreover, chapter 5 section 5.3 will compare the TTs to one another stylistically and along the two axes given by Holmes (see figure 2), in which C=retentive, Hs=recreative, E=exoticizing, N=naturalizing, H=historicizing, and M=modernizing. In order to overcome the complexity of the chart representing every sentence from the entire text-excerpt with a dot, I will compare some example sentences on the three levels from each of the TTs and provide a schematic representation making use of Holmes’ chart. Subsequently, the TTs general tendencies on the three levels will be represented by a chart, taking into account the stylistic analysis and the general tendencies in the example sentences, in order to create a schematic representation for each of the TTs and to be able to compare them with one another.

Since this comparative research does not only focus on differences and similarities between the ST and TTs, but also aims to recreate the translational norms, other factors like the translator’s socio-cultural background and ideology (when known) should also be taken into account. As

explained in Chapter 3, Toury provides a three-step methodology for recreating the translator norms that were in effect during the translation process. According to Assis Rosa, within this methodology, “[t]he translator is identified as a social-historical agent, whose negotiation of contextual constraints or motivations as well as of the prospective target text function is predominantly revealed by the shifts adopted in translation, which, for this reason, become one of the most important sources for the study of translational norms” (100). If translation shifts, and thus the ways in which the TTs differ from the ST, reveal the TTs function and the translator’s choices, then the stylistic analysis and Holmes’ mapping (together with the information on the translator’s background) can also be used to recreate the translational norms.

5 Stylistic Analysis and Comparison of the ST and TTs

This Chapter contains the research results and analysis of the text excerpts, and starts off with a stylistic analysis of the ST, in order to provide a medium to compare the TTs to. The stylistic analysis of the ST contains only the most prominent stylistic features, since it would be irrelevant to name and define stylistic features that are not foregrounded in the novel or are irrelevant to this research. Section 5.2 will discuss the most prominent (stylistic) shifts that occur in each of the TTs. Furthermore, the background and relating information pertaining to the ideology of the translator is discussed.

5.1 Stylistic Analysis of the ST

A. Lexical Categories:

The vocabulary in the analysed excerpt of *Pride and Prejudice* is overall fairly complex, formal, specific, and a mix of descriptive and evaluative vocabulary. This mix of descriptive and evaluative vocabulary is probably due to the mix, and strong distinction, between the narrative and the direct and indirect speech, where the narrative is mainly descriptive, and the direct speech is mainly evaluative in nature. The excerpt also displays a tendency towards the use of direct speech over indirect speech, and only a few instances of indirect speech are present in the selected excerpts. Also noticeable is that in the selected excerpts Austen displays a tendency towards the use of Latinate vocabulary, and with it creating a higher formal register than the text would have using more Germanic or Anglo-Saxon vocabulary:

Not all that Mrs. Bennet, however, with the assistance of her five daughters, could ask on the subject was sufficient to draw from her husband any satisfactory description of Mr. Bingley. They attacked him in various ways; with barefaced questions, ingenious suppositions, and distant surmises; but he eluded the skill of them all; and they were at last obliged to accept the second-hand intelligence of their neighbour Lady Lucas.³

It is important to notice that this mix of more formal Latinate and more informal Germanic vocabulary is probably both a historical (people were more formal in Austen's era) as well as an intended stylistic feature, since Austen could have chosen their Germanic counterparts for

³ The information on the Latinate or Germanic etymology and origin of these words was taken from Oxford English Dictionary Online <www.oed.com>.

most of these, like; help, enough, agreeable, rendering, struck at, many, clever, guesses, far, hunches, dodged/got around, had to take, knowledge. However, this would not only affect and change the register to a lower more informal one, but it would also affect the meaning of the sentence, the extent of which depends on the word in question. More or less the same is true for the Dutch language. France and French language has also played an important role in Dutch history, and has left many traces behind. However, where in English the Latinate term is merely considered more formal and also used in spoken language, in Dutch the Latinate term is often extremely formal and primarily used in very formal written language. Translating every English Latinate word with a Dutch Latinate equivalent would lead to an extremely formal and foregrounded TT, and would create an awkward register or TT-sentence that is not natural within the TL:

- A. “Do you consider the forms of introduction, and the stress that is laid on them, as nonsense?”
- B. — Beschouwt gij de introduceer-vormen, en het belang dat er aan gehecht wordt, als onzin?

Because the text is a historical novel, it was no surprise that I encountered some archaic vocabulary, odd idiomatic phrases, and noteworthy collocations; chaise and four, Michaelmas, quick parts, caprice, distant surmises, countenance, noble mein, his manners gave a disgust, principal people, insupportable, fastidious, slighted, finery, set downs. However, considering the length of the excerpt and the age of the work, these are not that many. Furthermore, I expect that an average modern contemporary audience would know most of these, or would be able to deduct the meaning from the context. Overall, the vocabulary does not contain a huge amount of archaisms which could pose translation problems, and therefore I would not expect to find a lot of archaisms in the TTs.

Also noticeable in the selected excerpts is the extensive use of abstract nouns: truth, wife, feelings, neighbourhood, views, minds, families, property. These examples were taken from the first two sentences of the novel. The high number of abstract nouns that are used, also considering the use of proper names and collective nouns, is not very surprising considering the topic and theme of the novel; love and relationships. Overall, most of the adjectives used occur in the narrative sections and tend to be attributive; single man, good fortune, surrounding families. I do not expect to see a lot of translation shifts in the categories of nouns and adjectives, except when the translator changes the sentence structure (word order) or uses other transpositions or modulations. In doing this, the sentence rhythm would most likely change with the sentence structure.

B. Grammatical Categories:

Because the novel contains both narrative and direct speech the sentences display a wide arrange of different sentence types; declarative sentences, questions, demands, and exclamations. The different sentence types, as well as the differences in sentence length and complexity, create a varied rhythm when reading the text. The differences in sentence type, length and complexity are illustrated in the following example from the first chapter;

“Do not you want to know who has taken it?” cried his wife impatiently.

“*You* want to tell me, and I have no objection to hearing it.”

This was invitation enough.

“Why, my dear, you must know, Mrs. Long says that Netherfield is taken by a young man of large fortune from the north of England; that he came down on Monday in a chaise and four to see the place, and was so much delighted with it that he agreed with Mr. Morris immediately; that he is to take possession before Michaelmas, and some of his servants are to be in the house by the end of next week.”

“What is his name?”

“Bingley.”

Even though these differences occur throughout the novel, overall the sentences are rather long and of a complex structure, often containing one or more dependent clause, especially in the narrative sections;

Mr. Hurst, merely looked the gentleman; but his friend Mr. Darcy soon drew the attention of the room by his fine, tall person, handsome features, noble mein; and the report which was in general circulation within five minutes after his entrance, of his having ten thousand a year.

Overall, sentence complexity is mainly due to coordination. Austen, generally speaking, seems to prefer coordination over the use of subordination;

The gentlemen pronounced him to be a fine figure of a man, the ladies declared he was much handsomer than Mr. Bingley, and he was looked at with great admiration for about half the evening, till his manners gave a disgust which turned the tide of his popularity; for he was discovered to be proud, to be above his company, and above being pleased; and not all his

large estate in Derbyshire could then save him from having a most forbidding, disagreeable countenance, and being unworthy to be compared with his friend.

However, most of the sentences do not display any anticipatory structure and have a main clause that containing the verb and subject preceding the dependent clauses. A translator's stylistic preference, or translation problems relating to the language pair and its grammatical constraints, can cause shifts in sentence structure in the TTs.

C. Figures of Speech, etc.:

One of the most important things to notice, in relation to any historic novel, is that people had different standards and norms of politeness. In *Pride and Prejudice* this is noticeable looking at the way people address each other. The difficulty that arises is when we consider the use of personal pronouns and their level of politeness, since there is a difference in the polite and familiar use of pronouns in the TL, but not in the SL. This can be seen in the ST, where the only personal pronoun used is 'you'. However, the English distinguished between informal and formal address forms in another manner than using different pronouns as the Dutch do. "Since thou had receded to dialect in the 18th century, ... , it no longer functioned as a social marker. Social distinctions and degrees of intimacy were therefore expressed, in conversation and in letter writing, by the selection from title + first name + second name" (Görlach: 40). These features could be used by themselves or together, in order to vary the degree of formality; Sir, Sir William, Mr. Bingley. Even though Mr. and Mrs. Bennet are married, and have been for a long time since they have five grown up daughters, they address one another with 'my dear', 'Mr. Bennet', or 'my dear Mr. Bennet'. Today nobody would call their husbands by their last name when addressing them in a homely atmosphere, unless it would be in a sarcastic tone, since nowadays people who are familiar with one another (which married people usually are) call each other by their first name or use the personal pronoun 'jij'. However, in nineteenth-century Britain this form of address and level of politeness between spouses was standard practise. Moreover, besides using her husband's last name, Mrs. Bennet also repeatedly uses the pet name 'my dear', which indicates the informal relationship between the spouses. But how do these ST elements and pronouns translate in the TL and TC of the early nineteenth century?

The most used address form in the early nineteenth century was 'ge', 'gij', "and even though jij/je was already used for a longer period of time in North and South Holland, it appears that this form of address wasn't used throughout the entirety of the Netherlands until the end of the nineteenth century"⁴ (Vermaas: 52). Furthermore, Vermaas mentions that even though 'jij/je' is

⁴ Translation of "Hoewel jij/je al lang in Noord- en Zuid-Holland werd gebruikt, schijnt deze aanspreekvorm pas aan het einde van de negentiende eeuw in heel Nederland te zijn doorgedrongen"

already in use in the nineteenth century in some parts of the Netherlands, these forms are very rarely used or seen in nineteenth century literature, and that in writing people remained to use 'gij/ge' and 'u'.⁵ However, in the Netherlands in the late eighteenth-, early nineteenth-century, people from the regions of North and South Holland would have already addressed their spouses with 'U' or 'je' ('je' being the more familiar one, and at the time still not very common in writing, was believed to have transferred into the written language from spoken language). Children from those regions, at that time, addressed their parents with 'U' or 'Uwe'. In the early nineteenth-century 'ge' and 'gij', has already become a rare form of address in conversation between both parents and children, as well as between spouses."⁶ Nevertheless, in writing, gij/ge combined with u would still have been the norm in the Netherlands in the early nineteenth century. This could be considered both a linguistic as a socio-cultural factor since the politeness is part of the text's stylistic features, as well as the social historic time frame of the novel.

But how does the use of these pronouns change during the twentieth century? According to Vermaas "in the beginning of the twentieth century everything remained as it was, and primarily older people would still use the combination of 'gij' as subject and 'u' as object" (own translation)⁷. Furthermore, the shift from using 'gij' and 'u' to 'jij/je' did certainly not happen overnight. And Vermaas explains that this was due to the adherence to many traditions, like, for instance addressing ones parents with 'u', and the use of 'u' as the standard polite form of address. The biggest change in the use of address forms went hand in hand with the changes in Dutch society. The sixties saw a break through of the existing traditions relating to address forms, influenced by the social shift in power relationships which gave way to a more emancipated democratic system, leading to a preference of solidarity over status; and thus, the increased use of 'jij/je' over 'u'.⁸ From the sixties

⁵ Paraphrase of "Toch worden de nieuwe vormen nog nauwelijks in de schrijftaal van de negentiende eeuw gebruikt. Dat blijkt onder andere uit "De Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche Taal" Verdam (1923, 111) waarin staat: "Men schrijft gij, uwer enz., en men zegt jij en jou of u." In de schrijftaal is men dus hoofdzakelijk de combinatie gij/u blijven gebruiken" (Vermaas: 51).

⁶ This information are paraphrases of: "Gezien het feit, dat op het einde der 18e eeuw de *u*-vormen in de beschaafde Haagse spreektaal door kinderen tegenover de ouders regelmatig en tussen echtgenoten onderling occasioneel gebruikt werden, moeten deze vormen toen al geruime tijd in zwang zijn geweest. Zij moeten de tijd hebben gehad om van het hoofse in het huiselijke verkeer te dringen" and "op het einde der 18e eeuw dus als volgt geweest: *uwé* (*UE*) niet-vertrouwelijk tegenover vreemden en hogergeplaatsten, *uwe* en *uw* vertrouwelik tegenover meerderen, vertrouwelik met een zekere waardigheid tegenover gelijken, *je* in iedere verhouding tegenover minderen, gemeenzaam tegenover gelijken, *gij* uitsluitend bij officiële toespraken en andere nabootsing van geschreven taal" and "Bij 19e-eeuwse schrijvers vindt men vaak in dezelfde zin *je* en *u* gebruikt, waar zij de beschaafde omgangstaal trachten weer te geven" and was taken from De Nieuwe Taalgids, jaargang 28 (1934)

<http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/_taa008193401_01/_taa008193401_01_0049.php>

⁷ "In het begin van de twintigste eeuw leek alles bij het oude te blijven en gebruikten vooral oudere mensen nog de combinatie gij als subject en u als object" (Vermaas: 56).

⁸ Paraphrase of "Daarin kwam verandering wat samenging met de maatschappelijke ontwikkelingen vanaf de jaren zestig: doorbreking van tradities en van allerlei

onwards status became less and less important, and more and more people started to prefer 'jij/je' over the use of 'u' in all type of situations; parent- child, doctor-patient, and even teacher- student relationships, and in advertising, letter writing, etc.

Lizzy is not a bit better than the others; and I am sure she is not half so handsome as Jane, nor half so good humoured as Lydia.

According to modern grammar rules the *so*, in the above given example, should be *as*. Nevertheless, I believe this to be correct usage in 1813, and thus belonging to the stylistic and historically syntactic features of the text.

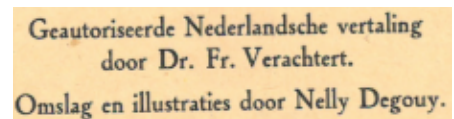
5.2 The Excerpts and the Translators

This section provides information on the translators and highlights the most prominent features discussed in the stylistic analysis, and the way in which these are (generally) translated in each of the TT's.

5.2.1. Translation B. 1946 (Trots en Vooroordeel)

This TT was the first translation into Dutch. It was made by Dr. Fr. Verachtert, published in 1946 by Pro Arte, illustrated by Nelly Degouy, and it contains a one and a half page long description of the background of Jane

Figure 2



Geautoriseerde Nederlandsche vertaling
door Dr. Fr. Verachtert.
Omslag en illustraties door Nelly Degouy.

Austen. What is remarkable is that after the title page, and before the authors background, the novel contains the predicate 'geautoriseerde Nederlandse vertaling' meaning 'authorised Dutch translation' (see figure 2). The only issue is that it doesn't state by whom this was authorised.

What is most striking about this TT, considering it from a contemporary point of view, is the spelling of words like; noodig, zoo, wenscht, bizonders, gebuur, hunner, moogt, nieuwsjes, tweedehandsche, heelwat, geraken, preutsch, tusschen, hadt, waart. And the usage of extremely archaic terms like; voorzeker, meer kruim, smalen, koutend, mejuffer, aanminnig, ingezetenen, doch, ge and gij. When analysing the text you also encounter the use of terms with the wrong meaning or connotation; junkman (since this is normally not understood in the sense of a bachelor), or the wrong register; mekaar, mejuffer (these are often used in informal spoken language, not when being reasonably polite).

All these features combined, give a contemporary audience the impression that this translation is either extremely archaic or made by someone from Flanders. Either way, this TT does

gezagsverhoudingen die meer democratie en emancipatie teweeg brachten" (Vermaas: 57).

not resemble the language used in the Netherlands in 1946. Frans Verachtert was a Flemish author of novels, born in 1909. He wrote most of his works between 1935 and 1940. The fact that Verachtert is Flemish would explain the use of some terms and syntactic constructions that are used within the Flemish variation or dialect but unusual in Dutch. Verachtert's heritage could also explain the use of a more archaic spelling system. According to Neijt before the 20th century, in both the Netherlands and Belgium, "there was no standardised spelling, and therefore everyone wrote according to their own understanding and perception of the language. Often, the difference in spelling, thus, resembles a difference in pronunciation, which is in turn determined by regional customs and dialects and therefore linked to the writers' place of origin" (142).⁹ This standardised spelling was not officially established in the Netherlands until in 1934 the government decided to adopt minister Marchant's proposal to reform the spelling.

The Marchant spelling meant that; *ee* and *oo* at the end of open syllables would become *e* and *o*, unless the *ee* is at the end of a word (heeten -> heten, loopen-> lopen, twee=twee, zoo-> zo), the unpronounced *ch* disappeared (mensch -> mens, visch -> vis), partial abolition of declension for cases (-*n* remained for male persons and animals; van den vorst, van den stier). However, not everyone was eager to adopt the new system, and Belgium stayed behind, still using the older systems of regional varieties until, through mutual cooperation of the Dutch and Belgian governments, "Belgium adopted the Marchant-spelling in 1946, the Netherlands laid the same down in a law which became effective in 1947" (own translation¹⁰). This difference between Belgian and Dutch spelling in the period preceding the translation, and the fact that Belgium had just adopted the Marchant-spelling in 1946, explains the spelling variants that are found in this TT. However, the spelling is not the only thing that 'colours' this so-called authorised Dutch translation; the extensive use of the personal pronouns '*ge*' and '*gij*' instead of '*je*' and '*U*' clearly shows the translators' origin and regional dialect, since (as mentioned before) *ge* and *gij* has been out of use in Dutch in spoken as well as (the majority of) written language since more or less the first half of the nineteenth century.

Considering the overall general tendencies and features this translation displays, this would mean that the translator, on a linguistic level domesticated towards his own regional variety, which in turn is historicizing to an average 1946, as well as contemporary, Dutch audience. Literary speaking, the choice of certain terminology that reflects the regional variety (Flemish), like *meijuffer*, *jonkman* and *gebuur*, have different meanings, connotations or belong to different registers in Dutch, which creates markedness or foregrounding in the TT where there is none in the ST;

⁹Paraphrase of: "Er was geen standaardspelling, en dus schreef iedereen naar eigen inzicht. Vaak ligt aan het verschil in spelling een uitspraakverschil ten grondslag, en zo wordt de herkomst van vroege handschriften dan ook bepaald" (142).

¹⁰ "In 1946 volgde een Belgisch regeringsbesluit dat in feite de invoering van de spelling-Marchant regelde. In Nederland werd hetzelfde in een wet vastgelegd, die op 1 mei 1947 in werking trad" (Neijt: 148).

- A. "Is he married or single?"
- B. - Is hij getrouwd of jonkman?

And this is also true for syntactic structures like; 'moet ten deel vallen' vs. 'ten deel moet vallen', 'had met haar tweemaal gedanst' vs. 'had tweemaal met haar gedanst', where the word order reflects the Flemish regional variant that has a foreignizing or exoticizing effect on a Dutch audience.

Another interesting feature of this TT is the portrayal of Mrs. Bennet. Several additions are made to the TT, creating a more hot-tempered, angry and overall more negative image of Mrs. Bennet than the ST portrays;

- A. This was invitation enough.
- B. Nu liep de maat vol.

- A. "My dear Mr. Bennet," replied his wife, "how can you be so tiresome!
- B. Mijn beste Bennet, Antwoorde zijn vrouw verwijtend, hoe kunt ge U zoo vervelend aanstellen!

This negative portrayal of a female character does, however, not apply to all the female characters in the novel, and Mrs. Bennet seems to be the only one being portrayed in an increasingly negative way. Elizabeth is even ridded of all guilt of overhearing the conversation between Bingley and Darcy due to the use of 'dat ze niet anders kon'.

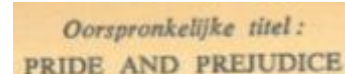
- A. and during part of that time, Mr. Darcy had been standing near enough for her to overhear a conversation between him and Mr. Bingley,
- B. en gedurende dien tijd stond mijnheer Darcy zoo dicht bij haar, dat ze niet anders kon of ze moest wel zijn gesprek hooren met den heer Bingley,

Overall, excerpt B tries to stick closely to the ST sentence structure, providing in general a rather literal translation, using some Flemish and some archaic terms. However, the adaptations made to the TT that alter the perception of the characters, Mrs. Bennet in particular, have a recreating effect on the literary level. On the socio-cultural level the examples given above show that several solutions are employed to cope with the translation of realia; foreignizing + explicitation, loss of the cultural element, or domestication.

5.2.2. Translation C. 1964 (De Gezusters Bennet)

This TT is the second translation into Dutch that was made, creating a gap of eighteen years between the first and second Dutch translation of *Pride and Prejudice*. One of the first differences to notice is that this translation has a different title,

Figure 3



Oorspronkelijke titel:
PRIDE AND PREJUDICE

complemented by the mention of the 'original title' (see figure 3). This TT was translated by Mr. H. E. van Praag - van Praag, and contains no further information whether the text is a 'new' translation or a re-edition of B. Unfortunately, there is no further information available on the translator, except that from the ten other TTs found in the KB (Koninklijke Bibliotheek) ranging from 1984 to March 2016, this is his first translation of *Pride and Prejudice*. It would be interesting, for a more extensive research, to investigate whether these TTs are 'real' retranslations, adaptations of this 1964 version, or mere editions of the same TT. Furthermore it would not only be interesting to investigate on what level these TTs by the same translator are different, but also to analyse the linguistic, literary and socio-cultural differences between the older and more modern versions. The scale of this research did, unfortunately, not allow me to research this.

When analysing this TT it also displays, like B, some use of archaisms and or literary language; celibataire, echtvriendin, neen, sjees, esprit, schalkse. However, this is noticeably a lot less than excerpt B uses. And overall, the language used does not seem extremely foreignizing or historicizing when reading excerpt C. Moreover, this TT displays a tendency towards domestication and perhaps even modernization of the linguistic context, since throughout the TT ample examples can be found of ST complex compound sentences that have been cut into smaller sentences in this TT;

- A. You and the girls may go, or you may send them by themselves, which perhaps will be still better, for as you are as handsome as any of them, Mr. Bingley might like you the best of the party.
- C. Ga jij maar met de meisjes. Of stuur ze alleen. Dat is misschien nog wél zo goed; want jij bent minstens zo aardig om te zien als zij en meneer Bingley zou jou wel eens het leukst kunnen vinden.

Furthermore, when looking at the use of personal pronouns, in contrast with excerpt B, this translation almost exclusively uses 'jij/je' and even 'jou', creating an increasingly familiar and informal tone in comparison to the ST, as well as in comparison to excerpt B. As explained in section

5.1, the shift in address forms from the use of 'u' to 'jij/je' was established during the sixties due to the social changes in relationships, which means that this TT form 1964, in comparison to the ST, domesticated and modernized the personal pronouns to fit the TC and literary intertext of that time.

Where (almost) all names are foreignizing elements left untranslated, the translator did do something strange in the following example, where he changed 'Lizzy' into 'Liz'. However, this is an isolated incident, and happens only once in the analysed excerpt. All other references towards Elizabeth are left as in the ST; using either Elizabeth or Lizzy.

- A. though I must throw in a good word for my little Lizzy.
- C. Maar ik zal wel een extra goed woordje doen voor mijn kleine Liz.

But why would a translator choose to alter only this one reference of Elizabeth, and leave all the others intact? Another change made to one of the names is the domestication on a linguistic level of the spelling of 'Catherine' to 'Catharina'.

In the translation of cultural elements the translator does not seem to rely on merely one method, and displays an array of different translation procedures in order to solve these cultural translation problems, sometimes he even uses multiple procedures within the same sentence;

- A. “Why, my dear, you must know, Mrs. Long says that Netherfield is taken by a young man of large fortune from the north of England; that he came down on Monday in a chaise and four to see the place, and was so much delighted with it that he agreed with Mr. Morris immediately; that he is to take possession before Michaelmas, and some of his servants are to be in the house by the end of next week.”
- C. „Nou, lieveling, je moet weten, dat mevrouw Long zegt, dat Netherfield gehoord is door een zeer vermogende jongeman uit het noorden van het land. Hij is verleden maandag in een sjees met vier paarden hier geweest om het huis te bezichtigen. Hij was er zó verrukt van, dat hij het onmiddellijk eens werd met meneer Morris. Ze zei, dat hij er eind september in trekt, en dat een paar van zijn bedienden de volgende week al in het huis komen.”

This example shows that 'the north of England' is translated in a generalizing and domesticating manner, leaving the thing that links the text to the ST out: England. However, 'chaise and four' is translated in a historicizing and foreignizing manner, with the added explicitation of 'paarden'. Looking at the translation of Michaelmas the cultural element is totally left out of the TT and

replaced by a generalizing 'eind september', being not only domesticating and modernizing on the level of the literary intertext, but also recreative on the level of the socio-cultural situation.

5.2.3. Translation D. 1980 (Waan en Eigenwaan)

This TT was made by W. A. Dorsman - Vos, published in 1980, and contains an epilogue with information on Jane Austen's era and *Pride and Prejudice's* place amongst the literature of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Unfortunately, this epilogue, although it was written by the translator, does not give any information on translation strategies or the translation process. Although not much is known about the translator's background, we do know that he has translated some of Austen's other works: *Mansfield Park*, *Sense and Sensibility*.

When looking at the stylistic features of this TT, one of the first things to notice is that, again, the title of the novel is different from the first TT from 1946. However, this translator used this title to its advantage and included an explicit reference to the title in a sentence of the ST in which the message and connection to the title is implicit;

- A. He walked here, and he walked there, fancying himself very great!
- D. Hij wandelde maar wat op en neer, en een eigenwaan!

Furthermore, the overall sentence structure (length, punctuation, rhythm, etc.) is very similar to that of the ST. Of course there are some very slight differences in some sentences, which are probably due to the constraints of the language pair and the limitations of the TL.

- A. His character was decided.
- D. Over zijn karakter was iedereen het al eens.

- A. She was therefore obliged to seek another branch of the subject, and related, with much bitterness of spirit and some exaggeration, the shocking rudeness of Mr. Darcy.
- D. Zodoende was ze verplicht het over een andere boeg te gooien en ze beschreef met verbitterd gemoed en enige overdrijving de ontstellende onheusheid van de heer Darcy.

These examples show that the translator, when the TL does not allow him to maintain the linguistic context of the original, tends to domesticate towards the TL making use of literary elements from the TL like 'eens zijn' and 'over een andere boeg gooien'.

This TT also displays a lot of foregrounded and archaic language use: *allerwegen, intrede, terstond, opwachting, van ganser harte, ofschoon, voorstaan, vanouds, belet, genoopt, zaligheid, schaffen, betaamde, weldra, de tijding, denkelijk, evenwel, toeschietelijk, toespitste, landerig omhangen, land aan hebben, penitentie, waarachtig, ontaard, rijkstbegaafde, frappant, snoezig, kriegel, gemoed, onheusheid*. This historical approach to the literary intertext is in line with the overall tendency of maintaining the ST sentence structure or, in other words, the retentive translation of the linguistic context. However, historicizing or foreignizing is not the chosen approach for every single element, since this TT only uses the personal pronouns 'jij/je'. Although this makes the text seem more natural in the TL, it is a domestication and modernization since this would not have been the pronouns that people in the early nineteenth century would have used.

Looking at the translation of cultural elements in this TT, like the other TTs, different strategies are used:

- A. "I would not be so fastidious as you are," cried Bingley "for a Kingdom!
- D. 'Nog voor geen koninkrijk zou ik zo kieskeurig als jij willen zijn,' riep Bingley.

- A. Mr. Bennet protested against any description of finery.
- D. Meneer Bennet paste voor een opsomming van strikjes en kwikjes.

However, in general this TT does display a tendency towards foreignization and/or historicization of the ST realia where other TTs do not. Furthermore, I did not come across any ellipsis of cultural elements, where there is some in the other TTs.

5.2.4. Translation E. 2012 (Trots en Vooroordeel)

This translation was published in 2012 and made by two translators: Annelies Roeleveld and Margret Stevens. This TT does not contain a lot of archaisms, at least not in the chapters selected for this excerpt, it does, however, contain some foregrounded elements: *onknap, fiat, opgeruimde stemming, waarachtig*. Even though this TT generally follows the ST sentence structure, this TT certainly does not come across as if it was written in 1813 and is very readable in the TL. This is probably due to the contemporary word choice, general avoidance of foregrounded and archaic terms, and the domestication of metaphors:

- A. He was quite young, wonderfully handsome, extremely agreeable, and to crown the whole, he meant to be at the next assembly with a large party.
- E. Hij was heel jong, buitengewoon knap, uitermate innemend en als klap op de vuurpijl was hij van plan om met een groot gezelschap op het volgende openbare bal aanwezig te zijn.
- A. Mrs. Bennet was quite disconcerted.
- E. Mevrouw Bennet was helemaal van haar stuk.

All these features indicate that there is a general tendency towards recreative translation on the level of the literary intertext, while there is a tendency towards retentive translation on the level of the linguistic context.

When looking at the general tendency on the level of the socio-cultural situation, we see that most cultural elements are preserved in either an exoticizing or conserving manner;

- A. “Why, my dear, you must know, Mrs. Long says that Netherfield is taken by a young man of large fortune from the north of England; that he came down on Monday in a chaise and four to see the place, and was so much delighted with it that he agreed with Mr. Morris immediately; that he is to take possession before Michaelmas, and some of his servants are to be in the house by the end of next week.”
- E. ‘Nou, mijn beste, het zit dus zo, mevrouw Long zegt dat Netherfield verhuurd is aan een zeer vermogende jongeman uit het noorden van Engeland; dat hij maandag met een sjees met vier paarden het huis is komen bekijken en dat hij er zo verrukt van was dat hij het meteen met Morris heeft geregeld; dat hij voor Sint-Michiel* zijn intrek neemt en dat een paar bedienden van hem eind volgende week al komen.’

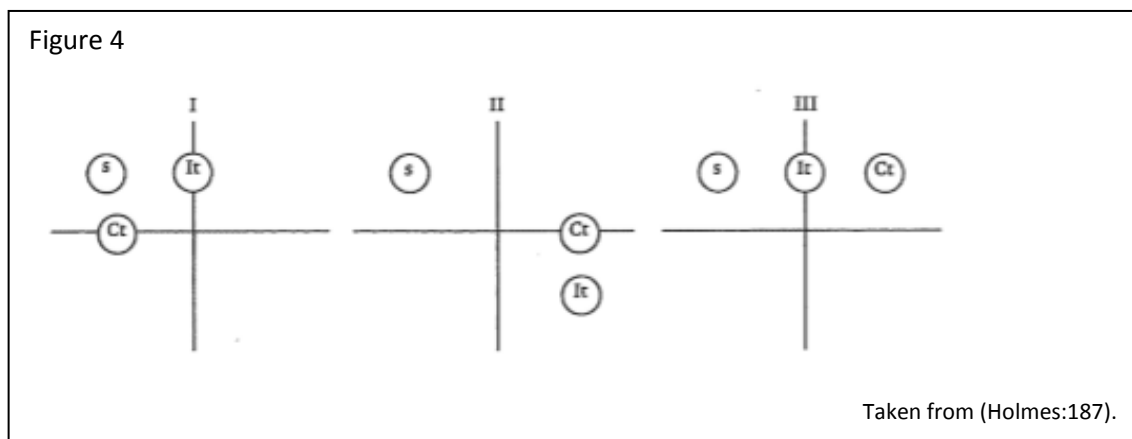
For instance, the ‘noorden van Engeland’ is a literal (and therefore conserving/retentive) translation, and so is ‘een sjees met vier paarden’ which includes the explicitation ‘paarden’ to accommodate for the exoticizing and historicizing effect. With ‘Sint-Michiel’ the translators did not only choose a literal translation, they also added a footnote including the date of Michaelmas. Footnotes are often not used in the translation of literary texts, but they do allow the translator to keep the foreign element without adding a long explicitation within the text.

5.3 Comparison of the TTs

This section contains fifteen sentences from the first three chapters of the ST and the correlating sentences from the four TTs, selected for their socio-cultural relevance, meaning that the sentence either contains realia or displays certain social or cultural perceptions from Jane Austen's era. Every example is represented by four charts, one for each of the TTs, based on Holmes' system.

Unfortunately, Holmes does not thoroughly explain the method used to determine the placement of the spheres on the axes of the charts. However, he did provide an example with different translations of the same ST sentence and their accompanying charts, as illustrated by the table below and figure 4, which I will use as a guideline to chart the selected sentences from *Pride and Prejudice*.

ST	Ik ging naar Bommel om de brug te zien.
I	I went to Bommel for the bridge to see.
II	I went to Bommel to see the bridge.
III	I went to Bommel to behold the bridge.



As I mentioned earlier, for the purpose of this research I will be focussing on the linguistic context and the sociocultural situation, represented in the charts by Ct and S respectively. When considering the sentences and how they correlate to their charts, we see for sentence I that on a linguistic level the sentence mimics the ST, and since this produces a sentence that is highly unusual and foregrounded in the TT, the sphere representing the linguistic context (Ct) is placed on the left and exoticizing side of the x-axis. Sentence II and III both adapt linguistically to accommodate towards the TL and in this process change the syntactic structure of the sentence. However, where sentence II is only naturalizing the ST sentence to accommodate the TL, sentence III is both naturalizing and historicizing due to the use of behold, which places the sentence in a more historical frame with regard to the syntax and meaning than the verb see does in sentence II. In other words, sentence III adds a historic marker which is not necessarily present in the ST. Hence, the placement of the linguistic context for sentence II on the right and naturalizing side of the x-axis, and the

placement of the Ct for sentence III in between the historicizing and naturalizing y and x-axis. Unfortunately, these example sentences and charts that Holmes provides, all display the same socio-cultural situation (S), since they are all placed within the retentive side of the chart between the historicizing and exoticizing y and x-axis. This is due to the fact that all of the example sentences I to III adhere to the cultural situation of the ST; the cultural feature Bommel is not adapted or changed in any of these sentences to suit the TL. To naturalize this element, it could be replaced by any TC city that has a bridge. However, in order to maintain the historic element of the SC reference, one could opt to replace Bommel with a city that had a new bridge built in the same time period (1933), or one could choose to modernize and replace Bommel with the name of a city that very recently has had a new bridge built, which will mean both naturalizing and modernizing the ST to fit the current TC, otherwise known as a recreative approach.

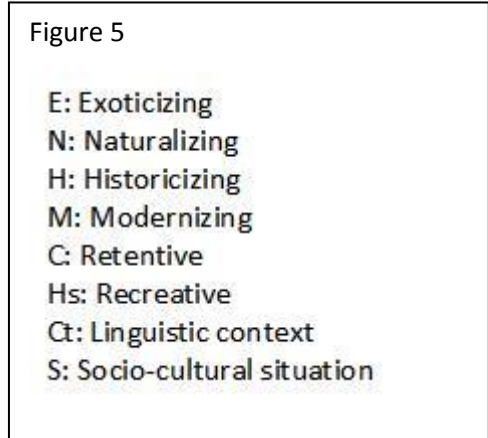
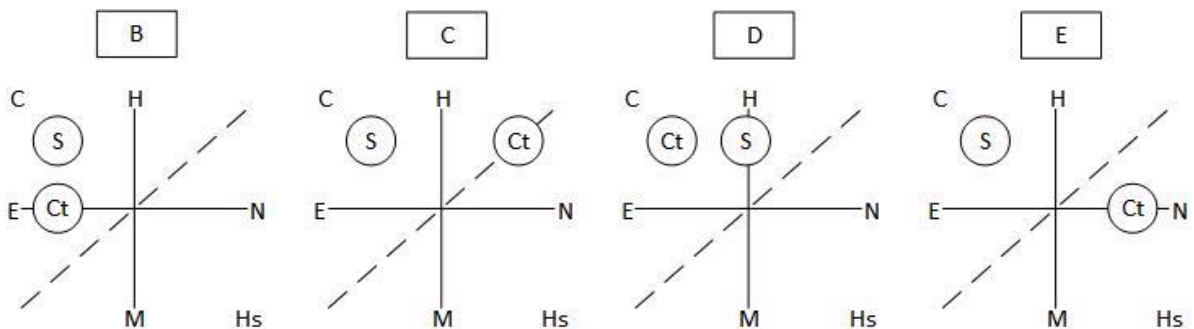


Figure 5 contains the legend for the charts displayed in the next section.

5.3.1 Socio-cultural Situation and Linguistic Context

1.

A.	It is a truth universally acknowledged, that a single man in possession of a good fortune, must be in want of a wife.
B.	Het is een algemeen bekende waarheid dat een alleenstaand man, die een flinke fortuin bezit, een vrouw nodig heeft.
C.	Iedereen is het erover eens, dat een celibatair, die een groot vermogen bezit, een vrouw moet hebben.
D.	HET IS EEN waarheid die allerwegen ingang vindt, dat iedere vrijgezel die over een behoorlijk vermogen beschikt, verlegen zit om een vrouw.
E.	Het is een waarheid die iedereen, waar ook ter wereld, zal onderschrijven: een ongehuwde man met een behoorlijk vermogen heeft behoefte aan een echtgenote.



On a linguistic level B, although foregrounded in the TL for its syntactic structure and punctuation, is not completely retentive. This is because in the ST the idiom *in possession of* precedes *a good*

fortune, where in B it is the other way around. This translation shift is not due to syntactic constraints of the TL, but rather a stylistic choice of the translator, since *in het bezit van een groot/aanzienlijk vermogen* would have been grammatically correct in the TL. Furthermore, looking at the meaning of the sentence, *noodig heeft* is a very literal translation of the term *to be in want of* and it does not to the full extent cover the meaning of the ST. According to the Oxford English Dictionary (OED), “in want of: in need of; not having, or having in insufficient measure” (OED, s.v. *want*, n.²). Being *in need of* is more than just *nodig hebben*, it is to have a behoefte or, according to the OED “to be in need of: to have an urgent requirement or demand for (something)” (OED, s.v. *need*, n.¹). Even though B is a fairly literal translation, it is not on all fronts linguistically retentive. And since the language used in B is not archaic, or even old fashioned, it is not historicizing either. However, this sentence is foregrounded due to the large level of linguistic coherence with the ST and not a natural TL sentence, and therefore the Ct is exoticizing.

Looking at C, the same interpretation problem arises as in B with *een vrouw moet hebben*. This implies a hard and fast rule, where in fact in the ST it is more of a social understanding that he might need or want a wife. Combining B and C on this element to form *een vrouw nodig moet hebben*, would cover the meaning of the ST but unfortunately would also disturb the sentence rhythm. Linguistically, *iedereen is het erover eens* is not only a translation shift from passive to active, but it is also naturalizing, since it is an interpretation of the ST meaning and changes the syntax in adapting towards the TL. Furthermore, the use of *celibatair* is remarkable since this, in the usage of a ‘single man’ and not of someone refraining from having sex, is archaic where the ST is not, making the sentence foregrounded. It seems odd to first remove the foregroundedness of the first part of the ST sentence by means of a naturalizing approach to later add foregroundedness by inserting a historicizing element where there is none in the ST, placing the Ct for sentence C on the dotted line between historicizing and naturalizing.

On a linguistic level D is the most literal and retentive out of the four TTs in following the syntactic structure, meaning and punctuation of the ST. The most foregrounded element of this TT sentence is *allerwege ingang vindt*, with which most likely not all TL readership is familiar. This phrase is archaic and rarely used in the TL and according to Van Dale, “ingang vinden: van denk-beel-den, ideeën e.d.; aangenomen, geloofd, erkend, opgevolgd worden” (Van Dale, s.v. *ingang*), making this structure a literal representation of the passive ST. Furthermore, the chosen idioms *allerwegen ingang vindt*, *beschikt* and *verlegen zit* are not only of a more formal register, they are also slightly archaic and used less often in the TL and create foregroundedness and a exoticizing and slightly historicizing, or retentive, effect.

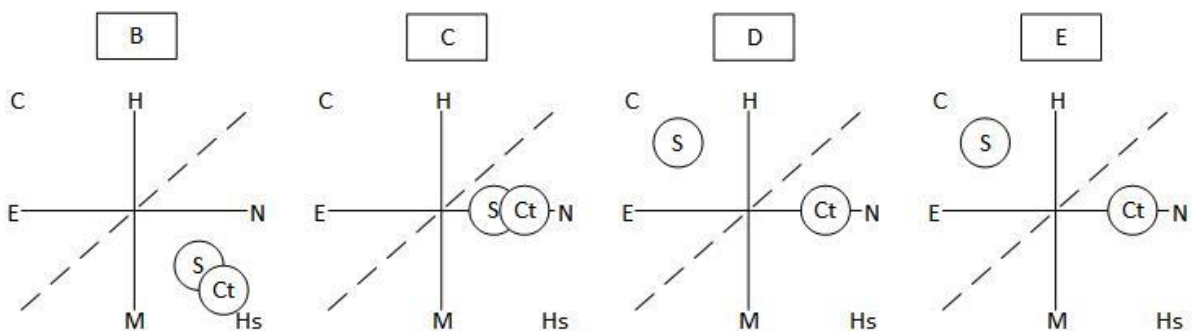
E is the TT that linguistically adapts most to the TL, with the changing sentence structure and explicitation of the first part of the sentence. Looking at the vocabulary, no archaic or extremely

modern terms are used, indicating that there is no modernizing or historicizing effect in addition to the naturalizing effect.

On the socio-cultural level all TTs except C, are a TL interpretation of the ST adhering to the ST's socio-cultural situation, and are therefore retentive on the chart. If we consider 'single man' and its connotations to be a cultural element in the ST, C deviates from the socio-cultural situation by using *celibatair* as a translation of 'single man', adding an historicizing element and several different connotations to the TT that are not present in the ST. According to the OED, a single man means someone who is "a bachelor, unmarried, celibate" (OED, s.v. *single*, adj.). However, according to Van Dale *celibatair* means "1 ongehuwde man, vrijgezel, 2 (verouderd) oude vrijer 3 iem. die in seksuele onthouding leeft" (s.v. *celibatair*¹), and when used as an adjective its only meaning is someone that restrains from having sex: "in seksuele onthouding levend" (Van Dale, s.v. *celibatair*²), often simultaneously linked to religion or monastic life instead of merely describing a person's marital status. Furthermore, the term *celibate* means "unmarried, single; bound not to marry" (OED, s.v. *celibate*, adj. and n.²), and instead of being a neutral term like 'single man' indicating a negative connotation that when one is considered a celibate, he or she will likely never marry, which, of course, is not the case for Mr. Bingley, making celibate a lesser option for 'single man'. Historically, the term *celibatair* would probably have been used in the sense of sentence C, but nowadays most of the TL audience will rather link this to sexual abstinence and religious practise than considering it as a neutral synonym for a bachelor or *vrijgezel*. Because of this, *celibatair* creates a historically foregrounded element in the TT on a socio-cultural level.

2.

A.	This was invitation enough.
B.	Nu liep de maat vol.
C.	Zij stak onmiddellijk van wal.
D.	Meer aanmoediging had ze niet nodig.
E.	Meer aanmoediging had zij niet nodig.



On the linguistic level B does not only change syntactically but it also changes the meaning of the sentence. This is due to the fact that B is an adaptation from the ST to a TC metaphor that does not

represent or carry the same meaning as the ST, causing a change in both the meaning of the sentence, as in the portrayal of Mrs. Bennet, making this sentence recreative on both the linguistic as socio-cultural level. This change in meaning and portrayal of Mrs. Bennet is due to the fact that the saying *nu liep de maat vol* means that she is fed up/she's had enough, or "het is nu genoeg" (Van Dale, s.v. *maat*¹), which does not resemble the ST at all. In the ST Mrs. Bennet is merely looking for an excuse to ramble on about Mr. Bingley.

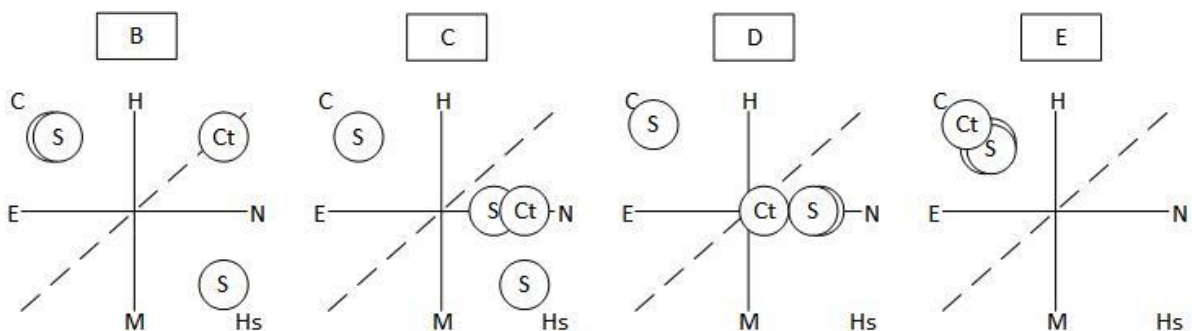
C is an example of an explicative modulation, or a modulation of cause and effect where the ST represents the cause and C the effect. According to Van Dale, *van wal steken* in a figurative way means beginning something, a speech in particular or "met iets beginnen, m.n. met een rede, een toespraak" (s.v. *steken*). Linguistically, because of the changes to the syntax and the change of perspective, sentence C is naturalizing. On a socio-cultural level, however, the change of perspective does not change the underlying socio-cultural message itself, but does adapt the socio-cultural situation to the TC by representing it by a TL proverb, making that C portrays a naturalized version of the same socio-cultural situation as the ST.

D and E are two very similar examples of explicitation where the personal pronoun 'ze' is implicit in the ST, and explicit in the TT. However, D and E are not retentive since a possible retentive translation could have been *dit was meer dan genoeg aanmoediging* or *dit was voldoende aanmoediging*, indicating that there is no grammatical constraint in the TL preventing a retentive approach. Nevertheless, both sentences have more or less maintained the sentence structure of the ST, only adding a personal pronoun to get a more naturally flowing sentence in the TL. It is this adaptation to make the sentence adhere to TL syntax and naturalness that to a certain degree takes away the foregroundedness the sentence has within the ST, and thus making both D and E naturalizing.

3.

A.	"Why, my dear, you must know, Mrs. Long says that Netherfield is taken by a young man of large fortune from the north of England; that he came down on Monday in a chaise and four to see the place, and was so much delighted with it that he agreed with Mr. Morris immediately; that he is to take possession before Michaelmas, and some of his servants are to be in the house by the end of next week."
B.	Welnu, mijn beste, ge moet het weten. Mevrouw Long zegt, dat Netherfield verhuurd werd aan een jongen man uit het Noorden van Engeland. Hij moet flink gefortuneerd zijn. Maandag is hij hier geweest om het buitenverblijf te bezichtigen, en hij was er zoo mee in zijn schik, dat hij dadelijk met Mr. Morris akkoord trof. Nog voor St Michiel gaat hij er zijn intrek nemen, en enkele dienstboden van hem zullen er op het einde van aanstaande week al verblijf houden.
C.	„Nou, lieveling, je moet weten, dat mevrouw Long zegt, dat Netherfield gehuurd is door een zeer vermogende jongeman uit het noorden van het land. Hij is verleden maandag in een sjees met vier paarden hier geweest om het huis te bezichtigen. Hij

	was er zó verrukt van, dat hij het onmiddellijk eens werd met meneer Morris. Ze zei, dat hij er eind september in trekt, en dat een paar van zijn bedienden de volgende week al in het huis komen.”
D.	‘Moet je horen, mijn beste, mevrouw Long zegt dat Netherfield verhuurd is aan een heel gefortuneerde jongeman uit het noorden; dat hij verleden maandag met een vierspan hierheen is gereden om het landgoed te bezichtigen en er zo mee in zijn schik was, dat hij terstond met meneer Morris tot een vergelijk is gekomen. Ze zegt dat hij er nog voor Sinte Michiel zijn intrek neemt en dat een deel van het personeel tegen het eind van de komende week er al zal zijn.’
E.	‘Nou, mijn beste, het zit dus zo, mevrouw Long zegt dat Netherfield verhuurd is aan een zeer vermogende jongeman uit het noorden van Engeland; dat hij maandag met een sjees met vier paarden het huis is komen bekijken en dat hij er zo verrukt van was dat hij het meteen met Morris heeft geregeld; dat hij voor Sint-Michiel* zijn intrek neemt en dat een paar bedienden van hem eind volgende week al komen.’



These TTs indicate that even within one sentence translators can use different translation procedures, falling under different approaches. The general tendencies on the three levels are therefore harder to determine. Subsequently, the charts represent all three different approaches used in the TT's by making use of three S spheres, one for each of the cultural elements in these sentences.

B contains several linguistically foregrounded elements: *welnu*, *gefortuneerd*, *in zijn schik*, *dadelijk*, *dienstboden*, which, except for *in zijn schik* which is a Dutch saying and adaptation towards the TL, are all archaic in the context in which they are used in B. Furthermore, there are several syntactic changes made to the ST, in terms of word (or phrase) order and chopping up the sentence into smaller sentences, which are all naturalizing features. Because of the presence of both historicizing and naturalizing features, the Ct is placed in the middle of those features on the dotted line. The socio-cultural situation is relatively complex, since 'north of England' is literally translated (retentive), 'chaise and four' is left out of the TT resulting in loss, and 'Michaelmas' which is a proper name of a Christian feast is translated to *St Michiel* without further explicitation and keeping the exoticizing and historicizing effect, since this day is not celebrated or even known by the majority of the Dutch population. Out of the 30 people I asked, of different ages, backgrounds and religions, only one knew what and when it was (and only because she works for an anthropological organization),

one person roughly knew when it was (September) but not what it was, and all other people had never heard of *St Michiel* or *St Michael*. However, *St Michiel* or *St Michael* was more popular in medieval Dutch society and would probably have still been known to a wider audience in the 19th century. Nowadays I believe it to be slightly more popular in the UK than in the Netherlands, but I doubt whether an entire contemporary SL audience would know what Michaelmas is. The two cultural elements that are maintained in the translation are therefore both retentive, while the cultural element that is lost in translation; ‘chaise and four’ could be said to be a recreative approach in the sense that it does not only naturalize the SC but chooses to leave a historicizing cultural element out of the TT making it also a form of re-writing and modernization. Nevertheless, it seems strange to have an overall more source-text oriented approach on two cultural features and then totally leave out even the mention of the third, while there are several TL translations available for a ‘chaise and four’ like, for example, *koets, sjees met vier paarden, or vierspan*.

Although C, looking at the word order and order of the different phrases, follows the ST relatively closely it does chop the sentence up into smaller bits explicating where necessary to create coherent TL sentences, making the sentence naturalizing on a linguistic level. Looking at the cultural elements, *noorden van het land* is a naturalizing generalization removing the specific country (England) from the TT, *sjees met vier paarden* is a retentive translation of ‘chaise and four’ since it is both historicizing and exoticizing. Primarily because the *sjees* has largely gone out of use and many people outside of equestrian sports would not know what a *sjees* is. It is also retentive or conserving because the Dutch term is directly derived from the French ‘chaise’ (meaning chair); “‘chaise’ is in het Nederlands verbasterd tot ‘sjees’” (Van Dale, s.v. *sjees*), which indicates that the same means of transport used in Austen’s time was also used and known in the Netherlands. The last cultural element Michaelmas is adapted to *eind september* which is recreative, because it naturalizes towards the TL and modernizes by leaving out the historic reference to the religious celebration.

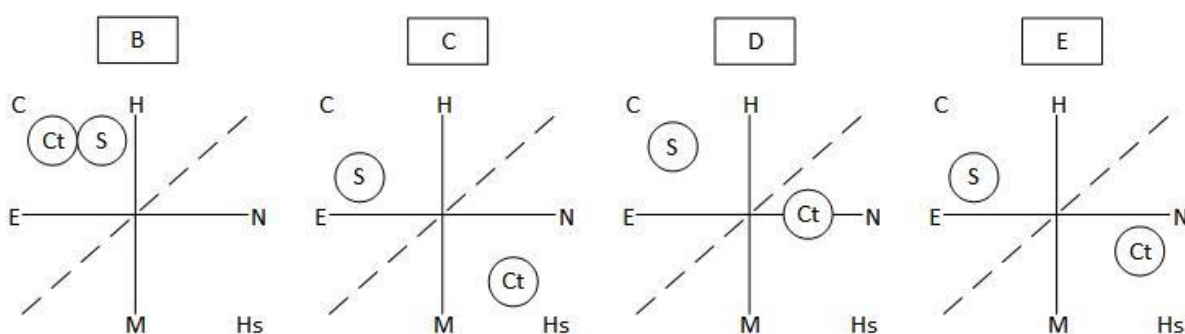
On a linguistic level, D only cuts the ST sentence into two new sentences, where B and C cut the ST sentence into four. Most of the vocabulary used, except for *gefortuneerde* and *terstond*, is contemporary and not foregrounded, and *in zijn schik* is even naturalizing. Even though the changes made to adapt towards the TT are less invasive as those made in B or C, a certain level of naturalization is present on a linguistic level. On a socio-cultural level, the only element that is foregrounded and retentive is *Sinte Michiel*. The other two are naturalized towards the TL and lose their foregroundedness in the TT.

Out of the four TTs E is, linguistically speaking, the most retentive since it adheres to the sentence structure, punctuation and rhythm of the ST, and except for the realia doesn’t use any specific archaic or otherwise foregrounded vocabulary, also mimicking the ST since the only elements a contemporary audience would consider to be foregrounded in the ST are the realia. Making the

linguistic context retentive. The socio-cultural situation of E is also retentive, since all cultural elements and their exoticizing or historicizing effects are preserved within this TT. The fact that these realia are retentive is made apparent by the fact that the translators chose to add an explanatory footnote (*) to *Sint-Michiel* in which they give the date of the celebration: “* 29 september” (Austen, 2012: 9). This enables the translator to keep the exoticizing and historicizing element, but at the same time interrupts the reading and might therefore be uncomfortable for the target audience.

4.

A.	“Is he married or single?” “Oh! Single, my dear, to be sure! A single man of large fortune; four or five thousand a year.
B.	— Is hij getrouwd of jonkman? — O! jonkman, mijn beste, natuurlijk! Een jonkman met een groot fortuin; vier of vijfduizend pond sterling per jaar.
C.	„Is hij getrouwd of niet?” „Vrijgezel, schat; een vrijgezel met een groot fortuin. Vier of vijfduizend pond per jaar.
D.	‘Getrouwd of vrijgezel?’ ‘Och beste man, vrijgezel, ja hoor. Ongetrouwd en met een groot vermogen, vier- of vijfduizend per jaar.
E.	‘Getrouwd of ongetrouwd?’ ‘O, ongetrouwd natuurlijk, mijn beste! Een ongetrouwde man met geld, vier- of vijfduizend pond per jaar.



The linguistic context of B is retentive when considering the syntax. When looking at the vocabulary used, *jonkman* is historicizing and the addition of *pond sterling*, which is an exoticizing explicitation, makes this sentence foregrounded in the TL. Making that the average Linguistic context of B is placed on the retentive. The socio-cultural situation is historicizing, because the term *jonkman* is archaic and ambiguous since it could mean both a young man as an unmarried man; “1 jongeman, 2 ongetrouwd persoon van het mannelijk geslacht” (Van Dale, s.v. *jonkman*) and most people today would, when taken out of context, associate *jonkman* with a young man rather than an unmarried man. The use of this archaic term is fitting with the time in which the ST was written, even though the ST itself uses the neutral and non-foregrounded ‘single’, making that the use of *jonkman* adds a culturally historicizing element to the TT. The explicitation of *pond sterling* has a foregrounding and

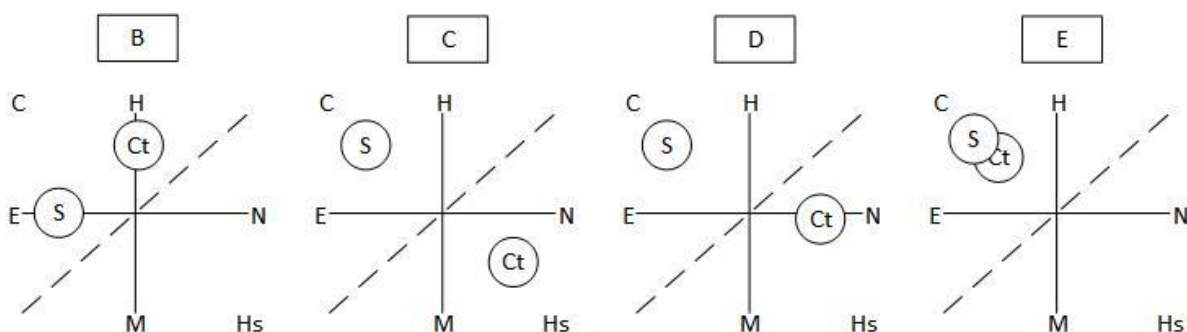
exoticizing effect, since the ST doesn't specify the currency, and B does, reminding the reader that this story is set in a foreign country. Furthermore, instead of pond sterling, although still correct, pond is nowadays common usage in the TL, giving a slightly historicizing effect on the socio-cultural situation.

C leaves the exclamational 'oh!' and 'to be sure' untranslated, removing these otherwise foregrounded linguistic features from the TT using a recreative approach adapting towards the TL and making the sentence more contemporary and at the same time re-shaping the syntax to fit the TL. Another adaptation made towards the TL is that instead of using the term married or *getrouwd* and one of the possible antonyms like *vrijgezel* or *ongetrouwd*, C uses *of niet* to create the contradicting factor. Moreover, I would consider *schat* to be a modernization, since it is not only a lower register and more informal than the 'my dear' used in the 19th century, but it is also less polite and more familiar than for instance *mijn beste*. The socio-cultural situation is leaning from retentive towards exoticizing due to the explicitation of *pond*.

The linguistic context of D is naturalizing, because there are some small syntactic adaptations made to fit the TL, but no historization or modernization in terms of vocabulary. D does not exoticize or historicize the socio-cultural situation through explicitation or use of archaic vocabulary, making it retentive. E, in comparison to the others, is generalizing and modernizing in its word choice of 'geld' instead of 'fortuin' or 'vermogen'. On all other fronts, E is naturalizing like D. Like C, the socio-cultural situation of E is leaning from retentive towards exoticizing due to the explicitation of *pond*.

5.

A.	You take delight in vexing me. You have no compassion on my poor nerves."
B.	Ge scheidt er blijkbaar genoeg in mij verdriet aan te doen. Hebt ge dan niet de minste deernis met mijn arme zenuwen?
C.	Je vindt het gewoon leuk om me te plagen. Je hebt niet het minste respect voor mijn zenuwen."
D.	Je doet niets liever dan mij dwars zitten. Je trekt je van mijn arme zenuwen niets aan.'
E.	Je scheidt er genoeg in mij te kwellen. Je hebt geen medelijden met mijn arme zenuwen.'



To take delight in something is a formal high-register way of saying that this object or thing brings “pleasure, joy, or gratification felt in a high degree” and is “a source of great pleasure or joy” (OED, s.v. *delight*, n.), meaning that Mr. Bennet takes pleasure out of vexing Mrs. Bennet. According to Van Dale possible translations of delight are “genot, vreugde, groot genoegen, verrukking” and for take delight in: “behagen scheppen/genot vinden in” (s.v. *delight*^{2zn}). For this feature, B and E with *genoegen scheppen* are the most retentive in meaning, D is a naturalization towards a less formal TL common usage, and C is extremely informal and both modernizing and naturalizing.

According to the OED vexing someone is to “affect with a feeling of dissatisfaction, annoyance, or irritation; to cause (one) to fret, grieve, or feel unhappy” (s.v. *vex*, v.⁴), and according to Van Dale *kwellen* is a old-fashioned translation of ‘to vex’ (which is also a bit old-fashioned and higher register than for example to tease) and *plagen* is a contemporary variant, making E retentive and C naturalizing. However, *plagen* could also mean playful teasing in the TL, which slightly changes the connotation and the meaning of the sentence. D is slightly modernizing with *dwars zitten* and B is an amplification and historicizing. The second sentence of the ST excerpt is for B historicizing due to the use of *deernis*, which is an archaic term meaning “sterke ontroering over het leed van anderen, innig medelijden” (Van Dale, s.v. *deernis*). E reflects with *medelijden* the neutral and contemporary variant, and C displays a recreative adaptation towards the TL by using *respect*, which changes both the meaning as the syntax. In D *Je trekt je van mijn arme zenuwen niets aan* is an explicative modulation of cause and effect in which a common TL saying is used to represent the effect of the ST, naturalizing this element. The overall linguistic context for B is historicizing, for C between recreative and naturalizing, for D naturalizing, and E is retentive displaying the meaning and syntax of the SL within the constraints of the TL and without making the sentence exoticizing.

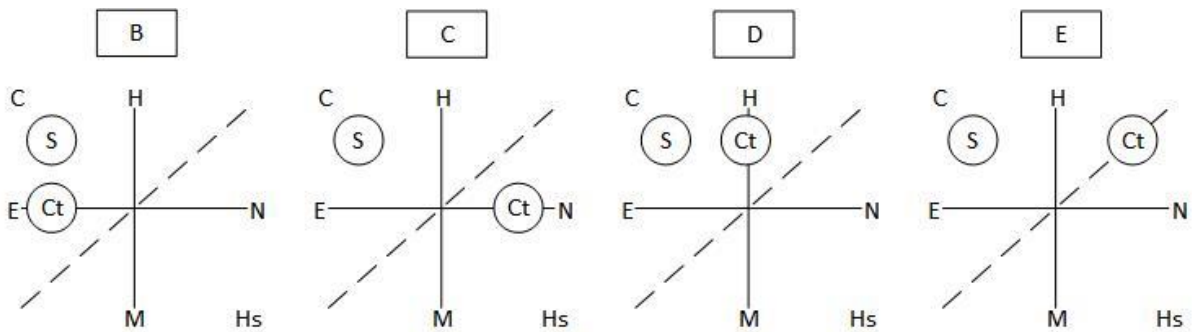
The state of being nervous is of particular socio-historic significance since nervous and nerves had a very different connotation and social meaning within society as they do today.

Definitions and cases of ‘nervous’ disorders proliferated during the eighteenth century, due partly to developments in physiological experiment and theory, partly to developments in a vocabulary of sensibility and self-consciousness. They were associated particularly with women, who were believed to be more delicate, and thus more susceptible, emotionally and physically, than men (Austen, 1813:381).

Nevertheless, we see that this sociocultural element does not pose a translation problem since all TTs more or less retain the socio-cultural situation of the ST, however, B is more exoticizing with the *verdriet aandoen* and *deernis* due to the fact that these are common Flemish elements, but not common in Dutch, creating foregroundedness in the TL due to interference of another culture (Belgian) and making the socio-cultural situation of B exoticizing.

6.

A.	Mr. Bennet was among the earliest of those who waited on Mr. Bingley.
B.	De heer Bennet was bij de eersten om den heer Bingley een bezoek te brengen.
C.	Meneer Bennet was één van de eersten, die meneer Bingley een bezoek brachten.
D.	DE HEER Bennet behoorde tot de eersten die hun opwachting bij de heer Bingley maakten.
E.	Mijnheer Bennet was een van de eersten die zijn opwachting maakte bij mijnheer Bingley.



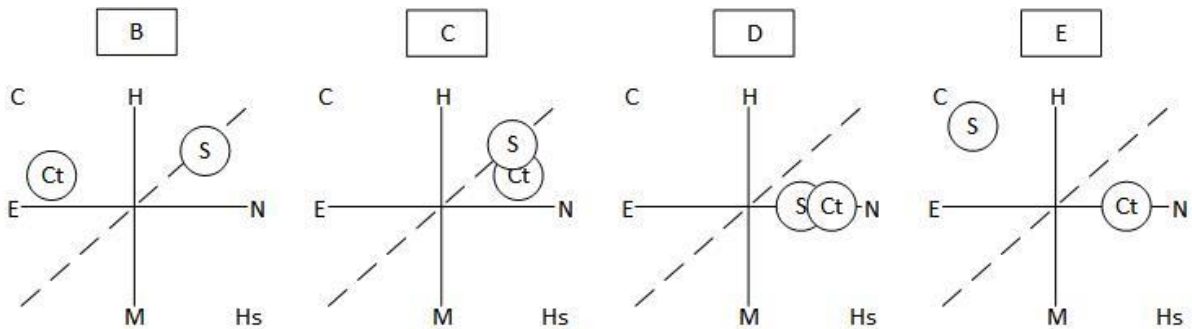
The linguistic context of B is exoticizing because syntactically it stays very close to the ST, creating a rather unnatural sentence in the TL. The choice for *den heer* instead of *de heer* or *mijnheer* makes this sentence both historicizing and exoticizing, since, as mentioned in section 5.2.1, the use of *den* was already considered old-fashioned in the Netherlands in 1946 and was at that time going out of fashion in Flanders, since the Dutch government had already adopted the Marchant spelling in 1934 (not legally enforcing it until 1947), where the Belgian government only adopted and enforced the Marchant spelling in 1946.

The linguistic context of C is naturalizing, since this sentence adapts on the level of grammar, punctuation and the use of neutral contemporary vocabulary like *meneer*, *één van de eersten* and *bezoek brengen* towards the TL. D, on the other hand, displays a lot of outdated and slightly archaic language use: *de heer*, *behoorde*, and *opwachting maakten*. Using *de heer* or *mijnheer* instead of *meneer* is considered to be of a higher register and more informal, which would fit the socio-cultural conventions of the ST. Even though grammatically correct, D has a somewhat archaic sentence structure mimicking that of the ST, reinforcing the historicizing effect created by the more archaic choice of vocabulary. Linguistically speaking, E is both naturalizing as historicizing since it makes use of both naturalizing and historicizing language: *een van de eersten* versus *opwachting maakte*. Syntactically the sentence adapts towards the TL, creating a Ct that is a mix between historicizing and naturalizing.

7.

A.	“But you forget, mama,” said Elizabeth, “that we shall meet him at the assemblies, and that Mrs. Long has promised to introduce him.”
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B.	— Maar ge vergeet, mama, — zei Elisabeth, — dat we hem in de partijtjes zullen aantreffen, en dat mevrouw Long beloofd heeft hem te zullen introduceeren.
C.	„Maar u vergeet, Moeder,” zei Elisabeth, „dat we hem natuurlijk op partijtjes ontmoeten en dat mevrouw Long ons heeft beloofd hem aan ons voor te stellen.”
D.	‘Maar mama,’ zei Elisabeth, ‘u vergeet dat we hem op dansavonden zullen ontmoeten en dat mevrouw Long beloofd heeft hem aan ons voor te stellen.’
E.	‘Maar u vergeet, mama,’ zei Elisabeth, ‘dat we hem op de bals en partijen zullen ontmoeten en dat mevrouw Long heeft beloofd dat ze hem zal voorstellen.’



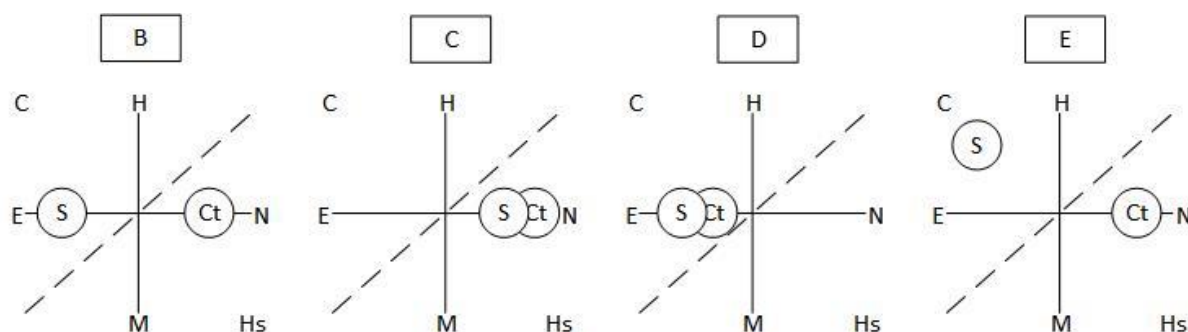
When looking at the linguistic context B, like C and E, mimics the syntactic structure of the ST within the grammatical constraints of the TL. However, B is the most syntactically retentive, since C and E both contain elaborative constructions like: *natuurlijk*, *ons*, *aan ons*, *dat ze*, *zal*, which are all adaptations to create a more natural TL sentence, which changes the rhythm and length of the sentence. For example, *heeft beloofd hem voor te stellen* instead of *ons heeft beloofd hem aan ons voor te stellen*, would also have been a natural and grammatically correct TL sentence which would have mimicked the rhythm and condense style of the ST within TL constraints.

In this sense, C and E are more linguistically naturalizing and B is more retentive. It is not the syntactic structure of B that is exoticizing, but rather the choice of vocabulary that is used; *partijtjes*, *aantreffen*, *introduceeren*, which are all within these context old-fashioned in comparison to *ontmoeten*, *dansavond*, *bals*, and *voorstellen*, making B more foregrounded and exoticizing on the linguistic level. Furthermore, the meaning of the sentence is changed slightly by the word *aantreffen*, since *aantreffen* is not exactly the same as *meet*, because *aantreffen* would imply a certain level of coincidence or uncertainty towards the meeting, while in this sentence the use of ‘shall’ and the context makes it apparent that the girls are certain that they are going to meet Mr. Bingley at the coming assemblies. In C the use of *Moeder* and *partijtjes* has a slightly historicizing effect since this is not considered common contemporary usage to address your parent with *Moeder* or to call a gathering, party or ball that is hosted for adults *partijtjes*, placing the Ct just above the naturalizing line. Linguistically speaking, D is naturalizing because the vocabulary used is contemporary, and although the syntactic structure is reasonably similar to the ST some structural changes are made to accommodate naturalness in the TL like the repetition of *dat*: *dat we hem ... en dat ... dat ze hem*, which creates a different rhythm and makes Elizabeth appear more childlike.

The socio-cultural and historical element in this ST sentence is ‘assemblies’, because the general contemporary interpretation would be the general “[g]athering together, meeting; the state of being collected or gathered” (OED, s.v. *assembly*, n.), and not the socio-culturally historical meaning that fits the ST: “A gathering of persons for purposes of social entertainment. ... which formed a regular feature of fashionable life in the 18th century” (OED, s.v. *assembly*, n.). The Explanatory Notes of the ST state that in Austen’s era assemblies were “Public balls, funded usually by subscription and held in assembly rooms which were sometimes purpose-built but often, in market towns like Meryton, attached to inns” (Austen, 1813: 382). Looking at the translations these TTs provide for assemblies, only the explicative solution E provides; *bals en partijen* is able to convey the proper historical connotation. This is because using only *bal* or *dansavond*, only indicates that there will be dancing, without the social gathering part in which people converse with each other, making the socio-cultural situation of D naturalizing. In using only *partijen* or *partijtjes*, although this is a more old-fashioned term for a party and therefore historicizing, the direct link and connotation to the dancing will be lost, since according to Van Dale *partijen* in the sense that it is used here means a number of people who gather to entertain themselves: “aantal personen die bijeengekomen zijn om zich gezamenlijk te vermaken” (s.v. *partij*¹¹). Meaning that the socio-cultural situation of B and C is both naturalizing and historicizing.

8.

A.	“Do you consider the forms of introduction, and the stress that is laid on them, as nonsense?”
B.	— Beschouwt gij de introduceer-vormen, en het belang dat er aan gehecht wordt, als onzin?
C.	Vind je de formaliteiten bij de kennismaking en het gewicht, dat men daaraan hecht, nonsens?
D.	‘Vind jij de ceremonie van het voorstellen en de nadruk die daarop gelegd wordt zo een onzinnig idee?’
E.	‘Vind je de omgangsvormen bij het voorstellen en de nadruk die daarop wordt gelegd, onzin?’



According to the Explanatory Notes of the ST the forms of introduction mentioned here are “The strict hierarchical rules which governed social intercourse and stipulated that individuals had to be

formally introduced” (Austen, 1813: 382). This could pose a cultural translation problem since these social rules regarding introduction are very different from those we follow today. Another factor that could pose a problem is that there might not be an appropriate or equivalent term in the TL that represents the same phenomenon. Subsequently, the four TTs all provide different solutions to this issue, using different strategies and procedures: calque, modulation, and explicitation. A literal translation of ‘introduction’, maintaining the ST meaning, would according to Van Dale be *voorstellen* (s.v. *introduction*^{2zn}), and a literal translation of ‘forms’ in this context would be “conventie, etiquette(regel), plichtbeweging, vorm” (Van Dale, s.v. *form*^{2zn}). This would mean that E is a literal translation plus an explicitation of *omgangs* in order to convey the same socio-cultural situation of the ST within the TL constraints, which makes the socio-cultural situation of E retentive.

B is a calque: “a special kind of borrowing whereby a language borrows and expression form of another” (Vinay and Darbelnet: 85), in which each element is then literally translated. There are two forms of calques, structural and lexical, where the structural acts as a borrowing keeping the foreign structure of the SL. B uses a lexical calque “which respects the syntactic structure of the TL, whilst introducing a new mode of expression” (Vinay and Darbelnet: 85). This procedure creates a new expression in the TL, thus making the cultural element and S exoticizing.

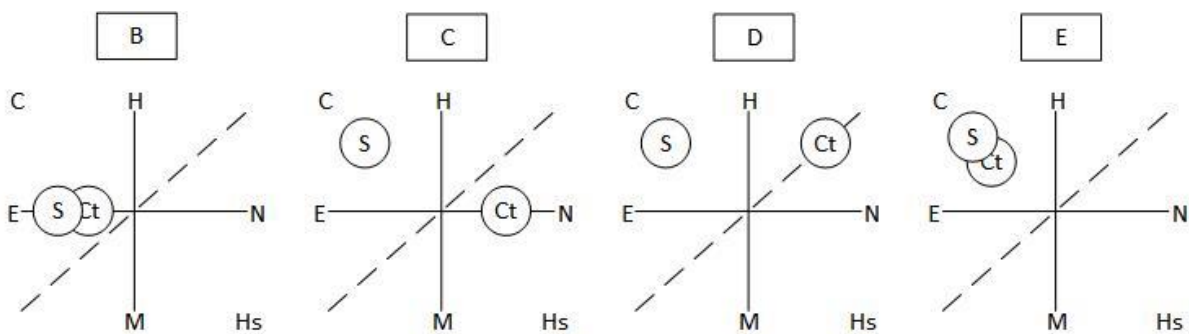
With respect to the connotation of *formaliteiten*, although according to Van Dale this is a possible translation of ‘forms’, it does not entirely convey the same meaning as forms does in this context and is too specific: “uiterlijke vorm die men bij een (m.n. publieke of officiële) handeling in acht neemt, behoort of pleegt in acht te nemen, iets dat alleen om de vorm wordt gedaan” (s.v. *formaliteit*) or “Something required to be done for form's sake; a requirement of etiquette, custom, etc. (Often depreciatively, implying mere attention to externals.)” (OED, s.v. *formality*⁹). The use of *formaliteiten* gives a negative connotation to the forms of introduction since it already implies they have no meaning and are merely ceremonial or just for show, while the SL term is neutral, thus changing the connotations and the meaning and, as a result, naturalizing the socio-cultural situation of C.

More or less the same is true for D, because a *ceremonie* or ceremony is a “1 voorgeschreven, volgens vaste regels geordende plechtigheid, m.n. kerkelijke plechtigheid 3 plichtpleging, beleefdheidsvorm” (Van Dale, s.v. *ceremonie*) which means that it is extremely formal, prescribed according to set rules and would therefore be a translation that covers the socio-cultural meaning ‘forms of introduction’ has within the ST and SC. However, *ceremonie van het voorstellen* is not a set collocation in the TL, which makes it stand out in the TL as a foreignizing or new element thus creating an exoticizing effect in D on both a socio-cultural, as well as a linguistic level. Furthermore, looking at the syntax, word choice, and naturalness in the TL the linguistic context of D is exoticizing not only because of the slightly unusual collocation *ceremonie van het voorstellen*, but

also because *zo een onzinnig idee*, although grammatically correct, together with the unusual collocation creates an awkward and unnatural sentence and rhythm in the TL. All others (B,C and E) do not display exoticizing, historicizing or modernizing on the linguistic level, and are therefore naturalizing.

9.

A.	To be fond of dancing was a certain step towards falling in love; and very lively hopes of Mr. Bingley's heart were entertained.
B.	Iemand, die dolgraag danst, moet noodzakelijk verliefd worden; en alzo werd er sterke en levendige hoop gesteld op mijnheer Bingley's hart.
C.	Dol zijn op dansen is immers een eerste stap op de weg naar verliefdheid! Men koesterde grote verwachtingen van meneer Bingley's hart!
D.	Graag te dansen leidde onvermijdelijk tot verliefd worden. En het hart van de heer Bingley veroveren was een hoop die allerwegen vurig werd gekoesterd.
E.	Dol zijn op dansen was absoluut een stap in de richting van verliefd worden en er werden hoge verwachtingen gekoesterd inzake het hart van mijnheer Bingley.



The linguistic context of B is exoticizing. An attempt is made to naturalize the SL through the explicitation of *iemand* and *noodzakelijk* and by changing the syntax and punctuation. However, the translator did not succeed in naturalizing towards the TL, since it still displays an unnatural sentence structure and awkward rhythm and word choice and order in the TL: *moet noodzakelijk, sterke en levendige hoop gesteld op*. This is probably mainly due to the interference of Flemish and historicizing idioms like *alzo*. The socio-cultural situation of B is also exoticizing since the word choice changes the meaning, and slightly alters the logic of the argument. The socio-cultural context of C, D and E are all retentive.

On the linguistic level, C uses neutral language that is neither exoticizing nor historicizing, and several linguistic adaptations are made towards the TL of which splitting the ST sentence into two in the TL is together with the adding of an exclamation mark the biggest change. The linguistic context of C is naturalizing.

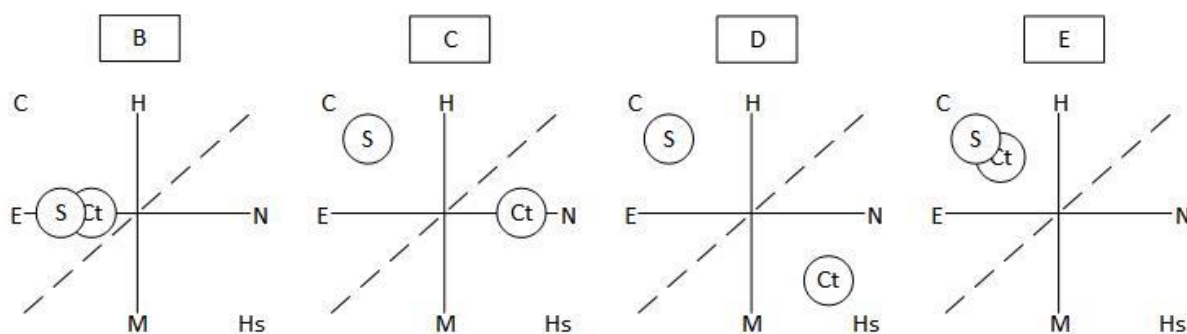
The linguistic context of D is both naturalizing and historicizing. It is naturalizing because the syntax is adapted towards the TL and because the explicitation of *veroveren* creates increased

cohesion in the TT. D is also historicizing because it uses old-fashioned and archaic vocabulary and constructions like: *graag te dansen, onvermijdelijk, allerwegen, vurig koesteren*.

Linguistically, E is retentive because the syntax and vocabulary (in both meaning and register) closely resemble the ST, *hoge verwachtingen koesteren* and *inzake* are high-register and formal. E does display some amplification due to syntactic constraints of the TL in order to make the sentence grammatically correct.

10.

A.	His character was decided.
B.	Hij had een vastbesloten karakter.
C.	Over zijn karakter was iedereen het al eens.
D.	Het oordeel was geveld:
E.	Zijn reputatie was gevestigd.



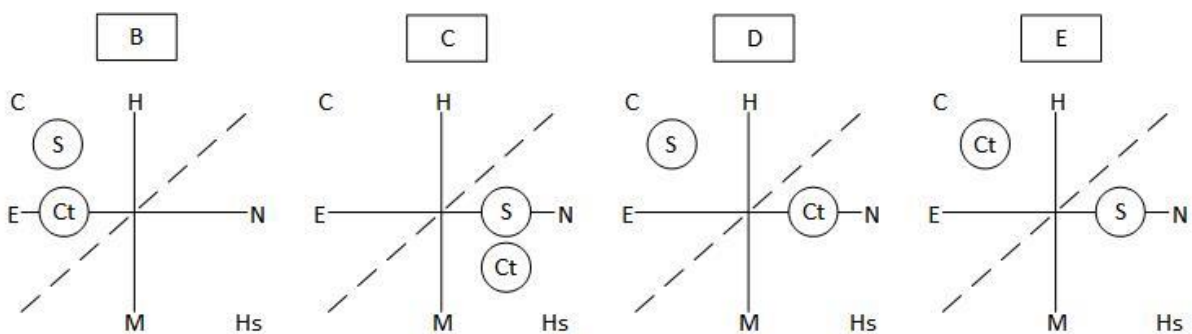
I believe B to be the result of a different interpretation of the meaning the sentence conveys in the SL. This is due to the ambiguous meaning this sentence has in relation to the context and coherence or to the syntactical meaning it conveys. If B is considered a misinterpretation, then, considering the context this sentence is uttered in, this could have been avoided, since ‘his character was decided’ may be ambiguous on its own, but not within the context of the novel: “His character was decided. He was the proudest, most disagreeable man in the world, and every body hoped that he would never come there again.” In order to maintain coherence and the logical follow-up of the story, within this context the ST should be interpreted as C,D and E have respectively. However, B is a possible interpretation of the ST sentence, because of the syntactic structure of the ST: was decided. If the sentence is interpreted as in the other TTs, you’d expect the ST to be ‘his character was decided upon’, using upon to signal towards the people who decided on his character, and enhance the coherence with the next sentence, but this would change the rhythm and decrease the difference between the extremely short and snappy sentence and the longer more complex sentence. The question here is whether to stick with the syntactic meaning, or to interpret the sentence within the context of the story and the sentence that follows it. To be able to make the

graphs, I have decided that in translation of literary works coherence and context is of greater importance than syntactic structures and meaning.

The socio-cultural situation of B is exoticizing because it distorts the coherence with the next sentence, and within the context creates a foregrounded and exoticizing meaning. The linguistic context of B is also exoticizing, even though B sticks to the syntactic structure and literal grammatical meaning of the ST, *a vastbesloten karakter* is an unusual exoticizing collocation in the TL. C and D both appear linguistically naturalizing, but D changes the sentence towards a more natural TL saying, making use of an explicative modulation (or a modulation of cause and effect), making the socio-cultural situation of D rather recreative than naturalizing. In C *iedereen* is an explicitation of what is left implicit in the ST to comply with the TL in terms of grammar and naturalness. E can be considered a very literal and retentive translation, since the syntax retains the ST structure without being explicitly exoticizing or historicizing in the TL, and because *reputatie* and *gevestigd* are considered to be a meaning and interpretation of ‘character’ and ‘decided’. C, D and E all convey the same sociocultural situation as the ST.

11.

A.	“I would not be so fastidious as you are,” cried Bingley “for a Kingdom!
B.	— Ik wou voor een heel koninkrijk niet, dat ik zoo kieskeurig was als jij!
C.	„Als ik jou was zou ik voor geen goud zó kieskeurig zijn.
D.	‘Nog voor geen koninkrijk zou ik zo kieskeurig als jij willen zijn,’ riep Bingley.
E.	‘Ik zou niet graag zo kieskeurig zijn als jij,’ riep Bingley, ‘voor geen goud!’



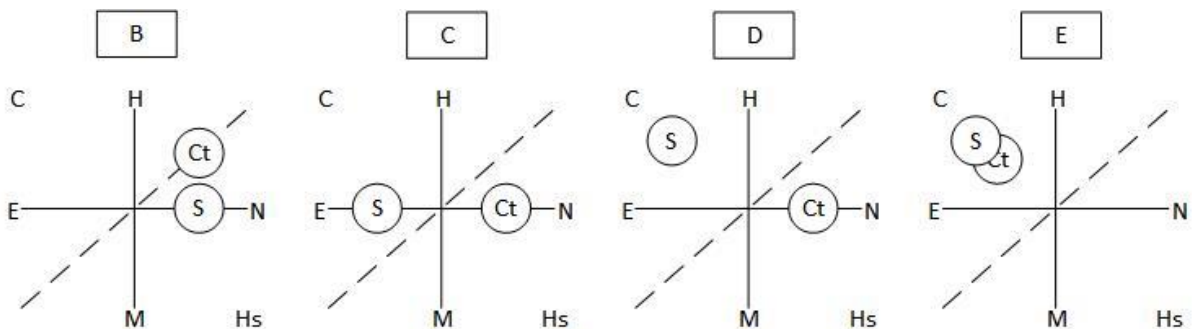
The socio-cultural situation of B and D is retentive because they both maintain the cultural element ‘Kingdom’ in the form of the literally translated *koninkrijk*, while C and E naturalize on the socio-cultural level towards the TL saying *voor geen goud*. According to Van Dale *voor geen goud* means “voor niets ter wereld” (s.v. goud¹), which makes it the contemporary naturalized TC variant of ‘for a Kingdom’.

Looking at the linguistic context, B is linguistically foregrounded because of its rather unnatural syntax, and D is linguistically naturalizing because of the syntactic adaptations that are made towards the TL in switching the phrases around so that the part resembling ‘for a kingdom’ is

placed at the beginning of the sentence. Looking at the syntactic structure, rhythm and meaning of the phrases E closely resembles the ST and is therefore retentive on the linguistic level. C out of the four TTs adapts most towards the TL, on both the socio-cultural as the linguistic level. Where C is only naturalizing on the socio-cultural level with *voor geen goud*, a modulation of reversal of terms allows for the use of the TL phrase *als ik jou was*, which besides being naturalizing also changes the ST register to an extremely informal one (which is not fitting with the era of the ST), and is therefore both modernizing and naturalizing on the linguistic level. Furthermore, the reference to Bingley is lost together with all the punctuation and emphatic markers like the exclamation mark, which makes that the sentence loses its oomph and makes the TT more demure than the ST.

12.

A.	"Oh! she is the most beautiful creature I ever beheld!
B.	— O ja! zij is werkelijk de schoonste vrouw, die ik ooit ontmoet heb!
C.	„Ja, dat is het mooiste kind, dat ik ooit gezien heb.
D.	'Zij? Dat is het mooiste schepseltje dat ik ooit gezien heb.
E.	'O, zij is het mooiste schepsel dat ik ooit gezien heb!



The linguistic context of B is historicizing and naturalizing. B is historicizing because of the use of *werkelijk* and *schoonste*. The use of *schoonste* can be explained by the fact that the translator is Flemish and *schoonste* in the use of most beautiful is extremely common in spoken language amongst Flemish people, while in standard Dutch this is considered archaic: “in ’t algemeen; archaisch; BE; spreektaal, wat door vorm, kleur, verhouding enz. behaaglijk is voor oog of oor, wat ons esthetisch gevoel aangenaam aandoet” (Van Dale, s.v. schoon¹). The modulation from particular to general (*vrouw* instead of creature) is naturalizing on both the linguistic and the cultural level, since it is a generalizing naturalization towards a more natural TL sentence, but it also removes the ST’s historical socio-cultural element from the TT because it was socially acceptable to refer to women as a beautiful creature in Austen’s era where today it is generally frowned upon and considered degrading to refer to women in this way.

The socio-cultural situation of C is exoticizing because the use of *kind* is patronizing and it changes the meaning and social interpretation. Furthermore, it seems as something only elderly

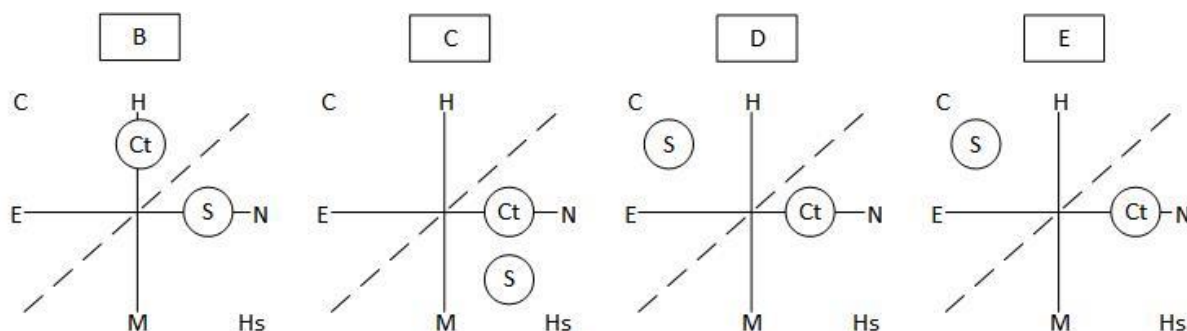
people would say about young people, creating an age gap between Mr. Bingley and Jane which is not present in the ST because they are both in their mid-twenties:

Mr. Bingley had not been of age two years, when he was tempted by an accidental recommendation to look at Netherfield House. He did look at it and into it for half an hour, was pleased with the situation and the principal rooms, satisfied with what the owner said in its praise, and took it immediately (Austen, 1813:18).

Linguistically, like in D, the choice for *dat ... dat* is naturalizing towards a more natural and commonly used syntactic TL structure. However, socio-culturally, D is retentive like E, conveying the same social and cultural frame of reference as the ST. But on the linguistic level E adheres closely to the ST, without being foregrounded on an exoticizing or historicizing level, making E retentive.

13.

A.	Then, the two third he danced with Miss King, and the two fourth with Maria Lucas, and the two fifth with Jane again, and the two sixth with Lizzy, and the Boulanger.”
B.	Daarop danste hij den derde met mejuffer King, den vierde met Maria Lucas, en de twee vijfde weer met Jane, de twee zesde met Lizzy, de twee...
C.	Daarna deed hij de derde dans met juffrouw King en de vierde met Mary Lucas, de vijfde danste hij weer met Jane en de zesde met Lizzy.”
D.	Het derde tweetal danste hij met juffrouw King, het vierde met Maria Lucas, het vijfde weer met Jane en het zesde met Lizzy met als toegift de Boulanger.’
E.	En toen danste hij het derde paar met juffrouw King, en het vierde paar met Maria Lucas, en het vijfde paar weer met Jane, en het zesde paar met Lizzy, en de Boulanger...’*



The sociocultural situation of this ST sentence is determined by the sets of dances mentioned and the dance called the Boulanger. Each dance (third, fourth, fifth, etc.) was in fact a set of two (hence the two third, two fourth, etc.) and was danced with the same partner, before the gentleman could ask a new partner for another set. “Because a ball was considered a social experience, a couple could (at the most) dance only two sets (each set consisted of two dances), which generally lasted from 20-30 minutes per dance. Thus, a couple in love had an opportunity of spending as much as an hour together for each set” (Sanborn). Furthermore, often each set of dances was a different dance in terms of music and steps, like the English country dance, the cotillion, the minuet and the Boulanger,

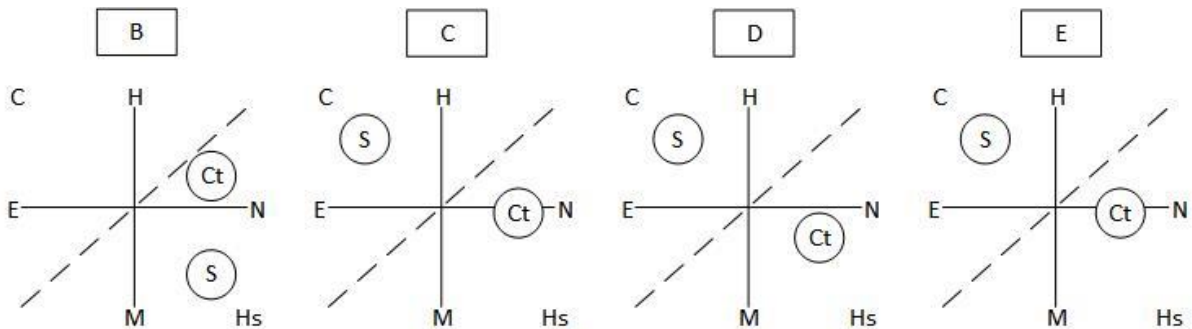
and each dance had their own place and time within the event. “Boulangers, or circular dances, were performed at the end of the evening, when the couples were tired” (Sanborn), making the Boulanger the last set or dance of the evening. This is also supported by the Explanatory Notes of the ST that states that the Boulanger is a “lively dance imported from France and danced, like most country dances, in a long set of couples. During the nineteenth century it was commonly the fifth and final dance in the quadrille” (Austen, 1813: 382-3).

When looking at the socio-cultural situation of these TTs, D and E retain both the fact that the dances are sets of two and the name ‘Boulanger’, and B and C both show some loss with in particular the element ‘Boulanger’. The socio-cultural situation of both D and E is retentive, but only E provides additional background information in the form of a footnote at the bottom of the page: “* Boulanger: een volksdansachtige contra-dans voor paren.” (Austen, 2012: 27). Throughout the whole translation the translators of E made use of footnotes to explain certain historic and socio-cultural elements. A reason for this could be that the translator did not want to naturalize the foreign social and cultural elements, but felt that a retentive translation on its own, without further explanation, would be too exoticizing for a contemporary Dutch audience. I would like to add that in the translation of literature this practice is often frowned upon, because it immediately shows that this text is a translation and takes the attention of the reader away from the story that is being told, breaking the flow or distorting the continuity of the novel. Furthermore, the translator decides where, and how much, explanation is needed to aid the TL audience and there is a risk that the information that is added by the translator is known to (a larger or smaller) part of the audience who could find the use of explanatory footnotes patronizing. The socio-cultural situation of C is recreative, since all cultural and historical markers are not only naturalized but removed from the TT. Moreover, in C there are only six dances instead of six sets or twelve dances that are in the ST. B does not only lose the socio-cultural element Boulanger, but also applies a modulation which implies that the list will go on indefinitely: *de twee...*, when in fact the Boulanger would have been the last and final dance of the evening B also displays some inconsistencies in listing the dances: *den derde* and *den vierde* (making them singular), but *de twee vijfde* and *de twee zesde* (making them sets of two dances). The socio-cultural situation of B is therefore naturalizing.

All TTs except B are naturalizing on the linguistic level. B is historicizing because of the use of *daarop*, *den* and *mejuffer*, an archaic form of *juffrouw*: “verouderd mejuffrouw” (Van Dale, s.v. *mejuffer*).

14.

A.	Here she was interrupted again. Mr. Bennet protested against any description of finery.
B.	Hier werd ze opnieuw in de rede gevallen door haar man, die een tweede maal tegen haar uitgerafelde beschrijving opkwam.
C.	Hier werd ze wéér in de rede gevallen. Meneer Bennet verzette zich tegen elke beschrijving van welke chic dan ook.
D.	Maar weer werd ze in de rede gevallen. Meneer Bennet paste voor een opsomming van strikjes en kwikjes.
E.	Hier werd ze opnieuw onderbroken. Mijnheer Bennet maakte altijd bezwaar tegen het beschrijven van opsmuk of mooie kleren.

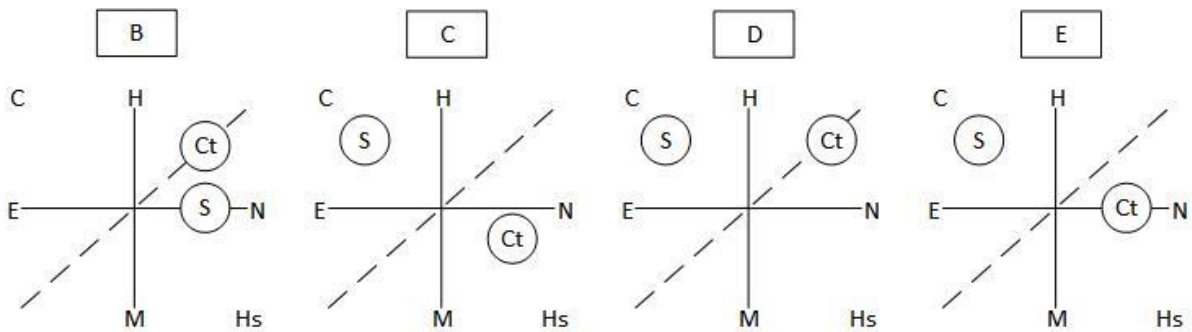


The Linguistic context of B is slightly historicizing with *tweede maal* and *uitgerafelde*, and naturalizing because of the modulation from concrete to abstract (*haar man* instead of Mr. Bennet). But also because of the optional modulation of ‘description of finery’ to *uitgerafelde beschrijving* where the noun ‘finery’ is in B represented by an adjective. This is a modulation and not a transposition because the syntactic change also changes the sense: in the ST there Mr. Bennet protests against any description of beautiful or fancy attire, where in B Mr. Bennet protests against Mrs. Bennet’s elaborate description, losing all reference to the fancy clothes of the ladies in B. The fact that all reference to fancy clothes or finery is lost and the meaning of the sentence is changed because of it, B is naturalizing on the linguistic level and recreative on the socio-cultural level.

All other TTs are retentive on the socio-cultural level, maintaining the meaning of the ST and the negative connotation that finery has within this context. C does this by making use of a reversal of terms (*opsmuk* to *chic*), D changes the symbol to a new rhyming TL metaphor (*strikjes* and *kwikjes*), and E uses a literal translation of finery (*opsmuk*) and an explicitation of the clothing (*mooie kleren*) that is implicit in the ST. The linguistic context of C, D and E is naturalizing when looking at the syntax, when considering the vocabulary C and E are also naturalizing, using natural vocabulary that is neither historicizing nor modernizing. D, however, uses more modern and informal vocabulary than C and E: *paste* instead of *verzetten* or *bezwaar maken*, *opsomming* instead of *beschrijving*, and *strikjes en kwikjes* instead of *chic* or *opsmuk of mooie kleren*.

15.

A.	He walked here, and he walked there, fancying himself so very great!
B.	Als een pauw stapte hij, nu eens hier, dan weer daar, zich inbeeldende, dat hij een majesteit was!
C.	Hij slenterde eens hierheen en hij slenterde eens daarheen, en hij vond zichzelf een hele meneer!
D.	Hij wandelde maar wat op en neer, en een eigenwaan!
E.	Dat liep maar heen en weer, en een hoge dunk van zichzelf dat hij had!



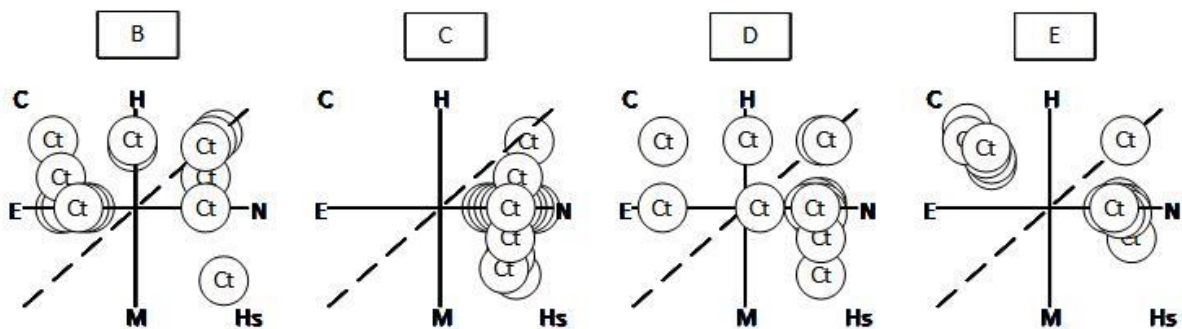
On both the linguistic level and the socio-cultural level, B is naturalizing towards the TL and TC by adding cultural references and TL sayings that are not present in the ST: *als een pauw* and *majesteit*. Moreover, the use of *als een pauw* is a reference to the common Dutch saying *zo trots als een pauw*, which means someone that is *zeer trots* or very proud, since “de pauw geldt als het zinnebeeld van hoogmoed omdat hij zich bewust is van zijn schoonheid wanneer hij zijn staart pronkend opzet” (Van Dale, s.v. pauw¹). However, Mr. Darcy is not described as proud, but rather as arrogant or conceited, which changes the way in which this sentence and Mr. Darcy is perceived and naturalizes the socio-cultural situation. Furthermore, B has a more complex sentence structure than the ST, which seems archaic in the TL and has, together with the use of *dat hij een majesteit was*, a historicizing effect on the linguistic level.

When looking at the linguistic context of C, the translator made use of amplification due to syntactic expansion of *eens*, and a modulation from general to particular: ‘walked’ versus *slenteren*. The use of *slenteren* instead of the more neutral walking could have implications for the way in which Mr. Darcy is perceived, since *slenteren* also has a negative connotation of “langzaam (veelal ook doelloos) wandelen” (Van Dale, s.v. *slenteren*), which is not fitting for an arrogant gentleman from a good family. However, this does not affect the socio-cultural situation of C, but it does make the linguistic context, together with the use of *hele meneer*, particularly informal and therefore somewhat modernizing. D is linguistically naturalizing, except for *eigenwaan*, which is historicizing. Linguistically E is about the same length as the ST, but does not have the same rhythm as ST. This is due to the fact that E is linguistically naturalizing towards the TL idiom (*heen en weer lopen* and *hoge dunk hebben*): *dat liep maar heen en weer* instead of a more retentive *hij liep hierheen, en hij liep*

daarheen, which would also have been natural and grammatically correct in the TL. Furthermore *hoge dunk* is still considered common usage, neither historicizing nor modernizing.

5.3.2. Results

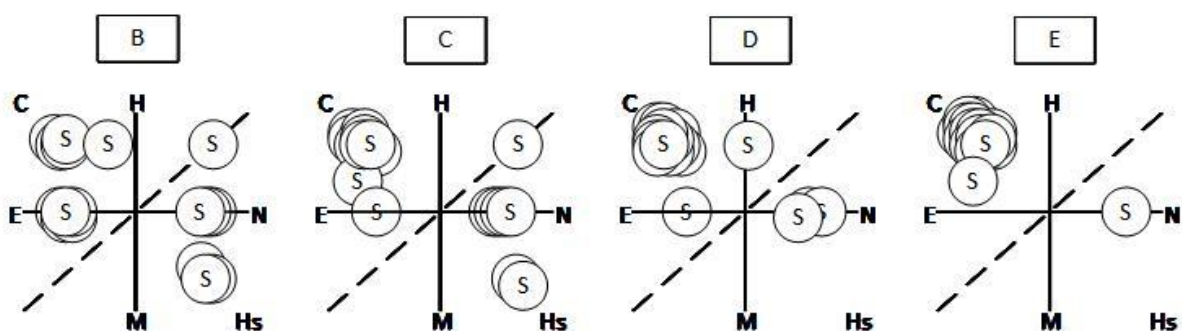
In order to get an impression of the general tendencies on the different levels, and to make a clear comparison between the four analysed TTs, the graphs of the fifteen examples given in the previous section have been combined to represent each of the two different levels examined; Linguistic Context (Ct) and the Socio-cultural Situation (S).



With regard to the linguistic context, one could say that out of the four TT's, C shows the greatest tendency towards naturalizing translation. Where C tends to prefer a naturalizing approach, with all of the spheres being on the right side of the y-axis, and no less than nine out of fifteen on the N-line. Subsequently, the preferred approach when encountering a translation problem that cannot be solved by merely naturalizing is to combine a naturalizing approach with either modernizing (4 spheres) or historicizing (2 spheres). The spheres of B are all over the place, which could indicate that the translator adapts his approach with every problem he faces, and that the translator is not working with a predetermined set of translation norms or translation approach like C. However, six out of fifteen display a tendency towards exoticizing, and four out of fifteen display a tendency towards a combination of historization and naturalization. This is probably due to the cultural differences and differences in vocabulary and language use between Flemish and Dutch people, since B often displays syntactic structures and idioms that are either archaic or considered not very common or natural in the TL (Dutch). When you claim your translation to be an authorized Dutch translation the audience will, accordingly, expect a translation to be Dutch and for it to adhere to Dutch culture and language rules, and not to Flemish language rules and Belgian culture.

Looking at D, we more or less see the same pattern as in C, with eight out of fifteen spheres favouring a naturalizing approach. However, D is not as rigid with this as C and also displays three spheres that do not comply with the chosen strategy of naturalization: one historicizing, one retentive, and one exoticizing. This is probably due to stylistic choices the translator considered to be better fitting than a naturalizing approach. The linguistic context of E is divided over two

contradictory sections of the graph: 8 out of fifteen are naturalizing and six out of fifteen are retentive. This makes E the most conserving or retentive out of the four TTs on the level of the linguistic context, even though next to a retentive approach E also seems to favour a naturalizing approach. It is very important to note for E that whenever a retentive approach is used this is within the syntactic constraints of the TL and would not be considered as foregrounded or particularly foreign (exoticizing) or archaic (historicizing) by a contemporary TL audience. It seems that the most modern translation (E) regarding the linguistic context, within the limitations of the TL tries to stick as close to the ST as possible, and where the TL does not allow a retentive and natural translation the translator resorts to naturalization. Considering the four TTs in their chronological order, there does not seem to be a conclusive general tendency that can be deduced from these results.



Analysing the general tendencies on the level of the socio-cultural situation, we see that B, the oldest translation, has spheres all over the graph and displays no real general tendency towards any particular translation approach. B has 5 exoticizing, 4 retentive, 3 naturalizing, 3 modernizing, and 2 other spheres. It seems that both C and D, use a naturalizing approach whenever faced with cultural translation problems the translator would have considered too foreignizing in the TC, creating an approach that uses opposite sides of the spectrum: retentive vs naturalizing. C, like D, tends to prefer a retentive approach. C has nine out of seventeen spheres on the retentive side of the graph, and D twelve out of seventeen (where B only had four retentive spheres). E displays an overall tendency towards retentive translation, with only one deviating sphere that is naturalizing. Comparing the four TTs in chronological order, these results indicate a shift in translation norms that is moving away from using and accepting exoticizing and naturalizing next to retentive translation towards a retentive-oriented approach, which would mean that the general tendency for the socio-cultural situation is moving towards retentive translation.

6 Conclusion

When looking at the results presented in section 5.3.2, the first thing to notice is that the results and the general tendencies they imply are different for the linguistic context and the sociocultural situation. The results regarding the sphere of the Linguistic Context indicate that B is the most exoticizing, and C is the most naturalizing (or domesticating) of the four TT's. E, however, is divided between a retentive and naturalizing approach.

Nevertheless, I found that retentive translation on the linguistic level (i.e. conserving the linguistic features of the ST) is not always per definition exoticizing in the TL. E shows on multiple occasions that a linguistically retentive translation can also be an accepted form in the TL when the particular ST sentence fits within the TL's linguistic constraints, and does not necessarily cause foregroundedness or an exoticizing (foreignizing) effect. In these cases, the sentence is linguistically not adapted towards the TL, and retains most or all ST features, which would not classify it as a naturalizing translation. It could also be that over time the TL has developed and has become less rigid in its acceptance of more 'foreign' ST sentence structures. This explains the graph and the inconclusive results for E's overall linguistic context. Based on the results provided by E, I would say that not naturalization as an approach, but naturalness in the TL on a linguistic level is what is considered most important. And since many roads lead to Rome, naturalness can be achieved by naturalization, but in some cases also by a conserving or retentive translation. Instead of moving towards naturalization, one could argue that the modern translators are rather moving away from and less accepting of foregroundedness and exotization on the linguistic level. However, the information gathered in this small-scaled research is not nearly enough to make such a generalization, and further research is necessary to make such a claim.

Considering the results in relation to the Socio-cultural Situation, comparing the four TT's, from oldest to youngest, there seems to be a shift towards retentive translation, with the newest TT (E) being the most retentive, and the oldest (B) being the least retentive of the four. When considering these TTs in chronological order (B to E) you can see a clear pattern moving away from naturalization towards a retentive approach.

So do these results comply with Berman's retranslation theory? According to Berman's claim B should overall deviate most from the ST and be the most naturalizing or recreative, and E should overall be the most source text oriented and retentive TT. When we look at the results of the two different levels, the socio-cultural situation more or less complies with the retranslation theory. The linguistic context, however, does not. Different results or tendencies on the different levels mean

that Berman's retranslation theory, as a general translation theory governing all levels, does not apply to the TTs of *Pride and Prejudice* examined in this research.

These differences between the different spheres also indicate that there are different translation norms at play in different times. According to Holmes there is a general tendency amongst contemporary translators towards a recreative linguistic context and a retentive socio-cultural situation. Based on my research results I could confirm the tendency towards a retentive socio-cultural situation, but not a tendency towards a recreative linguistic context. On the level of the linguistic context, in general, there is a shift noticeable from allowing a more exoticizing and retentive approach towards a naturalizing approach for C and D. E deviates from this pattern, and it would be interesting to investigate whether this is the same for other very recent translations. However, as mentioned before, I believe this deviation does not diminish the overall linguistic naturalness of E, and that this TT is more concerned with naturalness in the TL. Researching other TTs of *Pride and Prejudice* could help to form a clear pattern, and to determine whether E is the result of a change in norms or an exception to the rule.

This leaves only one research question left unanswered; whether the changes in socio-cultural norms and perceptions have led to interference of the TC, and whether the latest translation is the one that is culturally farthest removed from the ST. Even though research into the socio-cultural background shows that society, culture, and the norms surrounding them have undergone great changes, I do not believe that this has resulted in structural interference of the contemporary TC with the historical SC. Interference of the TC that indicate a different frame of reference and change the meaning and interpretation of the ST is only present in examples 2 and 14 looking at TT B. Of course, the results show some instances of naturalizing and re-creative translation, but in general this only affects the realia and does not interfere with the ST's socio-cultural norms and perceptions. Therefore, based on these results, I would say that the hypothesis is not true and that the TTs show no sign of TC interference regarding the sociocultural norms and perceptions of the ST. It is also possible that, in terms of love and romance, the SC and TC do not differ so much that it would require adaptations, modernizations or even recreative translation in order to accommodate the target audience.

We should, however, take into consideration that, this research only looked at four of the more than twenty available TTs and that it is possible that the selection of different sentences or different TTs might have led to slightly different results. Moreover, looking at the different examples from the TT's and the charts, it becomes clear that the translators do not stick to merely one translation strategy. This study is therefore open to further research on multiple levels. This could be done by analysing bigger excerpts and more sentences that contain realia or socio-cultural norms. Another option is to enlarge the corpus by adding other translations, and including retranslations and

re-editions from the same translator. You could even add other works from Jane Austen to the corpus, to investigate whether the patterns found for *Pride and Prejudice* also apply to her other texts. Or, conduct a genre specific research, by adding historical novels from different authors to the corpus, in order to research if the patterns found in this research apply to the entire genre. I would advise, for future research, to analyse more TT's of *Pride and Prejudice*, and more examples from each of those texts, in order to be able to deduct (with greater reliability) a translation theory on how translation norms and general tendencies governing the linguistic context and socio-cultural situation have changed over time.

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