QUITTING ONE SPHERE AND ENTERING ANOTHER:
The translation of systemic functional transitivity patterns in Pride and Prejudice

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Tiivistelmä – Abstract

Kaunokirjallisuuden suomentaminen on luovaa toimintaa, jossa kääntäjä tekee valintoja monin eri perustein. Irrottautuminen lähtötekstistä on usein välttämätöntä, jotta voidaan saavuttaa sujuva suomennos. Tässä tutkimuksessa pyrittiin selvittämään, missä määrin kaunokirjallisessa käännöksessä voidaan poiketa alkuperäistekstistä funktionaalisten kategorioiden tasolla.

Tutkimuksen aineistona oli Jane Austenin teos Pride and prejudice sekä Kersti Juvan vuonna 2014 nimellä Ylpeys ja ennakkoluulo julkaistu suomennos samasta teoksesta. Tutkittavaksi valittiin kolme katkelmaa teoksesta. Katkelmat analysoitiin käyttäen Gideon Touryn deskriptiivisen käännösteorian metodia. Tarkastelun kohteena olivat systeemis-funktionaalisen kieliopin mukaiset prosessityypit ja niiden käännösvastineet. Tutkimuksen tarkoituksena ei ollut arvioida käännöksen laatua tai ekvivalenssia.

Tutkimuksessa kävi ilmi, että prosessityyppi säilyy muuttumattomana enemmistössä tapauksista. Poikkeamat olivat kuitenkin myös yleisiä. Kopulaverbejä hyödyntävistä luonteeltaan staattisista relationaalisista lauseista oli usein siirrytty dynaamisempiin materiaalisiin ja mentaalisiin lauseisiin ja kuvailevampien verbien käyttöön. Verbeissä tapahtuneet muutokset heijastuivat myös henkilöiden rooleihin kuvatuissa tapahtumissa ja siten koko henkilökuvaukseen. Prosessilauseita oli korvattu toisentyyppisten prosessilauseiden lisäksi myös muilla ratkaisuilla, kuten ei-finiittisillä rakenteilla. Ilmaisun selkeys ohitti tärkeydessä sekä sanatarkan käännöksen että tarpeen säilyttää sama formaalisuuden taso. Luonnollinen kieli ja eläväinen kuvaus olivat etusijalla. Tehdyt muutokset kuvastavat tapaa, jolla kaunokirjallisia suomennoksia tehdään nykylukijoille.

Asiasanat – Keywords Kääntäminen, funktionaalinen kielitiede, kirjallisuuden kieli
Säilytyspaikka – Depository Kielten laitos
Muita tietoja – Additional information

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Discourse: a game in context

It is a central premise of discourse analysis that language cannot be understood separately from its context. People use language not only to relay information, but also to do things and to adopt various identities. James Paul Gee gives an example of an anime card game, demonstrating how the language printed on the cards gets its meaning from the rules and practices of the game, and can only be understood by someone who understands the game. This is how all communication works: it gets its meaning from the "game" within which it is used, and can only be understood through knowing the rules of the game. By "game", we of course mean the social setting where the language is being used. (Gee 2011: 2–5.) In the case examined in the present study, the game is played in the setting of a fictional upper class society in Regency England, and interpreted to a Finnish audience by a translator. The purpose of the study is to reveal some aspects of how the game is recreated in another language.

A culture is a construct of semiotic systems; language is one of these systems, a part of what forms the culture in all its complexity. Language is something that exists in real contexts, as discourse that consists of the exchange of meanings between people in some distinct setting. This setting, the context, is also a semiotic construct. It provides the participants of the discourse with a framework that helps them to understand each other. (Halliday 1978: 2.) In a similar manner, translated texts also exist in their specific context, in that of their target culture. They do, however, also carry with them the source text and therefore also the cultural context in which the source text was created. A translation is not only an act of discourse between the author – or translator – and the reader; it is also part of a wider discourse that takes place between the source culture and the target culture, and the source language and the target language. A translation is formed by a single translator, but under the heavy influence of the contexts of all these discourses that exist at different levels, all part of the general phenomenon of discourse (for a discussion of the concepts of the general discourse and individual discourses, see e.g. Pietikäinen and Mäntynen 2009: 27).

There is a two-way relationship between what is said and the context in which it is said: the context helps determine what is said, and what is said in turn helps construct the social context (Halliday 1978: 3). A translated text actually has two sets of social contexts outside the text, namely the context of the source text and the context in which and for which the target text is written, and both of these influence what is said in the translation. They also compete for space in each translated text. The amount of influence that each of these two contexts should be allowed to have is the subject of the ongoing debate between foreignization and domestication in translations (see e.g. Munday 2016: 225–229).

1.2 The need for discourse analysis in translation studies

For a translator, language is an instrument, a tool for creativity. Traditional linguistics, on the other hand, sees language purely as an object (Halliday 1978: 3). To understand the particular problems that arise in the process of translation, traditional linguistics with its focus on language as an isolated object is not enough; social considerations and a wider perspective are necessary. Therefore, the perspective adopted in the present study is that of semiotics and discourse analysis as they appear in the work of M.A.K. Halliday, particularly in his ideas of language as a social semiotic and in the systemic functional grammar (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2014) that he has developed. Halliday's theories first aimed to explain how a child learns a language, and later developed to describe actual use of language in any context, with the added objective of providing the means for examining language in order to understand other phenomena, such as the social system (see Halliday 1978: 36). In the present study, the theories are used for such an objective: to reveal the impact of the two-fold social contexts of the source and target culture on a translated text.

In real-life discourse, language is not actually used based on rules such as those listed in traditional grammars, but rather based on choices made by the discourse participants. Language has developed to answer the needs of certain functions, and should therefore also be examined with regard to these functions. (Halliday 1978: 4.) It has long been recognized that the use of language varies according to the social situation. Halliday's view on this variation is that the appropriate register for the situation is not something

that is added on top of the language that is used to express the desired content. Instead, the register is "an essential element in the ability to mean". Meaning is constructed from the way in which things are said, not merely from some specific content element that could be separated from the manner in which it is expressed. (Halliday 1978: 34.) Furthermore, it may sometimes seem that an element of the semantic level could be expressed by more than one element of the lexicogrammatical system; that there would be synonymous alternatives to choose from. In Halliday's view, however, in cases where such one-to-many relationship between the semantic and lexicogrammatical level would seem to exist, there usually is a distinction on the semantic level that has just not been detected yet. (Halliday 1978: 44.) The idea that style and content are inseparable can be called *monism*, as opposed to *dualism* or separation of form and content (Leech and Short 1981: 24–25). Kuitunen (2008: 170, 182) states that many researchers have considered the separation of style and content impossible; in her own study of a literary translation, Kuitunen finds that the selected means of expression often play a crucial role in the construction of meanings in a text.

The monistic relationship of form and meaning poses a particular challenge for translation. Translation is a process in which some changes to how things are expressed cannot be avoided if any naturalness of expression is to be achieved in the target text. Differences between the lexicogrammatical systems of different languages make this absolutely necessary. In the light of Halliday's view and the general monistic perspective, these changes must inevitably result in changes to the meaning of sentences; perfect equivalence must therefore be impossible, at least on the sentence level. The inevitability of changes has long been recognized in translation studies, and is repeated for example by Kim and Matthiessen (2015: 343); however, they also state that "comparable meanings" may be expressed by different wordings, and that translators should focus on recreating meanings, not patterns of wording. Whether the meanings are and whether they even could be recreated exactly the same has been widely debated in translation studies, focusing on the development and resulting in the widespread disregarding of the concept of equivalence.

1.3 Introduction to the present study

In undertaking this study, my first aim is to make explicit the role of cultural contexts in translated communication: how they influence the translator's choices and become visible in the target text. The source text is immersed in the cultural context in which it has been created; on top of this context, another is added when the text is translated. Like the source text, the translation is created in a cultural and social setting that must influence the translator's choices. By making such factors visible, I will increase general understanding of them and add to the overall research base that can be used to formulate general and language-restricted theories of translation. I will not seek to assess the level of equivalence achieved by the translator, but to reveal something of the creative thinking that she has engaged in, and to establish some of the boundaries within which the creativity of a translator operates.

The linguistic framework used in the present study is systemic functional grammar, developed by M.A.K. Halliday (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2014). The fact that Halliday's model places focus on language as communication, used in real situations tied to specific contexts, makes it particularly relevant to translation research in general and for achieving the objectives that I have set for the present study: a translator translates context-specific meanings, not mere words or structures, and Halliday's grammar aims to make explicit the ways in which meaning is constructed – as a series of choices within lexicogrammatical systems. The construction of meanings being a translator's primary concern, the adoption of the systemic functional approach to language when attempting to reveal the linguistic choices that translators make within the current field of literary translation – or any field of translation – is well justified. Systemic functional grammar deals with choices within paradigmatic systems, which is exactly in line with the nature of a translator's work as a series of very practical choices. The decision processes of translators have been considered for example by Jirí Levý (see Levý 2000/1967: 148–159).

In the present study, I adopt a descriptive approach to establish some of the norms that the translator of my data has followed in her work. The definition of *norm* that will be adopted in the present study derives from the work of Gideon Toury. Toury developed Descriptive Translation Studies, a theoretical framework for studying the specific norms on which translators base their choices (see Toury 2012.) Holmes (2000/1994: 176–177) divides Descriptive Translation Studies into three sub-fields according to the subject of focus: the product, its function in the recipient socio-culture, and the translation process.

Of these, I will focus on the product, and specifically, on the description of one translation. According to Holmes (1994/2000: 178–181), descriptive studies can be used as material for developing general or partial theories about translation. Holmes lists six types of partial translation theories: medium-restricted, area-restricted, rank-restricted, text-type restricted, time-restricted and problem-restricted theories. Based on my findings, I hope to be able to draw some conclusions about the way translations are made between English and Finnish, which would enable the use of my work in the general effort of forming an area-restricted theory – a theory concerning translation between two languages or cultures.

The present study falls within the field of linguistic translation research. In linguistic studies of translated texts, Gideon Toury's descriptive approach has been widely accepted, and where a functional or discourse analytical viewpoint is adopted, systemic functional linguistics is mentioned by Munday and Zhang (2015: 326) as the most prominent theoretical model. Both these theories offer nearly unlimited possibilities for translation research. It seems that so far, they have not been widely applied in Finland. The present study thus constitutes an attempt to demonstrate the value of functional linguistic approaches and to strengthen this aspect of translation research in Finland.

In the present study, I focus on the field of literary translation. Real-world translations can be studied in two basic ways: by observing the translation process or by studying the end result, the translated text. Of these, I have chosen the latter method. The study was conducted as a comparison of a source text and its translation. The research data consists of Pride and Prejudice, a novel by Jane Austen published in 1813, and its excellent Finnish translation by Kersti Juva, published under the name Ylpeys ja ennakkoluulo in 2013. I selected for study text sections in which a conflict of interests exists between the participants, as such sections contain a wide variety of language use and reveal differences between the source text and the translation that result from differences between their cultural contexts. The selected sections were divided into translation units based on the primary principle that each unit covers one clause. The translation units, or the clauses, were then examined using the selected linguistic framework with the aim of revealing the specific translational norms that the translator has employed in one area of the systemic functional grammar. Norm-building under the influence of the social context of the target culture will be a particular area of interest.

2. TRANSLATION STUDIES: FROM LINGUISTIC EQUIVALENCE TO COMMUNICATIVE APPROACHES

2.1 Traditional approaches

Until the middle of the 20th century, the discussion around translations was far from systematic. Translations were discussed in some classical philosophical texts and, at a later time, the long debate of the proper methods of Bible translation. (Munday 2016: 13. The academic field of translation studies was born in the 1950s and 1960s with the development of linguistic theories of translation which had become necessary due to the increased need for translators and interpreters in the post-war era of international operations (Vehmas-Lehto 2008: 13). These early linguistic-oriented theoretical developments took place in many countries – at least in France, Russia, the United States and China – in roughly the same period of time (Munday 2016: 15–16).

The history of translation studies is largely a history of how free a translation can be, and what equivalence is. Roman Jakobson (2000/1959: 114) established as early as 1959 that in most cases, full equivalence between code units cannot be achieved in interlingual translation. Therefore, translation between languages always involves substituting messages with other messages written in the target language, not substituting code units with other code units; Jakobson (ibid.) calls these substitution messages "reported speech" that involves "two equivalent messages in two different codes". Equivalence thus does exist, but only at the level of messages.

The work of Eugene Nida was crucial in the development of translation theories – despite the fact that when considered from the perspective of Halliday's work, it contains many weaknesses. Vehmas-Lehto (2008: 17–18) ascribes the beginning of pragmatic theories of translation to Nida, although Munday and Zhang (2015: 325) see a much more important milestone in the arrival of discourse analysis with the work of Basil Hatim and Ian Mason in 1990. Both are, however, important developments in the understanding of the role of context in the construction of translated meaning.

Nida's approach to the translation process was heavily influenced by Noam Chomsky's generative-transformational linguistics. In his widely influential work *Toward the science of translating*, published in 1964, Nida developed a model where the translator first decodes the source text element into a deep structure which is then transferred and restructured into a target language surface structure. This process was intended to replace the earlier attempts to compile exhaustive lists of equivalent pairs of source language and target language units. (Munday 2016: 62–63.) Nida's model is an important step towards understanding the creative nature of translation, but it is also a very simplified model. If we hold it to be true that meaning is generated in a complex interplay of many linguistic elements, including, among many others, the thematic structure of the clause, and that meaning and form cannot be separated from each other (see Halliday 1978: 34), it must follow that Nida's model loses many aspects of meaning in the process of decoding the source text element into a deep structure, a kernel sentence. All these aspects of meaning would then need to be regenerated by the translator when writing the translation based on the kernel sentence, but Nida's model does not include any system for the transfer of these aspects. They would need to bypass the decoding-transfer-encoding system by some other route that remains a mystery in Nida's model. Qian Hu (1993a, 1993b) also bases his thorough criticism of Nida's concept of equivalent effect largely on the same idea: that Nida ignores the role of form in the creation of meaning.

The advancement in the understanding of meaning is what I believe to be Nida's more lasting legacy. According to Munday (2016: 65–66), Nida recognized that words have no fixed meanings, but acquire meaning from the context in which they are used; meaning can be broken down into linguistic, referential and emotive or connotative meaning. However, Nida's model of meaning and the tools he provides for translators for elucidating this meaning (see Munday 2016: 66–67) only seem to apply to words, and not larger units of language; therefore, the model has limited potential for establishing how clauses acquire their meaning in specific contexts.

Nida's third advancement in translation theory was that he developed the concept of equivalence to encompass two kinds of equivalence: formal and dynamic equivalence. With these concepts, Nida addressed the old debate of whether literal, free or faithful translations should be favored, and what these actually consisted of. Nida defines

formal equivalence as translation where attention is paid to both form and content, matching the form of the translation as closely as possible to the form of the source text. Dynamic equivalence, later called functional equivalence, allowed greater variation of form and was based on "equivalent effect"; the focus was on retaining the message of the text in translation. Naturalness of expression was a key consideration, and even cultural references could be replaced with completely different ones if the original reference would not be interpreted in the desired way by receptors of the translation. (Munday 2016: 67–69.) Nida recognized the need for both types of translations, used for different purposes (Nida 2000: 134–140).

The concept of dynamic equivalence provided a path to a deeper understanding of equivalence, away from the requirement of word-for-word equivalence. It was, however, far from the last word in the war over the concept of equivalence. Concepts similar to Nida's formal and dynamic equivalence were developed for example by Peter Newmark (2005: 45–47), who discussed several methods of translation in which the form and the meaning were emphasized to a varying degree, but focused on the distinction between what he called semantic and communicative translations. Of these, the latter was practically identical with Nida's dynamic equivalence, while the former has similarities with formal equivalence (Munday 2016: 71). However, while Nida found equivalent effect to be the basis of dynamic equivalence, Newmark (2005) revealed problems with the concept. He saw it as the desirable result of translation, but in many cases an impossible one, particularly when a cultural gap exists between the source and target language texts. Still, Newmark (2005:48) believed equivalent effect to be essential if a communicative translation is to be successful.

The concept of equivalence was further developed by distinguishing several different types and levels of it; it was understood that equivalence did not need to exist on all levels for the translation to be valid. Different types of equivalence were needed for different text types. Several theorists developed these ideas, including Mona Baker, who discussed equivalence on different structural levels of language: word, phrase, grammar, text, pragmatics, etc. as late as 1992 (Munday 2016:77). One of the most important earlier theorists was Werner Koller (1979: 186–191; see also 1989: 99–104), who recognized great diversity in the use of the term. To make the discussion of equivalence more precise, he defined five different types of equivalence based on five different qualities of the source text that were to be preserved – or preserved as far as possible.

Denotative equivalence focuses on retaining the content of the text, and is relatively easy to achieve; connotative equivalence, on the other hand, can rarely be absolute. Normative equivalence requires the following of lexical and syntactic norms, and is necessary in many formal text types such as legal texts. Pragmatic equivalence, which in other theories may be called communicative equivalence, focuses on achieving the necessary effect in the recipient; the text is translated for a particular group of recipients, and deviations from all the previously mentioned types of equivalence may be necessary. Finally, Koller (1989: 101) mentions formal equivalence, which is not the same as Nida's concept of formal equivalence. Koller's concept refers to the preservation of "certain formal-aesthetic features" of the text, such as word play, rhyme or other specific stylistic features.

Despite all these important efforts to develop the concept of equivalence into a more complex direction, it has also been widely criticized. It has been accused of being circular reasoning, where equivalence defines translation and translation defines equivalence. It is also a predominantly linguistic concept, and as translation studies have moved to more extensive, non-linguistic areas of study, equivalence has not been relevant any more. (Munday 2016: 77.) Susan Bassnett (2002: 32) also considers the linguistic nature of the concept to be its major problem, and states that translation "involves far more than replacement of lexical and grammatical items between languages". Bassnett and Lefevere (1998: 2) point out that translation based on equivalence always aims at finding the ideal translation where a perfect equivalence of meaning exists while keeping the form of the original as well. This has only resulted in much pain as the goal is, of course, unreachable.

One of the most important drawbacks of the concept of equivalence is its prescriptive nature. As Munday (2016:79) points out, prescriptiveness is, at the same time, the biggest reason for the concept's longevity; in practical translator training, equivalence between the source and target texts is sought. A correct translation is often described as an equivalent one, with no further thought of what equivalence actually consists of. This approach may work well for translator training, but is much less useful for translation research; among the multitude of real-world translations made for different purposes and in different contexts in the modern age of international communications, equivalence is a rather poor measure of translation quality. Bassnett (2002: 43) compares the purpose of translation theory to literary theory: it must aim at

understanding the processes of translation (as literary theory aims at understanding literary activities) and not at compiling a set of prescriptive norms to follow in order to achieve perfect translations (as literary theory does not compile norms for writing the perfect novel). As was mentioned in the Introduction of the present work, a useful descriptive approach has been provided in Gideon Toury's Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS). We will return to DTS in chapter 2.3.

When theorists began to understand that the concept of equivalence would not be able to carry them much further, the emphasis of translation theories gradually shifted towards the functions of the text and the importance of cultural considerations. The skopos theory, introduced by Hans J. Vermeer in the 1970s, focused on the purpose and function of the translation, and did not require equivalence – instead, functional adequacy was enough (Munday 2016: 126–127). Adequacy meant that the translation met the requirements set by the target language and the receptors of the translation, and fulfilled its purpose in the target language community. Skopos theory was thus the first translation theory that distanced itself from the requirement of equivalence. (Vehmas-Lehto 2008: 19–20.)

Another functional theorist was Christiane Nord, who developed a text analysis model that placed strong emphasis on the function of the source text and the translation. Nord (1997:47–48) makes a distinction between two types of translation processes: documentary translation and instrumental translation. The purpose of a documentary translation is to provide a target-language document of the original communication: "The target text, in this case, is a text about a text, or about one or more particular aspects of a text" (Nord 1997: 47). Nord places literary translations within this translation process type. Instrumental translation, on the other hand, comprises a new communicative action; according to Munday (2016:131), the recipient of an instrumental translation does not pay attention to the fact that the text is a translation, but reads it as an original. User manuals are an example of instrumental translations.

2.2 Discourse analysis in translation studies

The entry of discourse analytic approaches into translation studies can be dated to the publication of *Discourse and the translator* by Basil Hatim and Ian Mason in 1990, or

the introduction of a translation quality assessment model by Juliane House as early as 1977 (Munday and Zhang 2015: 325). Since then, discourse analysis has become an important theoretical basis for much research in the field of translation studies, as has been demonstrated by an analysis of international translation publications that found a major increase in the number of published articles during the time period from 1990 to 2013. The sharpest increase took place between 2000 and 2010. (Zhang et al. 2015: 227.)

Before examining the role of discourse analysis in translation studies further, we must first take a brief look at definitions of discourse and discourse analysis, and how the terms are generally understood in translation studies. Different theorists have given these terms differing meanings, and the complexity has been increased by the fact that discourse analysis has been used as a research tool in several academic fields that naturally have differing perspectives and areas of emphasis. For the purposes of the present study, the focus must of course remain in the field of linguistics.

The term discourse has sometimes been used to simply refer to spoken language, as opposed to written language (House 2015: 371), but this is, of course, not the meaning that the term adopts in the context of modern discourse analysis. Tannen et al. (2003: 1) summarize the wide range of definitions of discourse, originally listed by Jaworski and Coupland (1999: 1–3), as three general categories: first, "anything beyond the sentence"; second, "language use"; and third, "a broader range of social practice that includes non-linguistic and non-specific instances of language." Paltridge (2012: 1) provides examples of discourse analysts' objects of interest: "the relationship between language and social context, culture-specific ways of speaking and writing and ways of organizing texts in particular social and cultural situations". Some discourse analysts focus on linguistic features of text, while others adopt a wider perspective and consider the role of the text in its social and cultural context (Paltridge 2012: 1).

All the aspects of discourse listed above are of interest to translation theorists, although there are differences in how the theorists understand the term. In addition to these general aspects of discourse, translations also have a special position in the discourse that takes place between texts. According to Paltridge (2012: 1), we "produce and understand texts in relation to other texts that have come before them as well as other texts that may follow them". While translations and their source texts are, in fact, seen

as separate texts, there certainly is a strong relationship between them, and I believe that they can be said to form a special kind of discourse of two texts. Normally, there is only a one-way relationship of impact from the source text to the translation, but in some cases, if the source text is written with knowledge that it will be translated, this knowledge can have an impact on how the source text is written.

The most important milestones in introducing discourse analytic approaches into translation studies have been provided by Basil Hatim and Ian Mason, Mona Baker and Juliane House. All these theorists draw on the systemic functional model by M.A.K. Halliday, which will be presented in chapter 3 below. In the following, I will discuss some of the most relevant aspects of these theorists' views.

According to Hatim and Mason (1990: 1–2), a general theory of translation should cover functional variation: language is often used differently in different types of texts. However, a functional approach based on text types is not enough. It is difficult to define how exactly the language differs across functional text categories. Therefore, a subtler approach to variation is needed, and texts must be seen as "communicative transaction taking place within a social framework" (Hatim and Mason 1990: 2). Hatim and Mason thus apply an approach to discourse that considers the text in its social and cultural context. In their opinion, a translation theory based on this view would be agile enough to account for the translation of any text type. It is the central premise of such an approach that like the production of any other text, translation is a communicative process, and takes place in a specific social context. (Hatim and Mason 1990: 2–3.)

Hatim and Mason (1990: 3–4) wish to draw attention to translation as a process in which meanings are negotiated between the text's producers and receivers. The translation should not be considered as a simple end product, but as a means for revealing the decision-making procedures of the translator. The source text writer's decisions, or communicative aims, should also be considered; the translation contains two layers of motivations – those of the author and those of the translator. When studying translations, there is little point in comparing items of the source text and the target text to each other without considering the context, or as Hatim and Mason (1990: 4) put it, "the writer's whole world-view". Hatim and Mason have made important contributions to the study of translations from a systemic functional perspective. For example, they show how the verbs used in The Outsider, the English translation of

Albert Camus's L'Étranger, differ from those in the source text, changing the image of the protagonist from an active participant to someone to whom things happen (Hatim and Mason 1997: 9–10). This is an example of how differences in the experiential metafunction influence a text. For an explanation of the three metafunctions and their role in the construction of a text, see chapter 3 below.

These basic premises of Hatim and Mason's view of translation study are relevant for the present study as well. However, many other aspects of their theory are not. Hatim and Mason (1990: 4–5) call for a systematic model for translation assessment, although they recognize the impossibility of genuinely objective judgement, citing similar opinions of Reiss (1971: 107) and House (1977: 64). The present study, however, follows Gideon Toury's view (see section 2.3 below) that no judgement of any kind should be passed concerning the quality of translations. In fact, in their later book, Hatim and Mason (1997: 10) themselves state that they do not intend their work as translator criticism. Hatim and Mason's earlier focus on translation assessment can therefore be considered as outdated from the perspective that we adopt in this study. Still, the search for an objective model for translation assessment has been an important step in the development of discourse analytic translation theories.

When discussing the concept of equivalence above, we saw that Mona Baker considered equivalence at various levels of language, including the pragmatic level. Other levels that are of interest from the discourse analytical point of view include the thematic structure and cohesion (Munday 2016: 149). Mona Baker (as quoted by Munday 2016: 153) defines pragmatics as language in use, and states that it is "the study of meaning, not as generated by the linguistic system but as conveyed and manipulated by participants in a communicative situation". This definition, of course, coincides with the idea behind discourse analysis in translation studies. Baker also applied Halliday's systemic functional linguistics to the study of thematic structures and how they are reproduced in translations (Munday 2016: 149–150).

Juliane House, whose main effort in translation studies comprises the creation of a functional model for translation assessment (see e.g. Munday 2016: 145–149), believes that discourse analysis can be of great help to translators in solving many translation problems. In House's view, discourse analysis looks at utterances in their textual context, and provides understanding of how the utterance, in connection with other

utterances, constructs discourse. House also points out that translators, like other recipients of a text, interpret it as discourse; what this means is that they interpret the communicative purpose and meaning of the text. House concludes that the methodology of discourse analysis is well suited for revealing patterns in translators' choices and for formulating the hypotheses behind these choices. (House 2015: 370–372.) It seems that House sees discourse primarily as the internal construction of a text, and does not place similar weight on the context beyond the text.

Munday and Zhang (2015) emphasize the importance of discourse analysis for translation studies. They state that discourse analysis is "a powerful tool for uncovering the processes and for explaining the motivation behind the author's and the translator's choices" (Munday & Zhang 2015: 333). Translation must be seen as communication, which means that discourse analysis can provide the appropriate methods for uncovering what Munday and Zhang (ibid.) call "the translator's various linguistic and social interventions". The present study joins in this effort.

2.3 Descriptive Translation Studies

Translation theory saw a major shift from a prescriptive to a descriptive approach with Gideon Toury's work on translation norms and empirical translation research methodology from late 1970s onwards. In addition to moving translation studies into an empirical direction, descriptive translation studies also brought along a shift on another axis: it rejected the dominant source text-oriented approach in favor of the target text. A similar shift took place in the same period of time in the German-speaking translation researcher community with the skopos theory, but the two were not aware of each other (Toury 2012: 19). Toury's most influential work, *Descriptive translation studies – and beyond*, came out in 1995, with a second edition published in 2012. With DTS, Toury wished to provide researchers with a good working method to fulfill the descriptive branch of the translation studies "map" presented by James S. Holmes as early as 1972 (see Toury 2012: 1, 4).

Toury based his work on the polysystem theory of Itamar Even-Zohar. The polysystem theory built on the literary theory of Russian Formalists, where literary works were seen as part of the literary system, not as isolated works. Similarly to the Formalist literary

theory, Even-Zohar proposed that translations should be seen as part of a system that includes all translations of any genre. According to the polysystem theory, it is important to consider questions such as how works are selected for translation and how other systems, which also belong to the overarching polysystem, influence the norms and policies related to translations. (Munday 2016: 170–171, 175.)

Descriptive translation studies lay heavy emphasis on the target culture as a governing factor of what the translation product will be like. A translation is made in a specific cultural environment, and it is made to fulfill a purpose, a function, in that culture. According to Toury (2012: 6), "Translators may therefore be said to operate first and foremost in the interest of the culture into which they are translating", and all their choices, such as whether to favor domestication or foreignization, are made based on what features are given importance in the target culture, not based on any notion of inherent importance of a source text feature. The intended function of the translation determines its final linguistic form, which in turn determines the translation strategies that will be used. It should be noted that the translator strategies and the properties of the text created as a result of them also have an impact on the translation's position in the recipient system, but this is secondary to the function's impact on the text properties and the translator's strategies. (Toury 2012: 6–9.) All studies of translations must include an initial positioning of the translation in the target culture. Sometimes the study will, however, result in a revision of this position; the position can, in fact, only be established with adequate certainty at the end of the study. (Toury 2012: 24–25.)

According to Toury (2012: 8–10), empirical translation research always aims at eventual modification of the underlying translation theories. While not every descriptive study contains a revision of theories, they could be used for that purpose by other researchers, and the formulation of theoretical hypotheses and their empirical testing will form a circle that includes both the theoretical and the descriptive realm of translation studies. Eventually, this circle would enable the formulation of laws pertaining to translation. These laws must not be understood as absolute truths but as statements of likelihood "that a certain kind of behaviour, or surface realization, would occur under a particular set of conditions" (Toury 2012: 10). Thus the development of DTS has finally turned translation studies, long dominated by fragmented theoretical introspection, into a field of genuinely descriptive research that aims at the creation of a theory that has a strong empirical foundation.

Toury's view on practical applications of translation research is that while research can certainly be used as the basis of conclusions about appropriate practical applications, such conclusions should be drawn by the practitioner and not the researcher. Determination of the best translation methods is not a primary aim of translation research, and it is not the task of the researcher to tell a translator how to translate, or critics and translation teachers how to do their work. They must draw any such conclusions themselves. (Toury 2012: 11.) This principle, together with the denouncement of the source text as the yardstick against which translations were to be measured, constitutes a thorough rejection of the concept of equivalence as it has traditionally been understood in translation studies.

As was mentioned above, Toury's model of systematic descriptive translation studies begins with determining the position that the target text is intended to hold in the target culture. Toury (2012: 25) emphasizes the importance of intention, as only the intended position, and not the position that the translation actually ends up holding, can be assumed to have had an impact on the translator's choices. According to Toury, however, the text cannot be situated in the target culture with sufficient certainty until after the analysis has been carried out, and therefore any final conclusions about the position it holds must be drawn at a later stage of the study.

After placing the target text in its proper context, the actual analysis begins. Toury (2012: 32, 104, 106, 115) argues that as comparison of an entire text at once is impractical, smaller units must be examined. Another justification for looking at the text in bits and pieces is that this is the way in which a translator handles the text: not as a whole, but as a series of segments. For the analysis, the text is divided into segments and mapped onto its source text to form coupled pairs that allow closer study. The coupled pairs are determined based on the translation solutions that will be studied; the target text segment must contain the whole solution to the problem found in the source text segment. Only some aspects of the pairs can be compared within one analysis. These aspects will be analyzed with the help of concepts that relate to the aspects as they are found in both texts. In summary:

> Thus, it is the underlying theory, the aspects to be compared and the intermediary concepts that would ultimately determine the establishment of a coupled pair as a

unit of study, a pair which may well require continual changes and revisions. (Toury 2012: 107.)

In Toury's method (see Toury 2012: 116–117), the coupled pairs are organized so that the translation precedes the corresponding source text segment. This order reflects the aim of the analysis: to reveal the translator's decision-making. The results of this decision-making are only present in the target segment, and it can, in fact, never be assumed that any particular feature of the source text is reproduced in any form in the target text. Therefore, the target text must be the starting point for the analysis. Furthermore, segments of neither text can be selected in isolation of the other; both parts of the coupled pair to be examined must be established simultaneously. They determine each other.

The comparison of the coupled pair is expected to yield observations of translation shifts that have taken place. Toury wishes to make it clear that while translation shift is a useful concept, the occurrence of shifts must not be considered as a failure to achieve some notion of an ideal translation. Formal and functional correspondences and shifts must be studied without bias. The concept of equivalence is reintroduced, but in the form of an assumed equivalence that is postulated without question. The task of the researcher is then to discover how the equivalence is realized: what has changed during translation, and what has remained invariant. (Toury 2012: 110–113.)

As an academic field, descriptive translation studies aim at making generalizations about what kind of decisions translators make in their work. Patterns of decision-making are then said to constitute norms. (Munday 2016: 176.) A norm can only be said to exist where there is room for choice among alternatives. If choices are made consistently in recurring situations, a norm can be assumed to be at work. The observed regularities are the result of norms being active. The norm is the explanation behind the regularity, and must be recognized based on the regularity. (Toury 2012: 64–65.) The norms, once established, reveal the "underlying concept of translation" that is applied in that particular text (Toury 2012: 32). Toury presents a hierarchy of norms, which begins with what he calls the initial norm: the choice that the translator must make between source text orientation and target text orientation. At the second level, there are the preliminary norms, which dictate what is chosen for translation, and whether the translation is carried out directly from the source language or via another language. The

third level consists of operational norms, which govern the presentation and language of the target text. Operational norms are divided into matricial norms, which concern the completeness of the text, and textual-linguistic norms, which deal with linguistic choices within the text. (Munday 2016: 178–180.) The present study deals with textual-linguistic norms.

2.4. Aspects of literary translation

In this section, we will take a brief look into some characteristics of literary texts, and how these characteristics influence translation in the literary field. According to Nord (1997: 80–81), the position of the sender of a literary text is a special one: the sender is the author of the text, and if readers know who the author is, they form expectations based on this knowledge. Readers are also usually well acquainted with literary ways of expression. A certain competence is even required, for some text types more than for others. Literary texts need to be read differently from non-literary texts because the purpose of literary texts is not to describe the world directly, as it is, but to "motivate personal insights about reality by describing an alternative or fictional world" (Nord 1997: 80).

Nord (1997: 82–83) points out that literary texts have no common linguistic characteristics that they all would share and that could be used as a basis for a definition of literature. Instead, a text is defined as literary by its users in the communicative situation in which it is used. In other words, a reader recognizes the text as literature and reads it as such. In this, the reader is usually assisted by the extratextual environment, where the text may in one way or another be labeled as fiction, for example.

The author of the literary text has written the text with the aim of creating a certain effect, and has chosen textual elements for that purpose. A reader, however, interprets the text within his or her cultural context, drawing on previous experience from literary texts. The interpretation may or may not lead to the effect intended by the author. Literary texts are typically ambiguous, which leads to many possible interpretations, and the sender's intention is usually much more difficult to decipher in literary communication than in non-literary communication. A translator is only one reader, although one who carries a great responsibility: the intention of a translated text comes

from the author, but the translator must choose the textual elements to carry that intention to the readers. This leads to an illusion of a kind, as the translator actually translates his or her interpretation of what the author's intention has been. The reader of a translation, however, may well accept it as a direct manifestation of the author's intention. (Nord 1997: 84–85.)

All texts presuppose certain knowledge of the world. This poses a particular problem for literary translations, as there may be a wide gap between the cultural knowledge of the original intended readers of the source and that of the readers of the translation. Such situations require that the translator is able to verbalize a correct interpretation of the sender's intention so that the target receivers are able to interpret it correctly. In a manner of speaking, the translator should make the background knowledge of the source text audience and that of the target text audience match. (Nord 1997: 85–86.) There is an obvious contradiction between such requirements and the fact that the translator can only translate one interpretation of the text. The source text may also have readers in many different times (see Nord 1997: 90); for example, Pride and Prejudice has been read by English-speaking readers from early 1800s to this century. Should the translator then consider the function that the text has for current source text readers, and fulfil a similar function in the translation, or should she only consider the function that the text had for original readers in 1813? Such questions have no definite answers. Nord (1997: 91–92) believes that the only way to proceed is to allow translators to make their own decisions and to let them justify these decisions so that other members of the literary community – including readers – will understand what has been done.

3. THE SYSTEMIC FUNCTIONAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 An overview of systemic functional linguistics

M.A.K. Halliday's systemic functional linguistics (SFL) has been selected as the analytical framework for the present study. According to Munday and Zhang (2015: 326), SFL has been widely used in discourse analysis for the systematic investigation of the relationship between form and function; SFL is, in fact, the most important linguistic theoretical model for this purpose, and has also developed into a significant linguistic tool for translation studies. The importance of paradigmatic choice, an inherent component of SFL, is exactly in line with Jiri Levý's classic concept of translation as a decision process (Levý 2000/1967: 148–159). It would also be readily recognized by any translator as the basic nature of their daily work, and therefore has direct relevance for developing the theoretical understanding of a translator's work.

Before developing his full grammar of the English language, M.A.K. Halliday published a number of works on various aspects of language use, such as cohesion (see Halliday and Hasan 1976) and on how children learn their native language. In his 1978 book *Language as social semiotic* (1978:108) he lists a number of questions that need answering: How do people decode their utterances, and what role does the social system play in this decoding process? How do people reveal the environment in which their utterances must be interpreted? How is meaning potential deployed in real-world exchanges? To answer these questions, Halliday developed his systemic-functional grammar, and published the first edition of *An introduction to functional grammar* in 1985. Updates to this fundamental work have been published every 10 years, most recently in 2014 in the form of a fourth edition.

In systemic functional linguistics, languages are described as paradigmatic system networks (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014: 23). The distinction between the paradigmatic and the syntagmatic approach originates from the work of Ferdinand de Saussure, while the idea of a system as the primary paradigmatic relationship was

developed by J.R. Firth (Halliday 1978: 40). Traditional syntactic grammars see language as an inventory of structures that form other structures in a constituent relationship where each unit participates in the composition of a higher unit. To put it simply, in the syntactic approach the focus is on which words go together with which other words. Systemic functional linguistics also recognizes syntactic structures as an important part of the description of language, but not the defining characteristic of it; that position is held by the paradigmatic system where choices are made from the possible alternatives – the paradigm – to construct meaning. For example, the speaker or writer must choose whether they wish to use a positive or negative clause. These two alternatives together form the system of polarity. There are further choices available within the system: positivity and negativity may both be expressed in several different ways, some of which concern grammatical structures while others consist of lexical choices. These different ways in which the lexicogrammatic system may be used to manifest such features are thus said to vary in delicacy. (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014: 21–23.)

Instead of treating lexis and grammar as separate concepts, systemic functional linguistics includes them in a single lexicogrammatical system that can be represented as the lexicogrammar cline, or continuum. At one end of the continuum there are grammatical structures, while the other is held by the lexis, or individual words. In between, there are different kinds of wordings of varying generality, such as lexical sets that can also be seen as closed grammatical systems. The continuum can also be described in terms of delicacy: lexical choices are more delicate than grammatical ones. (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014: 64–66.)

In systemic functional linguistics, language is seen as an interplay of three lines of meaning which coexist in each clause. These three lines of meaning, realized as three types of functional configuration, are called metafunctions: the textual, interpersonal and experiential metafunction. The textual metafunction builds up discourse by organizing the clause into a theme and a rheme. The interpersonal metafunction deals with interaction between participants, allowing them to enact social relationships; this layer of meaning is built using the system of mood, which consists of a subject and a finite construction that includes a lexical verb and various finite elements. Clause types, modal verbs and the system of polarity (positive and negative clauses) are examples of linguistic systems that belong to the interpersonal level. The experiential metafunction

constructs representations of the actual (or imagined) world: participants, processes and circumstances. The experiential metafunction is realized using the system of transitivity, in which the constituents of the clause are assigned functional roles. (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014: 82–84, 104, 162.) In my analysis of the data of this study, I will apply the system of transitivity. The focus will be on process types. Halliday's system of process types in English will be explained in section 3.2 below, while section 3.3 constitutes a discussion of a similar system in Finnish. According to Munday (2016: 149–150), the textual metafunction, which is important for the production of cohesion in texts, has received the most attention among translation scholars, and the experiential and interpersonal metafunctions have been rather rarely studied. In the present study, an attempt is made to add to the research in the area of the experiential metafunction's role in the construction of meanings in the translation process.

Halliday does not place the metafunctions of language in a hierarchy; none of the metafunctions has priority over another, although researchers in various fields such as psycholinguistics or sociolinguistics tend to give precedence to one of them. When discourse is produced, meaning is generated at the same time within all metafunctions, not for example by choosing the experiential content first and then adding the mood – statement, question or command – on top of it. (Halliday 1978: 49–50.)

Register is an important concept in the understanding of different kinds of texts. While dialect is typical of a certain person, register is chosen according to the situation. (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014: 29; Halliday 1978: 35.) In his earlier work, Halliday (1978: 35, 110–111) defines register as "the configuration of semantic resources that the member of a culture typically associates with a situation type". A register does not only consist of linguistic structures – the lexicogrammar – but of the meaning potential that is available in the specific context. Halliday and Matthiessen (2014: 29), on the other hand, move the definition into a more practical direction: a register is "a functional variety of language [...] – the patterns of instantiation of the overall system associated with a given type of context." In any case, the concept of register, as understood here, does not refer to the simple dichotomy of formal and informal register, as it is often used; the concept applied here is much more complex and its implications more varied.

In order to discuss register, we need a method to define the context. Halliday (1978: 109–110) finds that it is necessary to define the situational context in which language is

used in terms of situation types, which are semiotic structures. Situation types can also be called social contexts, and they consist of the information that the hearer must have in order to interpret the utterances of the speaker correctly. The semiotic structure is a combination of three dimensions: "the ongoing social activity, the role relationships involved, and the symbolic or rhetorical channel" (Halliday 1978: 110). In Halliday's theory, these are referred to using the terms field, tenor and mode, respectively. This three-dimensional model provides for a conceptual framework for understanding the semiotic environment in which meanings are constructed. Based on an analysis of how each of these register variables affects language use, Halliday has concluded that these three variables are "the three kinds of meanings language is structured to make" and no other variables are therefore necessary (Eggins 2004: 109–110).

Field can be simply defined as the topic of discussion or the focus of an activity (Eggins 2004: 9). Halliday and Matthiessen (2014: 33) define it firstly as "the nature of the social and semiotic activity" and secondly as "the domain of experience this activity relates to (the 'subject matter' or 'topic')". At the most obvious level, change of topic will impact the content words that are used in a text (Eggins 2004: 103). On the other hand, it is quite possible that the ongoing activity, or the actual topic, is in no way reflected in the content words used in speech, leaving the topic a complete mystery to anyone who doesn't see the physical activity going on in the situation (Halliday 1978: 33.)

The term tenor refers to the roles that the participants take on in the situation. The roles may be institutional, status roles that reflect the equality or inequality of the participants, contact roles that reveal their familiarity on a continuum from strangers to intimates, or sociometric roles, which refer to "the degree of emotional charge", which may be neutral, positive or negative. (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014: 33; Martin 2011: 525; Halliday 1978: 33). Martin (2011: 526) points out that the emotional charge, also referred to as affect, may not be linguistically visible if status, contact roles or genre do not permit it, but they still exist and may be realized in other ways. In addition to these roles, tenor also includes the values that the participants of the situation hold, which may, again, be neutral or positively or negatively loaded (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014: 33).

Mode is the third constituent of context. As one of the aspects of social situations, mode refers to the "role that language and other semiotic systems play in the situation"

(Halliday and Matthiessen 2014: 33). The concept includes factors such as the channel of communication that is used (spoken or written), the spatial or interpersonal distance between the participants, and the distance between language and the process that takes place (whether the language relates to something that is immediately present, or whether it is used to report action that has occurred at another time and place) (Eggins 2004: 90–93). Halliday and Matthiessen (2014: 34) also mention rhetorical mode, which means the orientation of the text towards field or tenor, and turn-taking, or whether the discourse is dialogic or monologic in nature. All in all, mode will not be a focus of attention in the present study, and will receive only minimal attention, or none at all, in the analysis – depending on whether it will be judged to have influenced the choice of process types. It may perhaps be expected to do so with regard to spatial distance of participants.

According to Eggins, field is realized in a text through processes, participants and circumstances – that is, through the system of transitivity, the grammatical system which realizes the experiential function of language. Similarly, tenor would be realized through the mood system that reflects the interpersonal function, and mode would become visible in the system of theme and rheme that is associated with the textual function (Eggins 2004: 110–111; see also Munday 2016: 144). This clear-cut division of tasks will, however, be set aside in the present study in order to pursue a more flexible understanding of how social context and linguistic choices are related to each other: as part of the study, I will examine the construction of characters, but I will not be doing this by an examination of the interpersonal metafunction. Instead, I will investigate the role that the system of transitivity plays in the construction of characters.

3.2 Process types in English

Halliday and Matthiessen (2014: 213) describe experience as a flow of events that involves change, which is represented in the grammar of the clause. Change is expressed as "happening, doing, sensing, saying, being or having". These constitute *figures*, which consist of three components: a process that unfolds through time, the participants that are directly involved in what takes place, and circumstances, such as time, space, cause or manner. By imposing order on our experience, the clause functions as reflection of reality; this function is separate from the clause's function as immediate

action of giving or demanding goods, services or information. The grammatical system used to express the flow of events is called transitivity. Transitivity centers on the process, expressed by the paradigmatic system of process types embodied in a verb. The process types have different models, or schema, of clauses connected to them. In the following, I provide a brief summary of the process types and the most important participants connected to them. For a full presentation of the system, please refer to Halliday and Matthiessen (2014: 211–310).

Halliday and Matthiessen (2014: 214–217, 300) find three major and three minor process types in the English language. The major process types are material, mental and relational processes, complemented by the minor types of behavioral, verbal and existential processes. The three major process types are by far the most common, and have distinct structural characteristics. The minor process types are located between the major process types in a circular model: behavioral processes are placed between mental and material processes, existential processes between material and relational processes, and verbal processes between relational and mental processes. The borderlines between all these categories are fuzzy, and a circular continuum of countless process types could be distinguished, proceeding from grammatical categories towards more and more delicate lexical categories. Each of the six process types has prototypical members which are easy to classify, but also many borderline cases, which could be justified as belonging to either one of the categories on each side of the border. This inherently fuzzy organization of process types reflects the principle of *systemic indeterminacy*; because our experience of the world is indeterminate, so must the language be, offering many alternative ways of construing each experience.

Material clauses have been found to be the most frequent process type of the English language. In material clauses, the verb indicates a process that is being done or happening, resulting in some kind of change. This process is often concrete, e.g. *The earthquake damaged the house*, but may also be abstract, such as *Our prospects were damaged by poor price development*. Material clauses may be intransitive or transitive; in both of these, there is an Actor, but transitive clauses also receive a Goal. Other possible participants of material clauses include Scope, Recipient, Client and Attribute. The Actor is the logical subject of the clause, and typically coincides with the grammatical subject, except in passive voice, where it is found in an adjunct position.

The Goal is the participant that the process is directed at. (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014: 215, 224–226, 236, 243.)

Material processes can be divided into subgroups according to their outcome. In creative clauses, the Actor (if the clause is intransitive) or Goal (if the clause is transitive) comes into existence as a result of the process. In transformative clauses, which is a rather extensive category, the Actor or Goal that already exists is transformed in some way; clauses that describe destruction are also included in the category of transformative clauses. The transformative process may also be constructed as an ongoing activity, in which case there is no separate outcome state, e.g. *Her ring glittered in the sun*. Instead, the unfolding of the process itself can be interpreted as the outcome, consisting of the intransitive Actor or the transitive Goal being in operation in some way. (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014: 229–231.)

Mental clauses describe things that happen in a person's consciousness, such as *People annoy me*. They can be used to construe processes of emotion, cognition, perception or desiring; examples include liking, thinking, noticing and hoping. Mental clauses have a Senser, whose nature is restricted to beings that are seen as being able to sense – as having a consciousness. While the Senser is not always human or even animate, it always adopts this human-like characteristic. The second main element in a mental clause is the Phenomenon, the thing that is being for example liked, remembered or noticed. It can be chosen quite freely, and can be a thing, an act expressed using a non-finite clause, or a fact. The content of the mental process can also be expressed as a projection, an idea clause that states what is being thought or believed, for example. Idea clauses are not a part of the mental clause but merely combined with them. (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014: 245–257.)

Relational clauses, which are the second most common clause type after material clauses, describe being and having, using the verbs such as be, become, seem or have. Relational clauses are used to characterize and identify conscious beings, acts and facts. These clauses are static by nature, and describe static location, possession or quality; in contrast, changes in any of these are expressed using material clauses. Relational clauses do not express being in the sense of existing, but as a relationship between two elements where something is or has something else. The two main relationships that are expressed are class-membership (attributive relational clauses) and identity (identifying

relational clauses). These may be distinguished from one another for example by reversing the order of the participants: identifying clauses are reversible, while attributive clauses are not. There are also differences in which lexical verbs are used to express each type of relational process. (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014: 215, 259–265, 268.)

Attributive and identifying clauses are thus the two modes of relational clauses. On another scale, relational clauses can be divided into intensive (e.g. *Mary is nice*), possessive (e.g. *Mary has a little dog*) and circumstantial clauses (e.g. *Mary is at school*) according to the type of relation between the two participants. These two systems, the mode and the type, combine to form six categories. (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014: 263.)

In addition to the three major process types described above, the system of transitivity, as described in SFL, includes three minor process types: behavioral, verbal and existential processes. As was mentioned above, behavioral processes are located between material and mental processes in the circular semantic presentation of process types. Behavioral processes represent physiological and psychological behavior by a typically conscious Behaver, e.g. *She laughed out loud*. The requisition of a conscious Behaver reminds us of mental processes, where a conscious Senser was necessary; however, the behavioral process itself is more like a material process. (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014: 216, 301.)

Verbal processes are most frequently used when presenting sequences of discourse, where they usually receive a human-like Sayer, e.g. *My aunt told us to shut up*. In English, they can also be used in a symbolic manner with a non-human Sayer, which makes them different from behavioral and mental processes. However, it must be noted that in many other languages the Sayer is restricted to actual speakers and writers. The thing that is being said is presented by a separate clause, and is thus not a participant of the verbal process, but there may be other participants present in a verbal clause: a Receiver, a Verbiage or a Target. The Receiver is the one to whom the thing is being said, while the Target is an entity towards which the saying is targeted; a Target can only be found with special kinds of lexical verbs such as accuse or praise, e.g. *He accused as of having stolen his book*, where *us* is the Target. The Verbiage is a participant that

describes what is being said, without actually quoting it. (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014: 302–307.)

Finally, existential processes represent things that exist or happen, e.g. *There were a lot of kids at the playground* or *There was much going on*. Their only participant is the Existent, which can be used to represent a wide variety of things that exist. In the English language, existential clauses typically contain the word *there*, which holds no actual position as either a participant or a circumstance in the system of transitivity. Existential clauses are not very frequent, but fulfill the important task of introducing various entities. When representing material things that exist, the meaning of an existential clause can be very close to that of a material clause. As a special subtype, meteorological processes are stated to be located at the borderline between existential and material processes, but are nevertheless introduced under existential processes. Should they occur in the present data, they will therefore be classified as existential processes. (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014: 307–310.)

3.3 Search for a system of process types in Finnish

Kim and Matthiessen (2015: 342) point out that "reliable and systematic analysis of texts in a particular language cannot be carried out until we have a relevant description of that language". Descriptions of the Finnish language have of course existed for a long time, but for the present study, a description in systemic functional terms is necessary. Such a description has been proposed by Susanna Shore in her doctoral thesis from 2012. As this is the only systemic-functional description of Finnish that I was able to find, I will take it up for discussion. In this section, I will briefly describe Shore's proposal for a system of process types in the Finnish language, and explain why I have chosen not to apply it in the present study. It must be noted that the scope of the present study only allows a cursory sketch of Shore's model and a brief consideration of where it differs from Halliday's model; the following is therefore by no means meant to be seen as an actual assessment of Shore's model.

English and Finnish are very different languages and members of different language families. Therefore, it is only to be expected that significant differences exist between their lexicogrammatical systems. Both languages are, however, part of the modern

Western world, which is a fairly unified cultural realm. Many similarities exist in people's sphere of experience across all Western countries, and from a semiotic perspective, similar phenomena are typically described in both English and Finnish. The structures of the two languages do, however, differ greatly from each other. When considering Susanna Shore's systemic functional grammar of Finnish, and her account of the process types in particular, it becomes evident that the extremely rich formal system of case used in Finnish has often led her to make distinctions that do not exist in English.

Susanna Shore bases her description of the systemic functional grammar of Finnish on Halliday's systemic functional grammar of English, albeit an earlier version than the one used in the present study. She also refers to grammars of Finnish, particularly to the theory of syntax presented by Hakulinen and Karlsson (1979). Perhaps due to the influence of Finnish linguists, the transitivity system that Shore presents seems to have retained more reference to traditional grammatical form than Halliday's model.

One of the most important implications of Halliday's three-layered model is that the different ways in which the layers are mapped together provide us with insight into the way meaning is created. For example, if the goal of the action (a concept of the experiential layer of meaning) takes on the position of the subject (a concept of the interpersonal layer), the meaning that is construed in the clause will be different from the meaning construed in a clause which has all the same words and describes the same action, but assigns the position of the subject to the actor. (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014: 76–81.) Shore (1992: 206), however, states in her presentation of the transitivity system that "while grammatical analysis in SF theory is based on meaning, these meanings must be related to distinctions that are reflected in some way in the organization of the clause". She also calls for a linguistic definition of the metafunctions in terms of "grammatical constrasts and oppositions" (Shore 1992: 209). It seems that she is referring to the traditional formal grammar of the clause, and she does, in fact, repeatedly refer to distinctions at the level of formal grammar (notably, the Finnish system of case) to justify her systemic-functional model. She also seems to mix together the interpersonal and the experiential layer of meaning to some extent. Below, I will briefly discuss some examples of how this becomes evident from her treatment of the experiential metafunction. At this point, however, I wish to make it clear that I will not give formal grammatical categories a similar position in my analysis of the data. This

will necessarily lead to differences between Shore's model and the model that I will adopt.

For the most part, Shore uses Halliday's terms for process types; however, she states that the categories are not in fact fully equivalent in the two languages. Shore lists three major process types in Finnish: relational, material and mental processes. Within each of these, she distinguishes several subtypes. (Shore 1992: 213–214.) In the following, I will look into each of Shore's process types and compare them to Halliday's categories.

Material processes construe doings and happenings, and often require an Actor. Shore discusses three special subtypes of material processes: meteorological, experiencer and behavioural processes. (Shore 1992: 256–257, 265.) Shore thus includes behavioural processes, which Halliday lists as a separate, minor process type, into material processes. She does, however, place them into the borderline area between mental and material processes, just as Halliday does (Shore 1992: 265). In my analysis of the data, I will treat behavioural processes as a separate category.

Shore's category of experiential material processes calls for some scrutiny. In Finnish, experiencer processes entail a special grammatical structure in which the finite verb is always in the third person, and the experiencer, expressed by a noun phrase, is in partitive and considered the object, not the subject of the clause: e.g. *minua ärsyttää* (I am annoyed) (see Shore 1992: 267). From a semantic point of view, such constructions would certainly be included in mental processes; they seem to be held apart only by their grammatical form. To demonstrate the matter further, in English, both *Mary liked the gift* and *The gift pleased Mary* are treated as mental clauses, only differing in directionality (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2014: 256); in Shore's model for Finnish, however, their counterparts *Mary piti lahjasta* and *Lahja miellytti Marya* would be seen as belonging to different process types, the latter being included in experiencer processes and thus in material processes. I see no other basis for this distinction than the different subject-object configuration, resulting from the fact that in the latter example, the person experiencing the mental process is expressed using a grammatical case that cannot, in Shore's opinion, be adopted by the subject of a Finnish sentence. Considerations regarding the subject, however, belong to the interpersonal layer of meaning and should not be relevant for the experiential meaning. In view of Halliday's

systemic functional grammar, therefore, experiencer processes should be included in mental processes, and will be included in that category in the present study.

Meteorological processes are the third subtype of material processes in Shore's model. Halliday, on the other hand, places them under the minor process type category of existential processes and states that they do in fact occupy the borderline between existential and material processes (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2014: 309.) Shore's process type model does not include existential processes. She discusses the Finnish clause type that has been referred to as existential clause in previous grammars of the Finnish language, including Hakulinen and Karlsson (1979: 93) who define it as *locative + verb + NP* (e.g. *Täällä on autoja*). However, Shore does not seem to make an attempt to fit this clause type into Halliday's model (Shore 1992: 292–301). According to Halliday and Matthiessen (2014: 308–309), the English existential clause has a special formal structure, requiring the existential *there*, which is of course absent from Finnish. It might be argued that at this point, Halliday places too much emphasis on a matter of formal grammar, and that existential clauses should, in fact, be classified as relational clauses; this is the approach adopted by Stillar (1998: 25). The inclusion of existential clauses into relational clauses could also be justified by the fact that Halliday's category of relational clauses includes circumstantial clauses that express location (e.g. *The cat is in the well*). Existential clauses could be seen as a subtype of this type of relational clauses, *there* functioning as a placeholder for the omitted location indication. To increase the confusion, Bloor and Bloor (1995: 125) include into existential processes some clauses that contain a location indication and no placeholder. For the purposes of the present study, however, I will not enter deeper into such considerations, but will accept Halliday's definition of existential clauses and also treat the Finnish clauses described here as existential clauses. As a whole, relational clauses are a category of immense complexity in both Finnish and English, and would certainly yield plenty of interesting subjects for both theoretical and empirical study.

The category of mental processes, as presented by Shore (1992: 274), includes both mental and verbal processes; she makes no fundamental distinction between processes of internal consciousness and the external verbalization of that consciousness. Furthermore, she assumes a human Senser or Sayer for both processes, presumably because it is not in fact usual for inanimate objects (e.g. signs) to be depicted as saying anything in Finnish; instead, a passive construction is normally used, as in *kyltissä*

sanottiin. In Halliday's account, Sensers either are human or adopt human-like characteristics, while inanimate Sayers are quite normal (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014: 249, 304). These differences between the languages are not expected to create difficulties for the analysis, and Halliday's category of verbal processes can and will therefore be applied to the Finnish data as well.

Shore (1992: 214) divides relational processes into two subgroups, intensive and circumstantial processes. In section 3.2, we saw that in addition to these two categories, Halliday's model also includes a third one, possessive processes. Shore (1992: 214), however, treats possessive processes as a subtype of circumstantial relational processes. As a further difference, Halliday establishes a system of attributive and identifying processes, which intersects the system of intensive, possessive and circumstantial processes, resulting in a total of six categories (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014: 263). Shore, on the other hand, only recognizes the division between attributive and identifying processes within the category of intensive processes (Shore 1992: 214). In my analysis, I will not go into these distinctions, and will only deal with relational processes as a unified group. These differences between Halliday's and Shore's models will therefore not be relevant to the present study.

All in all, there are both similarities and differences between Halliday's and Shore's models. The same major process type categories have been found by both Halliday and Shore in their analyses of their respective languages: material, mental and relational process types are central in both cases. But while Halliday presents a very balanced system of three major and three minor process types, neatly placed into a circular model where one minor process type is found between each pair of major process types, Shore's classification is more complex, and all minor types are placed within the major process types, not between them. The differences could be largely explained by the prototype-based categorization system utilized by both; since the categories are not meant to be clear-cut, but overlapping and somewhat fuzzy, some differences in how they are seen and accounted for are natural, and could be interpreted as a matter of perspective instead of a real difference between the systems.

However, fundamental differences between the two models cannot be ignored. At the beginning of this section, I quoted Kim and Matthiessen (2015: 342) who called for a description of a language as the necessary precondition for any "reliable and systematic

analysis of texts" in that language. Based on my brief examination of Susanna Shore's description of the Finnish language, I am forced to conclude that it does not meet my need for a systemic functional description of Finnish, mainly due to its overwhelming reference to formal grammar as a basis of systemic functional distinctions. In the present study, I reject categorizations that are based on grammatical form, including the system of case found in Finnish. Instead, I will assign verbs to process types based on their semantic properties, with additional clues offered by the participant roles connected to them. This means that I will follow Halliday's categories as far as the Finnish language can be fitted into them. This is also expected to be a useful approach because it will ensure that the two languages will be analyzed using a commensurate model, providing a stronger ground for conclusions. Halliday's model has also been previously used in the analysis of Finnish, for example in Heikkinen's (2000) study of the language of administration. It has thus already been tested for this purpose, and the present study could be seen as constituting an additional test on the model's suitability for the analysis of Finnish.

4. RESEARCH DESIGN

4.1 Research questions

The present study aims to make explicit the role of cultural factors behind some linguistic choices made in translations. This is done by formulating the translational norms that guide these choices, first as simple proportions of shifted and non-shifted translations and second by establishing the relationship between a norm and the cultural factors behind it. The specific linguistic system that will be examined is the system of transitivity patterns, as described in systemic functional linguistics. Focus will be on the choice of process types and the related participant roles.

The research questions for this study are divided in two sets. The first set of questions deals with the process types found in the text and the translational norms regarding their reproduction in the translation. I begin with a quantitative analysis of the process types and proceed to a similarly quantitative analysis of translation shifts. The purpose of the quantitative analysis of process types is to establish which process types have been preferred in the source text and which in the target text, and whether there are differences between the two. Next, the translational norms are deduced based on the proportions of process types and the quantitative analysis of shifts. The final research question in the first set aims at establishing possible cultural reasons for the distribution of process types and the translational shifts that have taken place.

The second set of research questions deals with the participant roles as a means of constructing characters in the source text and in the translation. This set is closely related to the first one, as each process type determines which participant roles are possible in the clause. Like the first set of questions, this one also begins with a quantitative analysis of the data, aiming to establish the distribution of participant roles for various characters. The next research question aims at establishing the translational norms regarding participant roles. The impact that the choice of participant roles has on the construction of characters is addressed in the third question of this set. With the last question of the set, an attempt is made to establish the cultural factors behind any

changes that have taken place in the construction of characters during the translation process.

The research questions are formulated as follows:

1. Translational norms

1.A What is the distribution of process types in the source text and in the translation?

1.B What kinds of translation shifts have taken place during the translation?

1.C Based on the distributions of process types and the analysis of translation shifts, what are the translational norms regarding process types that the translator has followed?

1.D What factors of the social contexts of the texts can be identified behind the translational norms that the translator has followed?

2. Description of characters

2.A Which participant roles are ascribed to the characters in the source text and in the translation?

2.B What are the translational norms regarding participant roles that the translator has followed?

2.C How do these participant roles build, sustain or change the identity of the characters in the source text and in the translation?

2.D What factors of the social contexts of the texts can be identified behind the construction of characters through participant roles?

4.2 Selection of data

The data of the present study is selected from two texts, two works of literature, that at the same time constitute a source text and its translation: Pride and Prejudice (1813; a reprint from 1992 was used as an actual source for data) by Jane Austen and Ylpeys ja ennakkoluulo (2013), translated by Kersti Juva. The texts have been published 200 years apart, which means that their target audiences are not only found in different countries, but are also separated by this temporal chasm. The sociocultural contexts in which each work has been produced and published are therefore vastly different, even

though both can be said to belong to a Western, or European, cultural hemisphere. Readers of the translation can be assumed to have some degree of knowledge of the source text's sociocultural context, ranging from a very rudimentary knowledge of dress and the rules of social interaction to detailed expertise on the history and social systems of the era as well as the daily lives of the middle and upper social classes described in the text.

From these two texts, I have selected three passages which describe a situation in which there exists a conflict of interests between the participants. This basis for selection was adopted because in such situations, the participants were expected to apply a greater variety of expression as rules of politeness are dropped to a varying degree. Differences in the authentic way of communicating in the two languages and within their respective cultures were also assumed to show in the text more clearly in scenes that involve conflict, in contrast to situations in which the communication is calm and measured. By selecting the data as complete scenes of the story, I could avoid using selection grounds that might only exist in either the source or the target text, and be absent from the other. This could have been the case if formal or functional characteristics of individual clauses had been used as the selection basis. As a result, I would have been forced to give precedence to one of the two texts when selecting data. Toury strongly advocates giving precedence to the target text, but also states that when defining the coupled pairs for study, both parts of the pair must be established based on each other, not by choosing one of them first and then the other based on the first one (Toury 2012: 117).

The selected passages were the following:
1. From chapter 19, the passage that starts with "Believe me, my dear Elizabeth" and ends in "my proposals will not fail of being acceptable".
2. From chapter 34, the passage that starts with "In vain have I struggled" and ends in "and accept my best wishes for your health and happiness".
3. From chapter 56, the passage that starts with "You can be at no loss, Miss Bennet" and ends in "I am most seriously displeased".

In the analysis, I wished to examine character development through dialogue, and therefore excluded any narrator sequences from the selected passages. During the analysis process, I also excluded coupled pairs where neither member of the pair contained a finite transitivity pattern with nominated character participants. This was

done for practical reasons of clarity, and because character development was one of the areas of focus in the study. To retain focus on the experiential metafunction, any typographical means of expression or emphasis, such as italics, were removed from the texts.

4.3 The analysis method

A social system provides its members with certain options for how to perform actions. From a linguistic perspective, people do things by making a choice between these options and encoding it into language. When we study the language that has been used in a certain situation, we are in fact examining the choices that the speakers have made within the social system that they are part of. (Halliday 1978: 42.) In the present data, there are two levels of communication process participants: firstly, the author and the translator, and secondly, the narrator and the characters within the text who engage in dialogue. The second level of communication is examined in order to reveal the first level of communication: the choices of the author and, more importantly in the present case, those of the translator.

The analysis of the data was expected to reveal how the characters had been constructed, and what impact the social contexts outside the text had had on the forming of the characters. It was assumed that the social context within which the texts had been published had guided the linguistic choices made in the texts. In this study, however, these aspects were only considered with reference to the target text. Although the social context of the source text was included in the preliminary consideration of the data, no conclusions were drawn based on it.

In the practical performance of the present study, the method of Gideon Toury's Descriptive Translation Studies was followed. The analysis began with a preliminary consideration of the source and the target text's position and function in their respective cultural contexts (see section 5.1). As was mentioned in section 2.3 above, Toury considers this an important part of any study of translation. The target text's position and function in the target culture was revisited at the end of the analysis of the data in order to consider whether the preliminary conclusions of the text's position and function should be revised based on the data analysis results.

Before starting out the quantitative analysis, the context of the selected passages was first defined in terms of field, tenor and mode. Of these, field and tenor received the most attention, as mode was expected to remain similar in all passages. As to the field, the nature of the activity in which the participants engage was defined. Since the selected passages consisted mainly of dialogue and there were hardly any other activities going on, the nature and topic of the dialogue were of primary importance. As to the tenor, the identity, social position and mutual relationship of the participants, as well as their attitude to each other, were extremely important contextual factors for the construction of the dialogue.

According to the method of the descriptive translation studies, the translation must be divided into segments and mapped on the source text to form coupled pairs that will then be subjected to more detailed scrutiny. The selection of the coupled pairs is done on an ad hoc basis, based on the particular translation solutions that are studied and on the theoretical concepts that will be used in the analysis. The primary rule is that the target text segment must contain the whole solution to the problem found in the source text segment. My focus of study were transitivity patterns that involved human participants, and I analyzed the patterns using the theoretical concepts of process types and participants as described in systemic functional linguistics. Therefore, I established segments as finite clauses that included a process verb and the participants involved in the process expressed by the verb. Both language versions were analyzed to find all such segments. The distribution of process types in the Finnish and English data was then established at this stage (see section 5.2). The exclusion of non-finite processes from this stage of the analysis will be explained later in this chapter.

Next, I mapped these segments on the other language version to form coupled pairs. The definition of a coupled pair was expected to pose some problems, as the clauses of a literary text were expected to show a rich variation of form – which may again change greatly in translation, resulting in problems regarding the definition of exact correspondences between the texts. This proved to be the case, and not all segments had a pair of an equal structure – a finite process and nominated human participants. Instead, one of the segments in many coupled pairs turned out to be 1) a finite structure with no nominated human participants, 2) a non-finite structure with or without nominated human participants, 3) a noun structure or 4) a null counterpart, which meant

that the process was not at all present in the other language version. The analysis thus resulted in many coupled pairs where there was a shift between a finite process with at least one nominated human participant, and a different clause type. These were included in the quantitative analysis of translation shifts.

In Toury's method, the coupled pairs are organized so that the target precedes the source. This is not the order in which translations have traditionally been considered. To adopt the traditional order of a source text preceding the target text would, however, easily lead to the idea that a relationship of equivalence should be maintained between them. As the present study does not aim to evaluate the achievement of equivalence, i.e. how accurately the target text follows the source text, I have decided to follow the method of descriptive translation studies in this point as well.

After establishing segments and coupled pairs, I proceeded to analyze the source text segments and the target text segments to establish the process types used in them, and to consider whether a translation shift had taken place (see section 5.3). To allow an analysis of shifts between more delicate categories, I analyzed mental clauses in more detail. As the final section in the examination of shifts, I looked at shifts between finite process clauses with nominated character participants, and other clause types. Based on the frequency and types of shifts, I then aimed to establish the translational norms that the translator had followed (chapter 6). Finally, I considered the cultural implications that the process types selected in each language may have. Due to the limited scope of the present study, I focused on individual clauses. Although, as Kim and Matthiessen (2015: 340) state, systemic functional linguistics always aims at understanding text-level semantic features, I was forced to leave out the role that individual clauses play in the unfolding of meaning in more extensive sections of text.

According to Toury (2012: 80), translation always involves shifts, some of which are obligatory and others non-obligatory; obligatory shifts take place because of the systemic differences that exist between the source and the target language. In my analysis, I made an attempt to take into account whether shifts were obligatory, although no systematic analysis of these was carried out. As obligatory changes are ones that cannot be avoided due to the nature of the languages, they should not be considered to be of great importance when reconstructing translation norms.

When analyzing clauses, I also paid attention to the participant roles connected to the process types, focusing on how various roles are distributed between the primary characters of the selected passages (see section 5.4). Sometimes characters were referred to via other characters; in these cases, I decided to place primary importance on the character who was mentioned in the clause, even if they were not the character who was actually being referred to. For example, Mr Fitzwilliam Darcy is referred to as *your nephew* in excerpt 3 of the data. The *you* of the clause is Lady Catherine de Bourgh; Mr Darcy is her nephew. Because Lady Catherine was the one mentioned, I recorded her as the participant, marked in the analysis with the additional attribute *proxy*; in the case of this example, [LCproxy]. Another possible course of action would have been to mark as participant the character that was actually being referred to (in this example, Mr Darcy), even if the reference was via another character. The purpose of this practice was to lay adequate importance to the language used to refer to the characters, as an indicator of who is considered important enough to merit mentioning. There is a reason why the speaker, in this example Elizabeth Bennet, refers to Mr Darcy as *your nephew*, instead of using his name; she clearly wants to draw Lady Catherine into the process as a participant.

When analyzing the participant roles, I made note of all the roles assigned to actual characters in the book, but not those assigned to an indefinite individual or group such as *A clergyman like you* in the clause *A clergyman like you must marry*. Clauses such as this, which contained no nominated character participant, were not included in the data. Furthermore, only main characters were noted by name; others were only marked as [other], and were not included in the analysis of participant roles.

All systems of modality and polarity – of modifying the processes and expressing them as positive or negative – were excluded from the analysis because they belong to the interpersonal level of language, which falls outside the scope of the present study. Therefore, no final conclusions of the participant's attitudes towards each other could be drawn from the analysis. The focus was only on what kinds of processes the characters were shown to be engaged in, and what roles they were depicted as adopting; this is the only way in which we found out things about them in the present analysis.

The main part of the present study is quantitative, focusing on proportions of process types, participant roles and coupled pairs that contain shifts. Following a quantitative

analysis, connections between the results and the social and cultural contexts were sought. This can be considered to constitute the qualitative section of the study.

Before beginning the analysis, one more issue needed to be addressed: that of locating the lexical item that carries the process type. The process type is expressed in the verbal group of the clause – to be more precise, in the lexical verb within the verbal group. The wide structural variety found within the verb clause, however, often results in difficulties in establishing which of the verbs in the verbal group is the actual process that the participants are involved in. Modal verbs, which operate at the level of interpersonal meaning in the systemic functional model of language, are relatively easy to exclude from the analysis. More difficulty is created by abstract verbs which are close to modal verbs in meaning and function and which combine with an infinite verb form like they do, but which are not included in the very strictly limited category of modal verbs.

According to Halliday and Matthiessen (2014: 568), a complex verbal group consists of two groups: the primary group, which is either finite or non-finite and carries the mood of the clause, and a dependent secondary group, which is non-finite and carries the process type of the clause. If there are several secondary groups in the verbal group, the last one of these is the one that carries the process type. I will follow this principle in the present analysis to locate the process type of each clause. The data includes for example the following Finnish clause:

Te ette kehtaa ettekä voi kieltää,

The verbal group of this clause consists of two primary groups in parataxis, and one shared secondary group, which forms a hypotaxis with the primary groups. Both primary groups contain a negative verb (*ette/ettekä*). The first primary group also contains the verb *kehtaa*, which modulates the manner of the following process (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2014: 574). The second primary group contains the modal verb *voi*. There is only one actual process in this clause, expressed by the secondary group's verb *kieltää*. However, the verb *kehtaa* creates a problem that is discussed in the next paragraph.

There is a special group of verbs which break the rule that the process type is expressed by the last verb in the verbal group. This special group consists of verbs that express behavior. When they are used in a conative hypotactic verbal group (where conation is expressed by verbs such as try, attempt, or succeed), in particular, they impose the role of Behaver on the subject of the clause, regardless of what other participant pattern is imposed by the actual process verb of the clause that is found in the last position of the verbal group. (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014: 568, 578.) Let us look at the following example:

John tried to paint the fence carefully.

The material process verb *paint* gets an Actor (*John*) and Goal (*the fence*). However, John is not only the Actor who paints, but also the Behaver who tries. Since these double interpretations carry an important meaning in the clause, they are not specifically excluded from the present study, but as they are not central to this study, I will deal with them in as simple a manner as possible, and will not endeavor to analyze all the rich nuances of verbal groups. In the data, there are cases where such a behavior structure is expressed using a separate process verb in the other language. When considering translation shifts between different process types and other clause types, the behavioral structure has been entered into the general category of finite structures to avoid giving undue attention to this type of shifts.

Processes are often constructed using non-finite verb forms as well as finite ones; Halliday and Matthiessen (2014: 568) state that the primary group of the verbal group may be finite or non-finite. For clarity's sake, however, I have chosen to exclude from the analysis coupled pairs where neither of the members contain a finite verb. Finite constructions have relatively clear participant patterns and are expected to create fewer problems for the analysis. Non-finite constructions are, however, taken into account in cases where a translation shift from a finite (with nominated character participants) to a non-finite construction, or vice versa, has taken place.

All in all, the complexity of language in a literary work such as the Pride and Prejudice is such that errors, not to mention points of dispute, cannot be avoided in the analysis. A close scrutiny would probably reveal many problematic instances in the analysis of verbs and participants in the present study. In many cases, two or more interpretations

would have been possible, and I have made the choice between them based on considerations that could certainly often be called to question. The fuzzy nature of process type categories also leaves many cases open to interpretation; for example, is the Finnish verb *kehdata*, mentioned above, a verb of behavior or a mental verb? It has the meaning *to dare*, but this is far from being the only interpretation of the verb. Large portions of the systemic functional model were also left out of the analysis, which has had an impact on the analysis. I can only say that I have carried out the analysis to the best of my abilities and as carefully as possible in the available timeframe, making choices that I have considered justified.

5. ANALYSIS OF DATA

In this chapter, I will first establish the position of the source and target texts in their respective cultural and literary contexts, as these are important preconditions to the formation of literary works. This section constitutes a background analysis, and does not answer any specific research questions. In the second section of the chapter, I will look at the distribution of verb types in the data, and how this distribution could be explained by the context of the scenes where the dialogues take place. In a manner of speaking, the question that this section asks is: <u>what kind of</u> pictures does the translator paint, compared to the author of the source text? This underlying research problem is reflected in research question 1.A. The third section of the chapter provides a more detailed analysis of the shifts that have taken place during translation. In that part of the analysis, I ask <u>how</u> the translator has painted her picture of the scenes. This section aims to answer research question 1.B and provide evidence for research question 1.C which will be answered in a more explicit manner in chapter 6. In the final section of this chapter (section 5.4), I will consider the construction of the main characters who participate in the three scenes. Due to restrictions of space, I must limit my focus to four characters. This section will aim to answer research question 2.A directly, and to provide data for answering research questions 2.B and 2.C. Research questions 1.D and 2.D, which deal with the social context behind the translational norms, will be considered in chapter 6.

5.1 The texts in their cultural contexts

I begin the analysis of the novel by discussing the function and position of the source text and the translation in their cultural contexts. Both texts have held different positions in their respective cultures at different times, and attitudes towards the texts and their author have changed; we will look at these different positions in order to understand how the current position of these texts has formed, and what the texts mean to a modern reader.

5.1.1 Preliminary assessment of the source text's position

Pride and Prejudice was first published in 1813. The name of the author was not printed on it. Reviews were favorable, but the popularity of the works was moderate; Austen's novels in general lacked the passionate emotions and drama that were popular in the literary field of the time. Pride and Prejudice was republished in 1830s with the rest of Austen's works, and remained in print since. Her works were not, however, best-sellers. (Wikipedia: Reception history of Jane Austen: n.d.) Pyrhönen (2014: 29 observes that after her death in 1817 it had seemed, in fact, that her works would soon be forgotten.

Austen's popularity grew in the Victorian era with the publication of her biography by her nephew James Edward Austen-Leigh. Austen's novels were considered to be suitable for women and families to read and popular editions of the novels were published. Critics recognized the worth of Austen's novels as deep and sophisticated works of literature. Not all, however, appreciated them, and they were criticized for being of a narrow scope, mere domestic comedies. (Wikipedia: Reception history of Jane Austen: n.d.) Pyrhönen (2014: 50) states that in this period, Austen's novels were largely read as a defense of conservatism and a description of a former ideal society, and the irony of the works was often lost.

Wikipedia (Reception history of Jane Austen: n.d.) gives an account of how the popularity of Austen's works continued to increase in the 1900s. The novels began to attract fervent admiration, but also serious study. After World War II, her position as a political writer began to be debated. Some saw her as a conservative writer who never attacked the established order. Other heard echoes of resistance and the wish to challenge the patriarchy in her work. There are conflicting opinions of whether and to what degree Austen wanted to criticize the social order, but it has been argued that she was not isolated from political controversies. She did, however, take a predominantly conservative view on society.

According to Wikipedia (Reception history of Jane Austen: n.d.), Jane Austen has been considered by some even a feminist writer. In any case, she cannot escape being classified as a woman writer and as such, necessarily a political one. Interest in her has also served to increase interest in other female writers. Her work, particularly *Mansfield Park*, has also been firmly connected with criticism of slavery.

Several films and television adaptations have been made from the Pride and Prejudice. The most important of these are a 1940 Hollywood film, in which the characters, costumes and story underwent many modifications, the television adaptations from 1980 and 1995, of which the latter has been hugely popular, and the film from 2005, which saw much modification of dialogue. It was, however, also generally well received. (see e.g. Wikipedia: Pride and Prejudice: n.d.)

This filmography may perhaps be used to track the development of attitudes towards the original work of literature as well: in the 1940 Hollywood film, the story was used as a material for entertainment. The 1980 television series is a very serious adaptation with reserved emotions and unnatural acting, and it seems that immense respect for the source text has prevented any breath of fresh air from entering the adaptation. The 1995 adaptation was infinitely more lively, even containing traces of sexuality and portraying the characters as living and breathing human beings. It was still very faithful to the novel. In the latest reproduction of the novel as a film in 2005, the romantic aspects of the story were accentuated and the humor perhaps toned down a little. The dialogue was modernized and the story cut short at many places; the novel thus received a treatment which is fairly typical for any novel being adapted to film.

In addition to visual rewritings, Jane Austen's novels continue to live in the blooming field of sequels and retellings from a different point of view. Some of these transfer the stories into our time, with modern protagonists; others continue the original stories or fill in gaps in them. Perhaps the most popular of these has been Bridget Jones's Diary, which is a modern adaptation of Pride and Prejudice. Its first sequel carried on the theme of Austen variations, adopting the basic outset of Persuasion. Such adaptations reflect the current popularity of Austen, and the prominent position that she continues to hold in English literature. However, they also serve to bring increased attention to the romantic content of her works, resulting in the frequent classification of the novels as romantic fiction, instead of the more appropriate genre of literary fiction, and more specifically, social comedy.

It is intriguing how different eras have seen a different Jane Austen; in the 1800s, she was seen as a modest Christian daughter of a country clergyman and the perfect maiden aunt, while in late 1990s, she has even been introduced as a political radical. (Wikipedia: Reception history of Jane Austen: n.d.) Such different attitudes towards her

are indicative of the fact that she is no longer just a historical figure, but has become a cultural icon: every era recreates her in its own image. Since the 1990s, the conceptions of Jane Austen have begun to form not only based on her novels, but also based on film adaptations and even the increasingly popular written sequels and modern-day adaptations of the original novels. (Pyrhönen 2014: 50–53.) According to Bassnett and Lefevere (1998: 9–10), many members of a cultural sphere are never exposed to the original works; instead, they are exposed to rewritings, which gradually begin to function as the original to them.

Jane Austen left the highest social classes, the real political elite of her era, out of her books. She describes society through the everyday life of middle and lower upper classes, where social standing is of critical importance. As was mentioned above, Austen's novels have been accused of being of narrow scope, forgetting the international upheavals in progress at the time. She did, however, describe a society during a time of change, where wealth and with it, a higher social standing could be gained through trade and even manufacturing, or a military career. Many of her works describe society at the cross-section of the old and the new social order. (Pyrhönen 2014: 36–37.) In Pride and Prejudice, the world is still in the hands of the traditional land-owning elite, but Mr. Darcy, a member of this elite, has nonetheless formed a close friendship with Mr. Bingley, whose wealth comes from his father's trade. Mr. Bingley, however, aims to become a land-owning gentleman, conforming to the old social order.

A reader from Austen's own era would know all this, but a modern reader must have knowledge of the social history of the British Georgian and the Regency periods to understand such factors. On the other hand, the description of relationships between people, the friendships and the courtships, remain relevant for each generation of readers. We recognize the greed of some people, the deception of others, and can identify with Elizabeth Bennet as she is forced to cast aside her prejudices and change her opinion of Mr. Darcy. We also still recognize the difficulties that women face in society. It is therefore natural that the romantic and the feminist perspectives to the novels of Jane Austen, including Pride and Prejudice, are the ones that prevail in our era.

5.1.2 Preliminary assessment of the translation's position in the target culture

Pride and Prejudice was translated into Finnish twice in the first half of the 20th century, by O.A. Joutsen and by Sirkka-Liisa Norko-Turja. The latter of these translations has been a popular novel in Finland for many decades. A new translation by Kersti Juva, which constitutes a part of the data for the present study, marked the 200th anniversary of the original work in 2013.

The position of the novel as a classic of world literature has naturally been recognized in Finland. Rather curiously, however, the novel has often been classified as romantic literature in Finnish public libraries. Films and television adaptations of the story have even more frequently been considered romantic entertainment; written adaptations are much less widely known in Finland, with the exception of Bridget Jones' Diary. It can therefore be assumed that the great majority of the readers of Pride and Prejudice read it as a romantic historical story.

Knowledge of the author and her life has been much less widespread in Finland than in Great Britain, and only few have read biographies of the author. The only biography published in Finnish so far is Carol Shield's rather concise one in 2006. Heta Pyrhönen's original work *Jane Austen aikalaisemme*, on the other hand, presents an interpretation of the author's cultural significance and all her works, and is a major addition to the understanding of them.

Traditionally, Jane Austen has thus held the position of a primarily romantic writer in Finnish translated literature. Kersti Juva's translation, however, updates the work for modern readers. Juva is known as the translator of many classics; she is also known for her ability to write translations that are literary yet readable. The new translation of Pride and Prejudice can thus be assumed to be aimed at a wide variety of target groups, from readers of romantic literature to those enjoying more literary works.

5.2 Distribution of process types in the data

To begin the quantitative analysis of the data, we will look at the basic distribution of process types in the data as a whole and in the three excerpts in order to establish some characteristics of the data and the situations described in it. The distribution found in the present English data will also be compared with that found in a mixed sample of English usage. We will look at many examples of clauses to demonstrate the use of process types.

The data contains a total of 389 Finnish and 348 English process verbs in finite clauses that have nominated characters as transitivity pattern participants. In the Finnish data, material verbs are the most frequent verb type, while in the English data, relational verbs hold that position. The proportion of relational verbs is, in fact, the one in which the difference between the languages is the most prominent: relational verbs account for 23.1% of Finnish and 30.5% of English process verbs. This can be considered an important difference, and will be discussed below. In other categories, the differences are not as conspicuous. Mental and verbal verbs are fairly common in both language versions, and behavioral verbs remain a marginal group at best. Existential verbs are absent in both languages. The difference between the languages in the total number of finite transitivity constructions with nominated characters as participants can be explained by the fact that in many cases, one of the languages uses a finite construction with no character participants, or a non-finite or noun construction instead. Null counterparts are also found occasionally. These translation shifts will also be discussed in more detail later. The quantity and proportions of the six process verb types are presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Quantity and proportions of different process verbs found in the data.

Process type	Finnish data	English data
Material verbs	119 / 30.6%	102 /29.3%
Mental verbs	96 / 24.7%	79 / 22.7%
Relational verbs	90 / 23.1%	106 / 30.5%
Behavioral verbs	11 / 2.8%	5 / 1.4%
Verbal verbs	73 / 18.8%	56 / 16.1%
Existential verbs	0 / 0%	0 / 0%
Total verbs	389 / 100%	348 / 100%

The characteristics of the process types that are used in the text help determine the overall tone of the text. Material verbs, for example, are dynamic by nature, and involve a change that takes place through some input of energy (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014: 224). Even when describing abstract events, they make these events seem more active than would be the case if the same events were described using other process types. Relational verbs, on the other hand, are static by nature: they describe a state of things, presented as a fact of being or having (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014: 260). The preference of relational verbs observed in the English source text would therefore indicate that the English text describes events as more static than its Finnish counterpart. No direct shift from static to dynamic, or from relational to material verbs, can be observed; instead, all the other categories found in the texts show slightly larger proportions in the Finnish version. The difference in the proportion of material verbs is actually very small.

Next, we will look at how the present data compares with language use in general, and briefly consider the possible implications of the overall verb type distribution found in the present data. The following figure is an approximate presentation of the relative frequency of each process type in the present data and in a mixed sample of English texts from various registers, presented by Halliday and Matthiessen (2014: 215). The figures allow us to compare the present data to what can be assumed to be a good estimation of the overall frequency of various process types in the English language, and to draw conclusions of the type of text that we are examining.
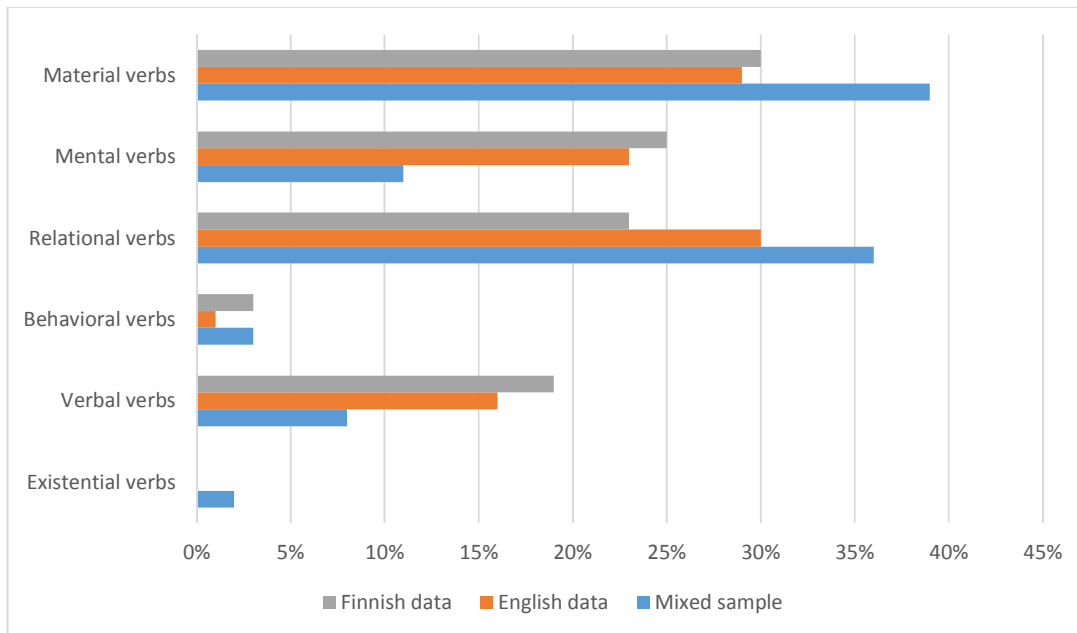
Figure 1. Comparison of the distribution of process types in the data and in a registerially mixed sample of texts in English.

The figure above shows clear differences between the present data and the proportions found in the mixed sample. The difference between the data, both Finnish and English, and the mixed sample is also considerably more prominent than the difference between the languages within the data. The natural conclusion from this is that the text type largely determines the selection of process types. The language in which the text is written seems to have less importance in selecting process types, at least as far as translations between English and Finnish are concerned.

Compared to the mixed sample, the present data contains a much larger proportion of mental and verbal verbs and a lower proportion of material and relational verbs. Both the Finnish and English data contain approximately twice as many mental verbs than the mixed sample. Mental verbs describe processes of consciousness: of feeling, thinking and perceiving (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014: 247). It appears that these processes are described relatively often in our data. The difference is roughly the same in the category of verbal clauses. The Finnish data contains more than double the number of verbal verbs than the mixed sample, and the English data nearly as many.

From the relative frequencies of process types discussed above, it can be assumed that Pride and Prejudice, or at least the selection of scenes under scrutiny, predominantly deals with matters of individuals' consciousness and with things being said, and only to

a lesser degree with things that take place in the material world or with statements of assumed or real facts. The characters talk about what goes on in their minds, and in the minds of others, and what they or other people say; these things matter the most in the world described in the novel. This assumption is well in line with the general conception of the work as a social comedy.

Material verbs are a very common verb type, and it is only natural that many should be found in the data despite the fact that the texts do not focus on material actions. Looking at the material verbs used in the data, is becomes evident that they often describe abstract processes rather than actual concrete events. They are about choosing a spouse and marrying, about the acts of thanking and giving answers, about controlling emotions. In a typical example, Lady Catherine de Bourgh describes Elizabeth Bennet's presumed attempts to lure Mr Darcy into marrying her:

> (1)   Olette ehkä kietonut hänet verkkoihinne. / You may have drawn him in.

Actual physical, concrete acts are rarely reported; one can be found in a passing remark made by Mr Collins about Mrs Jenkinson, the paid companion of Miss Anne de Bourgh, having arranged the foot stool of the young lady. Traveling from one place to another as well as receiving various messages are examples of other concrete material acts found in the data, but even these are relatively infrequent. In addition, Lady Catherine suggests at one point that she and Elizabeth sit down, but there is no mention whether this actually happens. It is therefore evident that the proportion of material clauses in the data, not considerably below the proportion found in the mixed sample of texts, is not an indication of material, concrete processes being important in the texts; instead, it is an indication of the author's and the translator's way of constructing many mental and verbal processes as material ones, presumably to accentuate the role of the person engaging in these processes by placing him or her in the role of an Actor.

Behavioral verbs, which describe physiological or psychological behavior of people (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014: 301), are a relatively difficult category to analyze. It has many obvious members, such as *laugh* or *sleep*; many of them are, however, very difficult to distinguish from material verbs. Both describe actual deeds or happenings, and the difference between them is very vague. Because of the practical problems of

categorizing behavioral verbs, and due to the low frequency of them, no conclusions about them can be drawn in the present study.

Existential verbs are a marginal verb type, only found in English as what is known as the *there is/are* construction. The complexity related to this verb type and its analysis was discussed in section 3.3. As the present data was limited to clauses that involve nominated character participants, it is only natural that the description of themes such as weather phenomena, which constitute a large proportion of existential clauses, are left out of the data. Existential clauses are also often used to introduce settings and characters (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014: 308). In the scenes being examined here, there is no particular need for such introductions in the dialogue between the characters. Therefore, it is not quite unexpected that no existential verbs at all are found in the present, fairly limited data. It can also be speculated whether existential clauses were in general not part of Jane Austen's style; whether this is the case will not be considered in the present work.

Next, we will look at the three scenes in more detail. We will examine the process type distribution and take a preliminary look at some of the shifts that have taken place during the translation. The analysis of linguistic features will be carried out with attention to the relevant context which consists of the tenor and field of each scene. More detailed analysis of translation shifts will be left for the following section.

Table 2. Quantity and proportions of different process verbs found in excerpt 1 of the data.

Process type	Finnish data	English data
Material verbs	40 / 32.5%	36 / 32.7%
Mental verbs	25 / 20.3%	22 / 20.0%
Relational verbs	26 / 21.1%	31 / 28.2%
Behavioral verbs	2 / 1.6%	0 / 0%
Verbal verbs	30 / 24.3%	21 / 19.1%
Existential verbs	0 / 0%	0 / 0%
Total verbs	123 / 100%	110 / 100%

Excerpt 1 is the scene where Mr Collins makes a proposal of marriage to Miss Elizabeth Bennet, and is rejected. For a full description of the tenor and field of the scene, see

Appendix 1. As the male participant making the proposal, it is, in the social context of the text, only natural that Mr Collins should dominate the dialogue. In addition, he is a rather talkative character and often uses complex constructions aiming for eloquence, even if usually only reaching awkwardness. In this scene, he speaks much more than Elizabeth does, and begins with two very long turns; between these turns, Elizabeth does not have enough time to formulate an answer. After this, the participants take alternating turns.

The topic of the discussion being a proposal of marriage, it is perhaps surprising that mental verbs are actually slightly less common in this excerpt (20.3% in the Finnish data and 20.0% in the English data) than in the data as a whole (24.7% and 22.7%, respectively). This phenomenon could perhaps be explained by the fact that the proposal is not based on any intense feelings of love, and that Elizabeth in particular attempts to keep the conversation away from any account of feelings. Halliday and Matthiessen (2014: 257) list four categories of mental verbs: perceptive, cognitive, desiderative and emotive verbs. Of these, cognitive verbs are by far the most common category found in this excerpt. Only one emotive verb can be found in the English text, and not more than four in the Finnish one. All of these cases are found in the speechs of Mr Collins.

Let us look at an example of the use of an emotive verb in the translation. This example also helps us understand the difference in the number of emotive mental verbs between the languages:

(2)   Omaisuus ei kiinnosta minua, / To fortune I am perfectly indifferent,

The relational construction *I am [...] indifferent* has been replaced by the mental emotive verb *kiinnosta* in the translation, giving a more immediate report of the mental process of Mr Collins. This is a very typical example of the two typical choices available for constructing internal processes: mental and relational verbs. In this example, I find the Finnish version to be less formal than the English one, mostly due to its shorter form and unmarked lexical choice that could almost be considered colloquial; in other cases, the relational construction could be considered less formal, as in the pair *She's happy* vs. *She rejoices*. Therefore, neither type of construction can be automatically considered more formal. The use of a descriptive lexical verb instead of

the relatively empty copula *be* does, however, often provide the reader with a more direct and lively, perhaps even colorful, description of the process.

As was mentioned above, the bulk of the mental verbs in this excerpt are cognitive. They are typically used to refer to the speaker's own cognition, but sometimes to that of other participants, as in the following example uttered by Mr Collins:

> (3) Voitte tuskin epäillä sanojeni tarkoitusta, / You can hardly doubt the purport of my discourse,

In this case, Mr Collins expresses his ideas of Elizabeth Bennet's thinking process. Mostly, however, he talks about his own thinking processes, such as what he knows:

> (4) koska tiedän, että sukupuolellanne on säännönmukaisena tapana hylätä mies hänen ensi kertaa lähestyessään, / because I know it to be the established custom of your sex to reject a man on the first application,

The same assumed fact of young women rejecting first proposals could have been easily construed with no reference to the speaker's own thinking process, for example: *because it is the established custom* [...]. Mr Collins, however, wishes to bring himself to the foreground, and the translator has naturally allowed him to retain that position by preserving the mental process of knowing.

It is thus clear that in this proposal scene, emotions are not a major theme of discussion. On the other hand, of all three excerpts, this is the one where verbal verbs are the most frequent. In other words, the characters talk about talking. They mostly use verbal verbs to refer to what they have said previously in the conversation, and to accentuate what they are currently saying. The following is an example of Elizabeth using a verbal verb in the translation to emphasize her own utterance; she is, in effect, referring to her own speech act in order to draw more attention to it. This case also demonstrates another shift from a relational construction towards the use of a lexical verb:

> (5) Minä vastaan kieltävästi täysin vakavissani. / I am perfectly serious in my refusal.

Elizabeth is certainly sure of herself in giving her answer, but in the Finnish sentence, her certainty seems perhaps even more confident than in the English one. This impression is given by the use of a verbal verb instead of the static relational construction. In the Finnish sentence, Elizabeth thus seems more outspoken than in the English one. This does not change her character – she was always outspoken – but only serves to make it more evident to the reader. It should also be noted that the increased outspokenness in this example does not affect the politeness of the discourse in any way, but fully retains the same level of politeness. Both characters use verbal verbs for the purpose of emphasizing their utterances, but perhaps for different reasons: Mr Collins does it to bring himself to the foreground even when other people are the actual topic of his speech, and Elizabeth resorts to the same tactics in order to make Mr Collins take what she is saying seriously. An example from Mr Collins:

(6)   mutta sallikaa minun vakuuttaa, että minulla on kunnioitettavan äitinne lupa lähestyä teitä näin. / but allow me to assure you that I have your respected mother's permission for this address.

Mr Collins, quite unnecessarily, refers to his own utterance using the process verb *vakuuttaa/assure*. He only makes this reference to emphasize the relative position of authority that he imagines himself as having towards Elizabeth. Like Elizabeth in the previous example, he is referring to his own speech act to draw more attention to it.

The frequency of verbal clauses in Elizabeth's utterances in the final part of the dialogue is rather high, which can be considered an indication of her aiming to keep the tone of discussion formal. The register of the dialogue is indeed very formal, which is the result of the participants not knowing each other well, of Mr Collins preferring certain formality in all his discussions, and of the nature of the dialogue as a proposal of marriage, which required certain formal procedures in the social context of the source text.

The general nature of material verbs found in the data of this study was discussed above in connection with Table 1. The majority of material verbs are abstract, as demonstrated by the following example:

> (7) Esittämällä minulle kosinnan nyt olette varmasti rauhoittanut per-hettäni koskevat tunnontuskanne, / In making me the offer, you must have satisfied the delicacy of your feelings with regard to my family,

In this example, the process is represented by the verbs *rauhoittanut* and *satisfied*. Although they clearly differ in some aspects of their meaning, both of them are abstract material verbs and thus similar in this respect. Such examples amply demonstrate that translation is not about finding an equivalent for each word, but about conveying larger units of meaning into the target language in a flexible manner.

Let us now move on to excerpt 2. It continues the theme of proposals received and rejected by Elizabeth Bennet. This time, the proposal is presented by Mr Darcy. Elizabeth has not been at all aware of his feelings towards her, and is under the impression that he is a proud and unpleasant man who has treated others unfairly and thinks himself above others. While the proposal scene with Mr Collins was carried out in relative calmness, the scene described in this excerpt ends in tears as misunderstandings come to the surface and both participants end up insulting the other.

The pace of turn-taking is much more rapid than in the previously described scene. The field, tenor and mode of the situation are described in Appendix 1.

Table 3. Quantity and proportions of different process verbs found in excerpt 2 of the data.

Process type	Finnish data	English data
Material verbs	27 / 31.0%	23 / 28.4%
Mental verbs	22 / 25.2%	19 /23.5%
Relational verbs	20 / 23.0%	22 / 27.2%
Behavioral verbs	2 / 2.2%	1 / 1.2%
Verbal verbs	16 / 18.4%	16 / 19.8%
Existential verbs	0 / 0%	0 / 0%
Total verbs	87 / 100%	81 / 100%

Of the three excerpts, this is the only one that shows even a mild change in the proportion of material verbs between the two languages. Material verbs are actually slightly less common here than in the first excerpt, but their degree of abstractness is perhaps lower. Like the material verbs in the first excerpt, they do not refer to actual physical deeds, but they are often used to describe Mr Darcy's assumed previous acts towards other people, notably towards Mr Wickham and Jane Bennet, as Elizabeth believes he has treated them unfairly. Let us look at some examples of abstract material verbs from this section of the text:

> (8) jos olisin osannut taitavammin peittää kamppailuni ja imarrella teidät uskomaan, / had I with greater policy concealed my struggles, and flattered you into the belief

In this example, the material verbs *peittää* and *concealed* are targeted at Mr Darcy's mental processes that have in the past become visible in his behavior and verbal acts. The web of meanings in these clauses are therefore a curious mix of the concrete and the abstract. The crux of the matter is, however, that the act of concealing a mental struggle is an abstract one. All these nuances have been preserved in the translation of this example, together with the process type.

As another example of abstract material verbs, we will look at a description of the previous conduct of Mr Darcy, as construed by Elizabeth. This is an example of Mr Darcy's assumed previous acts towards Mr Wickham:

> (9)   Te olette estänyt häntä saamasta etuja, / You have withheld the advantages,

While the participant patterns of the source clause and the translation differ in how they have been construed, the verbs *estänyt* and *withheld* are fairly close in meaning and, more importantly from the point of view of the present study, they are both material verbs, used in an abstract sense. Some of the advantages referred to are very material; still, the acts by which Mr Darcy has withheld them are not listed as concrete physical events but only as the abstract overall process in both languages.

Like the previous scene, this one also shows a high proportion of mental verbs. Mr Darcy quite appropriately begins his proposal by accounting his tender feelings towards Elizabeth:

> (10) kuinka palavasti ihailen ja rakastan teitä. / how ardently I admire and love you.

Unfortunately, this is the sum total of such warm emotions in the scene. They are referred to later in the dialogue, but the majority of emotive verbs are, while not negative words as such, at least used in a negative purpose. The following is a typical example of how emotive verbs are used in this excerpt:

> (11) Ette kai voi odottaa, että minua ilahduttavat vähäarvoisemmat suhteenne? / Could you expect me to rejoice in the inferiority of your connections?

The mental verb *ilahduttavat* has no finite counterpart in the source text; instead, the non-finite *to rejoice* is used. The shift from non-finite to finite is not, however, important at this point and will be discussed later. Presently, we will only look at the nature of the mental process being described. The seemingly positive verb is used to express disdain at Elizabeth's family and relatives. This gives the expression a particularly sharp edge, which the translator has kept intact by not opting for any straight-forward negative structure. The lack of direct expressions of negative emotions

using negative emotive verbs could be an indication of the characters' deep-rooted habit of retaining some degree of politeness in the dialogue despite the venting of many unjustices. In the light of this example, however, they might as well not have bothered; a clause with a negative verb could hardly have been more insulting.

Unlike the previous proposal scene, this scene contains a roughly equal proportion of emotive and cognitive mental verbs. The cognitive verbs are most frequently used to attack the other participant by referring to what they know or think, as in the following example:

> (12) Erehdytte, herra Darcy, jos kuvittelette, / You are mistaken, Mr Darcy, if you suppose

Elizabeth uses the cognitive mental verbs *erehdytte* and *kuvittelette*/*suppose* to point out to Mr Darcy how wrong he is. There are two processes in this example, but one of them is construed as a relational process (*You are mistaken*) instead of a mental process in the source text, as the English language lacks a lexical counterpart for the verb *erehtyä*. This is therefore an obligatory shift; such shifts will be discussed in section 5.3.1. There is also a slight shift in lexical meaning between the verbs *kuvittelette*/*suppose*; both refer to cognitive mental processes, but *kuvittelette* contains an added element of derision.

Verbal verbs are overrepresented in this excerpt as well if compared to the mixed sample examined above. This time, however, there is no clear difference between the languages, as was the case in the previous excerpt, where the nature of the dialogue as talk about talking was further accentuated in the translation. In this proposal scene, the participants do not aim to emphasize their own utterances as frequently as Mr Collins and Elizabeth did in the previous dialogue; instead, they often refer to what the other participant has said, as in the following example:

> (13) Olette sanonut tarpeeksi jo. / You have said quite enough, madam.

They also use verbal verbs to refer to hypothetical verbal acts, as is the case with verbs *imarrella*/*flattered* in example (8) above.

Relational verbs are again less frequent in the translation than in the source text, although the difference is not as prominent here. There are many reasons for the

diminished number of relative verbs. In the following example, the relational construction has been replaced by an active material construction in the translation:

> (14) joka on riistänyt rakkaimmalta sisareltani onnen kenties ikuisiksi
>   ajoiksi? / who has been the means of ruining, perhaps for ever, the
>   happiness of a most beloved sister?

In the English text, Mr Darcy is merely presented as the *means* of ruining the happiness of Elizabeth's sister; in the translation, he has done it quite purposefully. It is probable that in the source text, Elizabeth aims at politeness, required by Mr Darcy's higher social position, when she detaches Mr Darcy from the deed despite the fact that she quite certainly blames him for it. The Finnish version, on the other hand, gives a more vivid impression of Elizabeth's bitterness towards Mr Darcy by removing the detaching construction.

There are also conflicting examples that show that while relational constructions are sometimes replaced by more active ones in the translation, the opposite may also occur:

> (15) Hänen nykyinen varattomuutensa – suhteellinen varattomuutensa – on
>   teidän aikaansaannostanne. / You have reduced him to his present state
>   of poverty, comparative poverty.

In this example, Mr Darcy is presented in the source text as directly responsible for Mr Wickham's poverty. In the Finnish version, the translator has opted for a relational construction. Mr Darcy's responsibility for the act is, however, clearly expressed in the latter part of the construction: *teidän aikaansaannostanne*. The overall effect of the structure used in the Finnish clause may therefore be quite as incriminating as that of the English clause.

The third scene under investigation is different from the first two in that it is not a proposal scene, although the subject of conflict in the scene is an assumed engagement between Mr Darcy and Elizabeth Bennet. For a complete description of the field, tenor and mode of the situation, see Appendix 1. The participants of this scene are both female, which could result in more direct expression of opinions, but they differ greatly in their age and social standing. Lady Catherine is a very wealthy independent widow who holds a high position in society, and probably considers her position to be even higher than it actually is. Elizabeth Bennet is very young, unmarried, and her family's

position is, though independent, much lower than that of Lady Catherine. The social distance between the participants is therefore possibly even greater than in the first two excerpts, where the participants were separated by their gender and in the second excerpt also by their social standing, but not by their age in either of the cases.

Table 4. Quantity and proportions of different process verbs found in excerpt 3 of the data.

Process type	Finnish data	English data
Material verbs	52 / 29.1%	43 / 27.4%
Mental verbs	49 / 27.4%	38 / 24.2%
Relational verbs	44 / 24.6%	53 / 33.8%
Behavioral verbs	7 / 3.9%	4 / 2.5%
Verbal verbs	27 / 15.1%	19 /12.1%
Existential verbs	0 / 0%	0 / 0%
Total verbs	179 / 100%	157 / 100%

This excerpt shows a very high proportion of mental verbs, particularly in the translation, but a considerably lower proportion of verbal verbs than the two previous excerpts. The frequency of verbal verbs in the source text is so low that it actually approaches that of the registerially mixed sample presented above. This is very low compared to the two previous excerpts, particularly the first one.

Let us first look at the mental verbs used in this scene. There are several desiderative verbs, all of them concerning the wishes of Lady Catherine; she seems to be presented as a person whose wishes matter. There are also relatively many perceptive verbs, which in many cases concern Elizabeth hearing Lady Catherine's wishes. This supports the position of Lady Catherine as a person whose wishes must be listened to. The majority of the mental verbs in this excerpt are, however, cognitive verbs. They are used to refer to what the speaker knows or believes, and what the other participant should know or believe. Lady Catherine, in particular, repeatedly seeks to make Elizabeth understand something, or to correct her assumed false beliefs:

> (16) Neiti Bennet, teidän täytyy ymmärtää, / You are to understand, Miss
>   Bennet,

(17) Älkää kuvitelko, että en tietäisi, mitä he ovat. / Do not imagine me
      ignorant of their condition.

The verbs *ymmärtää*/*understand* and *kuvitelko*/*imagine* are used by Lady Catherine to influence Elizabeth's thinking and thus to bend her to Lady Catherine's will. Lady Catherine also emphasizes her wide knowledge of circumstances:

(18) Olen perillä kaikesta; / I know it all;

In this case, the mental cognitive verb *know* of the source text has been replaced by the relational structure *olen perillä* in the translation. This is a fixed construction in which many implications of a relational construction are largely lost; still, there must be reasons why the idea of Lady Catherine being well informed is constructed as a static fact instead of a mental process. In the present case, Lady Catherine also states her knowledgeable state as a fact in the source text; the relational construction in the translation actually conveys this attitude very well. By choosing a relational construction, the translator has found a natural way of demonstrating Lady Catherine's assertive character in Finnish.

The emotive verbal verbs in this scene reflect the nature of the dialogue as an open conflict. They are, without exception, used to express negative emotions. In the following example, Lady Catherine gives Elizabeth a glimpse of her sordid future as the wife of Mr Darcy:

(19) Hänen sukunsa ja läheisensä tulevat arvostelemaan, väheksymään ja
      halveksimaan teitä. / You will be censured, slighted, and despised, by
      every one connected with him.[1]

The verbs *väheksymään*/*slighted* and *halveksimaan*/*despised* describe mental processes of Mr Darcy's family and friends. *Slighted* could also be classified into material or possibly behavioral verbs, but I have chosen to treat it as a mental verb in this connection. The translator has also chosen to convey its meaning into Finnish as a mental process.

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[1] In this case, the members of the coupled pair seem to have very different structures, but they actually only differ in that one is in active and the other in passive voice. While this difference has an impact on other aspects of the clause, it does not affect the transitivity pattern.

As was mentioned above, verbal verbs are less frequent in this excerpt than in the two previous ones. In the first excerpt, we saw both participants accentuating their own utterances by referring to their own speech act using a verbal verb. In the second excerpt, verbal verbs were more frequently used to refer to previous speech, and to hypothetical speech. The third excerpt is like the second one in that there are only few cases of the participants accentuating their speech by referring to their speech acts. However, in this scene, reference is often made to speech outside the current situation, such as in the following example:

> (20) kukaan meistä ei koskaan edes mainitse nimeänne. / your name will never even be mentioned by any of us.

Even more frequently, reference is made to the other participant's speech – real or hypothetical:

> (21) Voitteko myös vakuuttaa, että niillä ei ole mitään pohjaa? / And can you likewise declare, that there is no foundation for it?

In this example, Lady Catherine wishes Elizabeth to assure her that she is not going to marry Mr Darcy. Getting this assurance is actually the whole purpose of her visit to the Bennets' home.

The material verbs in this excerpt continue the trend set by the previous two scenes in that they are mostly abstract. In many cases, a non-material process has been constructed as a material act, as in the following example:

> (22) Ettekö juuri te itse ole levittänyt uutterasti sitä tietoa? / Has it not been industriously circulated by yourselves?

The act of circulating a rumor is, of course, a verbal one, but has been here expressed as a material process, drawing attention to Elizabeth as an Actor who is making an effort to let as many people as possible to know that she is about to enter into an advantageous marriage.

Relational verbs are a category where shifts to both directions, from relational constructions to other types of structures and vice versa, seem to be frequent; examples were given above when discussing excerpt 2. Translation shifts between process types,

with particular attention on shifts to and from relational processes, will be discussed in section 5.3. In excerpt 3, as in the other excerpts, there are many shifts between relational constructions and other process types, non-finite constructions and nominalized structures. In the following examples, possessive relational constructions *you have the presumption to aspire* and *the nearest relation he has in the world* have been replaced by the material verb *tavoittelette* and by the possessive noun phrase *hänen lähin sukulaisensa*:

(23) Tämä liitto, jota te julkeasti tavoittelette, ei voi koskaan toteutua. / This match, to which you have the presumption to aspire, can never take place.

(24) Minä olen käytännöllisesti katsoen hänen lähin sukulaisensa tässä maailmassa, / I am almost the nearest relation he has in the world,

In the latter example, there is also an intensive relational construction *Minä olen [...] / I am [...]*, which has remained unchanged in the translation.

Let us now briefly summarize some characteristics of the data. At the beginning of the quantitative analysis of the proportions of process verbs, it was assumed that the high frequency of verbal and mental verbs was due to the text being primarily involved with matters that go on in the characters' consciousness and with what is being said, and less frequently with the material world or statements of assumed or real facts. Based on the analysis of verbal and mental verbs provided above, we now see that this is not the whole story. Instead of introducing themes to the dialogue, we saw that verbal and mental verbs are often used to emphasize the speakers' own utterances and to attack against the other participant. When used in this manner, they build coherence in the text and add modality to it; they actually overstep the boundaries of the experiential metafunction and adopt tasks that belong to the textual and the interpersonal metafunction. The scope of the present study does not allow an analysis of such complex functions, but it is very interesting to note how the tenor of the text reflects in its transitivity patterns, and how transitivity patterns help form the characters.

In the description of the situational context of the scenes, found in Appendix 1, it is noted that no reference to the physical environment of the situation is made in any of the three excerpts studied. This is clearly reflected in the lack of concrete material verbs

that would refer to immediate physical actions. The concrete material verbs that are used nearly always refer to actions that have occurred outside the current situation; an exception is formed by the request voiced by Lady Catherine in the third excerpt that she and Elizabeth sit down, but even this instance refers to an act that is probably not carried out after all.

5.3 Translation shifts

In the previous section of this chapter, we saw, for example, that relational verbs have often yielded to other verb types in the translation. We also saw examples of other types of shifts in the texts, not only between process types but also between finite and non-finite or nominalized processes as well as shifts in the meaning of lexical items. In this section, we will take a closer look at different types of shifts found in the data.

5.3.1 Basic quantitative analysis of shifts

In the above, we saw that the data contains 389 Finnish and 348 English clauses which have a finite transitivity pattern with participants who are nominated characters in the text. When the data is combined to include all coupled pairs in which at least one clause, the English or the Finnish one, fulfills this condition, we get a total of 417 coupled pairs. In many of these, one member of the pair is a non-finite construction, a noun construction, or a finite clause with no nominated character participants. There are also several cases where a process has no counterpart in the other language, constituting a null counterpart. These members of the pairs were not included in the data examined in the previous section, which explains the difference between the total numbers of clauses presented in this section and the ones presented in the previous section. In this section, we will work with the combined data of 417 coupled pairs. First, we will establish the relative frequency of translation shifts in this data.

The following table presents all the coupled pairs of the data, categorized based on the type of the source text (ST) clause. The number and proportion of the coupled pairs which contain a translation shift of the process type is contrasted with the number and proportion of coupled pairs in which there is no translation shift concerning the process

type of the clause. In effect, this table tells us which source text process types are the most volatile, or most prone to change. Proportions are not presented for clauses that have been classified as finite or non-finite clauses, noun constructions or null translations; all these must contain a shift for the simple reason that coupled pairs in which both members are included in these clause categories were excluded from the data.

Table 5. The quantity and proportion of clauses with and without a translation shift, presented by the source text's clause type.

Type of ST clause	Shift	No shift	Total
Material clauses	30 / 29.4%	72 / 70.6%	102 / 100%
Mental clauses	19 / 24.1%	60 / 75.9%	79 / 100%
Relational clauses	43 / 40.6%	63 / 59.4%	106 / 100%
Behavioral clauses	1 / 20.0%	4 / 80.0%	5 / 100%
Verbal clauses	11 / 19.6%	45 / 80.4%	56 / 100%
Existential clauses	0	0	0 / 100%
Total[1]	104 / 29.9%	244 / 70.1%	348 / 100%
Finite clauses	16	0	16
Non-finite clauses	35	0	35
Noun constructions	14	0	14
Null	4	0	4
Total[2]	69	0	69
Total[3]	173 /41.5%	244 / 58.5%	417 / 100%

Total[1]: The total of finite source text clauses with at least one nominated character participant
Total[2]: The total of source text clauses with no finite process with nominated character participants
Total[3]: The total of all source text clauses

A total of 29.9% of the source text clauses where a finite process type is used have been changed to adopt a different process type or another replacement construction. No similar figures can be presented for non-finite source text clauses, because these were not sampled systematically. Therefore, the total given on the last row of the table

(41.5%) can be considered distorted, and cannot be used as evidence of a norm being in action. In more than 70% of the coupled pairs where the source text clause is a finite process clause with at least one nominated character participant, the process type is reproduced unchanged in the target text. Such a high proportion is a strong indication of the translator having applied a norm that at least recommends, if not requires, that the process type is kept unchanged where possible.

All the process type categories which were found in the data show a proportion of translation shifts. The proportion of clauses with a translation shift was the highest in the category of relational clauses (40.6%). The second highest proportion was found in material clauses (29.4%). The other categories, that is, mental, behavioral and verbal clauses, had undergone a translation shift in approximately 20% of the cases. The relative frequency of translation shifts is twice as high in the category of relational clauses as in these three categories; the difference is indeed worth noting. We will look at the types of shifts found in relational clauses, as well as possible explanations for them, in section 5.3.2.1 below.

While translation shifts are found in all process type categories, clauses with no shift are still much more frequent in all of them. Differences in the proportions would, however, indicate that the norm of preserving the process type is stronger in some categories than in others. Relational verbs were seen to differ from other categories in this respect; they are subjected to a translation shift more frequently. From these facts we may deduce that the norm of preserving the process type is stronger in categories where the process is represented by a lexical verb. It can also be assumed that relational clauses are so often replaced by other clause types because their copula verb is relatively empty of meaning, and therefore easy to replace.

Next, we will look at the relative frequencies of translation shifts from the other perspective, organized according to the target text's (TT) process types and clause types. The following table reveals which process types, or clause types, the translator has, in a manner of speaking, favored at the cost of others. With this expression, I do not mean to imply that the favoring has been purposeful. When looking for explanations for any trends, we shall turn to social and cultural contexts instead of any conscious or unconscious bias of the translator.

Table 6. The quantity and proportion of clauses with and without a translation shift, presented by the target text's clause type.

Type of TT clause	Shift	No shift	Total
Material clauses	47 / 39.5%	72 / 60.5%	119 / 100%
Mental clauses	36 / 37.5%	60 / 62.5%	96 / 100%
Relational clauses	27 / 30.0%	63 / 70.0%	90 / 100%
Behavioral clauses	7 / 63.6%	4 / 36.4%	11 / 100%
Verbal clauses	28 / 38.4%	45 / 61.6%	73 / 100%
Existential clauses	0	0	0 / 100%
Total[1]	145 / 37.3%	244 / 62.7%	389 / 100%
Finite clauses	12	0	12
Non-finite clauses	6	0	6
Noun constructions	5	0	5
Null	5	0	5
Total[2]	27	0	27
Total[3]	173 / 41.5%	244 / 58.5%	417 / 100%

Total[1]: The total of finite target text clauses with at least one nominated character participant
Total[2]: The total of target text clauses with no finite process with nominated character participants
Total[3]: The total of all target text clauses

The total proportion of target text clauses showing a translation shift is, of course, the same as the proportion of similar source text clauses: 41.5%. Differences begin to come out when other proportions are looked at. The proportion of finite target text process clauses (with nominated character participants) that are the result of a translation shift is considerably higher than the proportion of similar source text clauses that showed a shift (37.3% as opposed to 29.9%). The difference in these percentages is due to the lower proportion of other clause types in the target text than in the source text. Because of this difference, a higher proportion of the total number of shifts must of course have taken place towards finite process type clauses.

When discussing the previous table, we saw that the overall proportion of clauses with no translation shift supported the conclusion that the translator had followed a norm that favors the preservation of the process type. As the overall proportion, we used the translation shift total for finite source text clauses with at least one nominated character participant, indicated as Total[1] in the table, because the inclusion of other clause types into the total will distort it. When considering shifts from the perspective of the target text, we see that in 62.7% of corresponding cases, included in Total[1] of this table, the process type has been carried over from the source text. This further supports the conclusion that the translator's norm has been to retain the process type, though many exceptions from this are obviously allowed.

When looking at individual process types, the category of behavioral clauses shows the highest frequency of shifts. However, due to the low number of cases and the difficulties in the analysis of behavioral verbs, no conclusions can be drawn based on this. We will therefore give no further attention to the changes found in behavioral clauses.

Of the four process types of which a larger sample could be obtained, material, verbal and mental clauses seem to have emerged as a result of a translation shift more frequently than relational clauses have. Nearly 40% of these three categories of process clauses found in the target text are the result of a translation shift. On the other hand, only 30% of the target text's relational clauses have been created as a result of a translation shift. While this is not a very low proportion either, it is still considerably lower than the proportion for other process types. It is also lower than the proportion of source text's relational clauses that have been replaced by other process types or clause types in the translation (40.6%). The direction of translation shifts has thus been more frequently away from relational clauses than towards them.

It must be noted that target text clauses included in the coupled pairs of the data contain a rather low number of clauses that have no finite process with at least one nominated character participant; such clauses were much more frequent in the source text clauses included in the coupled pairs. This means that translation shifts away from these other clause types are more frequent than translation shifts towards them. Shifts concerning these clause types will be discussed in more detail in section 5.3.2.3 below.

The scope of the present study does not allow an analysis of all the different shifts found in the data, nor is the data extensive enough to discern all the possible underlaying causes and ramifications of such shifts. Therefore, we will only look at some of the most prominent trends revealed by the proportions discussed above. Coupled pairs with a relational source text clause will be discussed in order to reveal what clause types have been used to replace them; shifts between the subcategories of mental verbs will be examined as an example of more delicate shifts; and finally, shifts between other clause types and finite process clauses with character participants will be considered. Before entering these considerations, however, we will briefly discuss obligatory shifts.

Obligatory shifts are cases where a translation shift cannot be avoided due to systemic differences between the two languages. The translator may be forced to change the grammar of a clause merely because no corresponding structure is available in the target language. Let us take a look at an example of process type translation shifts that can be considered obligatory in the present data.

(25) Armollinen lady erehtyy. / Indeed, you are mistaken, Madam

The translation shift from a mental to relational clause, seen in this example, is not obligatory in the strictest meaning of the word. A relational construction could have been found for the target text, such as *Olette väärässä, armollinen lady*. This translation would, on the other hand, constitute a larger shift in the lexical choice and in the politeness level of the utterance. Furthermore, the English language does not have a direct lexical counterpart for the Finnish verb *erehtyä*, which means that using it in a translation from English will always constitute a translation shift. Since the verb erehtyä is very common in Finnish, and indeed a perfectly natural way of expressing the present meaning, this case can be counted as an obligatory shift. All in all, this pair of a mental and a relational clause can be considered to be very close to sharing the exact same meaning.

Examples such as these show that not all cases of translation shifts have particular significance for an account of the translator's norms. On the other hand, when a shift will seem obligatory to a translator, he or she still needs to choose which exact translation to use. In the case discussed above, the translator has opted for a mental verb. The case will thus have significance when establishing, for example, which

process types are the most popular in translations published within our social and cultural environment.

5.3.2 Types of translation shifts in transitivity patterns

In this section, we will look at several different types of translation shifts found in the data. First, we will consider relational verbs as an example of shifts between process types. Relational verbs were chosen as the target of analysis because they were the source text process type that most frequently yielded to translation shift. We will also consider the impact that the changed process type will have on the roles of the participants involved in the transitivity pattern. Second, we will look at a more delicate type of shift, taking place between the four subcategories of mental verbs. The third type of shift that will be examined occurs between finite process clauses with a nominated character participant and the other clause types found in the text.

5.3.2.1 Shifts between process types: relational clauses

In the previous section of the analysis, we saw that 40.6% of the relational clauses found in the source text data undergo a translation shift. We will now take a closer look at what becomes of these clauses. The following table presents the quantities and proportions of the other process and clause types that result from the translation of relational clauses.

Table 7. The quantities and proportions of different process and clause types in shifted translations of relational clauses.

Clause type	Quant./Prop.
Material clauses	17 / 39.5%
Mental clauses	13 / 30.2%
Behavioral clauses	1 / 2.3%
Verbal clauses	3 / 7.0%
Existential clauses	0 / 0%
Total[1]	34 /79.1%
Finite clauses	3 / 7.0%
Non-finite clauses	2 / 4.7%
Noun constructions	2 / 4.7%
Null	2 / 4.7%
Total[2]	9 / 20.9%
Total[3]	43 / 100%

From this table, it can be observed that when changed, relational processes are usually turned into other finite process types with character participants, and only in one fifth (20.9%) of the cases into a different clause type. Of finite processes, the most common is the material clause, which accounts for nearly 40% of all cases. The second most frequent target clause type is the mental clause with a share of 30.2% of the total. All other process type categories are marginal at best.

Let us now compare these proportions to the distribution of process and clause types among all target text clauses which were created as a result of a translation shift. There is no table that presents these figures, but they can be easily calculated based on Table 6 above. Material clauses account for 27.3% of all these clauses, while the share of mental clauses is 20.9%. Verbal clauses take up 16.3%. The proportion of finite process types is 84.3% and that of other clause types 15.7%. We see that the proportion of non-finite constructions and finite constructions with no character participant is higher in translations of relational clauses than in all shifted translations; the proportion of material and mental clauses is also higher, while that of verbal clauses is clearly lower. The quantities of other categories are too low to make any conclusions, but their proportions seem to be generally lower among translations of relational clauses than among all shifted translations. It can thus be concluded that relational clauses

demonstrate a tendency of shifting into material and mental clauses, and, somewhat less often, to other clause types and null translations.

Let us look at some examples of typical translation shift patterns for relational source text clauses.

> (26) Syyt, joiden vuoksi olen päättänyt astua aviosäätyyn, ovat ensinnäkin, että jokaisen hyvin toimeentulevan pappismiehen (sellaisen kuin minä) tulee näyttää seurakunnalleen esimerkkiä miehen ja naisen liitosta; / My reasons for marrying are, first, that I think it a right thing for every clergyman in easy circumstances (like myself) to set the example of matrimony in his parish.

In this example, the main clause process is constructed in the source text as a static relational statement of reasons for marrying. The first part of this relational construction, *My reasons for marrying*, is interpreted in the analysis as a symbolic reference to Mr Collins, constituting a character participant; the clause is therefore included in the data as a finite process clause with a nominated character participant. The translation, however, has divided the process into two parts. The relational construction is expressed as *Syyt [...] ovat...*, and the participant has been isolated into a subordinate material clause *joiden vuoksi olen päättänyt astua aviosäätyyn*. The main clause is now left without a nominated character participant, and falls therefore outside the data. Our analysis follows the participant to the subordinate material clause, and treats this example as a shift from relational construction to a material construction.

Other interpretations of the shifts taking place here are certainly possible; our analysis, however, focuses on the processes used for characterization, and we must pay attention to the connection of the participant and the processes. This is a good example of the complexity of analysis that we face when tackling a literary text. The construction of the Finnish clause has been analyzed as (Behaver [C]) + Actor [C] + Mat. This means that the participant in the transitivity pattern, Mr Collins, has dual role as the Behaver who decides and the Actor who enters into a marriage. The role of the Actor is the primary one, but the role of a Behaver making a decision adds to the characterization of Mr Collins as an active participant engaging in processes at his own initiative. This constitutes a marked difference to his role in the source text, where he was only present

symbolically as a participant of a static relational structure, engaging in no active processes at all.

Our second example is of a less complex form:

(27) Etenette hätiköidysti, / You are too hasty, sir,

In this example, the process is constructed in the source text as a static relational statement; Elizabeth Bennet states that Mr Collins is currently demonstrating the characteristic of being too hasty. In the translation, however, she casts Mr Collins into the role of an Actor in the process of proceeding (in a hasty manner). The translator has chosen a translation that combines the most natural lexical item to express the content in Finnish, the verb *hätiköidä*, and the source text's level of formality. The translation could have been a simple sentence such as *Nyt te hätiköitte* 'Now you are rushing into things', but to add a touch of formality, the translator has added the lexical item *Etenette* 'You are proceeding'.

Next, let us look at examples of relational constructions that have shifted into mental clauses. We already discussed such shifts in the connection of mental verbs and, more specifically, the reasons for the differences in the number of emotive mental verbs in excerpt 1. At that point, we noted that internal processes are typically constructed as relational or mental processes, as in *She's happy* or *She rejoices*. In the following example, Elizabeth Bennet is embarking on an attempt to refuse the proposal of Mr Collins:

(28) Ymmärrän hyvin, mikä kunnia teidän kosintanne on, / I am very sensible of the honour of your proposals,

Elizabeth's inner process of being aware of the honor of being proposed to is constructed as a relational process in the source text and as a mental process in the translation. This makes the description of her cognitive process more immediate in the translation. It can be assumed that the meaning will be easier for the reader to absorb.

In another example of a shift from relational to mental in the description of an internal process, Mr Darcy defends his desire for honesty when explaining his contradictory feelings towards marriage with Elizabeth:

> (29) Mutta minä kammoan kaikkinaista peittelyä. / But disguise of every sort is my abhorrence.

In this case, the target structure is not only more straight-forward than the source text, but also decidedly less formal. Dictionaries give the Finnish translation *kammo* for the English *abhorrence*, but the latter is likely to be found only in texts of fairly formal register, while the former can be used in a wide variety of registers. Added to the increased immediateness and clarity of structure in the translation, this relative informality makes it much easier to read than the source text.

Next, we will look at an example where a relational process has been replaced by a non-finite construction. While non-finite processes can be analyzed for transitivity patterns just like finite processes, the tone they give to the text is so different that in the present study, they have been treated as a separate unified category.

In the proposal scene with Mr. Darcy, racing from one disaster to another, Elizabeth resorts to that final argument available when maximum impact is at stake:

> (30) kun jo tiesin teidän olevan viimeinen mies maailmassa, jonka kukaan voisi suostutella minut ottamaan puolisokseni. / before I felt that you were the last man in the world whom I could ever be prevailed on to marry.

The example begins by a shift from a cognitive to an emotive mental verb, but the shift that we are now examining is the one where the finite relational structure *you were* turns into a non-finite *teidän olevan*. Like the finite construction, it is a relational one; it also sits well into the flow of the Finnish clause, removing the need for a subordinate clause. It is, therefore, an excellent choice as a translation. The only difference is that it lacks some of the directness and therefore also some of the emphasis of the finite form used in the source text. In my own opinion, quite enough of emphasis is still left intact.

From these examples, we see that shifts from relational constructions to other process types and to different clause types often serve to give the text added clarity. They make

the description more acute and give the reader a better view of the character's thoughts, for example. It can also be presumed that the aim of the translator has often been to make the text more straight-forward, reducing complexity and making the story easier to read, giving the reader a more immediate experience of what is taking place. These shifts do, however, also result in casting the participant into a more active role as the Actor or Senser of the process. This may lead to important changes in the overall depiction of the character in the text. We will look at differences in the distribution of participant roles in the source and target texts in section 6.4. Before that, let us proceed to other types of shifts found in the data.

5.3.2.2 Subtype shifts within process types: mental verbs

In the above, we noted that mental verbs can be divided into four categories: perceptive, cognitive, desiderative and emotive verbs (Halliday and Matthiessen (2014: 257). The data contains 60 coupled pairs in which both the source and the target clause contain a mental process. In 56 of these 60 cases, or 93.3% of them, the subtype of the mental verb has also been preserved. This is a considerably higher proportion than what was observed at the level of process types in general. It seems that once the decision has been made to retain the process type as a mental process, lexical deviations become rare. Let us take a look at one of the four exceptions to this rule:

> (31) sillä älkää luulkokaan, että hänen perheensä tai ystävänsä hyväksyvät teidät, / for do not expect to be noticed by his family or friends,

In addition to the cognitive mental process *luulkokaan*/*expect*, which contains no shift in the mental subtype, this example also contains the mental verb pair *hyväksyvät*/*noticed*. The Finnish member of this pair is emotive, while the English is perceptive. In this context, the verb *noticed* refers to the practice of giving attention to respected new family members and acquaintances: sending them greetings, making formal visits, and extending invitations to them, all regulated by exact social rules. In the translation, this practice has been erased from view and replaced by the simplified *hyväksyvät* 'accept', indicating the emotive attitude of Mr Darcy's family and friends and not their behavior. The translator has probably based her choice on the fact that not all readers of the Finnish translation are aware that some distinct procedure of 'noticing' a new spouse is expected to take place after a wedding. The direct translation 'huomata' would not have carried the same implications in Finnish, and might have led to strange interpretations.

In this case, the shift in the mental verb subtype, and the lexical shift it also entails, is therefore important for ensuring that readers understand the text correctly.

Another example of a subtype shift can be found in example (30) above. The shift takes place from an emotive verb (*I felt that you were*) to a cognitive one (*tiesin teidän olevan*). It can be assumed that the translator chose to apply this shift because a direct translation *tunsin teidän olevan* would have been unnatural in Finnish. While the shift was necessary, it is not without implications: it gives Elizabeth an increased air of certainty and emphasizes her rationality instead of her emotionality. It must be noted, however, that the difference in meaning between the two verbs is probably smaller in reality – and in this specific context – than it first seems to be, as the English *felt* may well be used of rational thinking as well.

5.3.2.3 Shifts between finite process type patterns with character participants and other clause types

Next, we will look at cases where only one clause in the coupled pair contains a finite process pattern with nominated character participants, while the other clause is a finite construction with no character participant, a non-finite construction, a noun construction or a null translation. Before examining the proportions of these clauses in the data, let us take a closer look at their nature in order to understand the shifts taking place in the coupled pairs that contain them.

Finite clauses with no nominated character participant are, essentially, clauses in which the meaning of a process type clause is given either without the participant, or without actually expressing the same process, as in the following example:

> (32) ja voihan jopa olla, että tarkoituksenne oli rohkaista minua kosin-
> nassani, todistaen näin naisluonnon erityisestä herkkyydestä. / and
> perhaps you have even now said as much to encourage my suit as
> would be consistent with the true delicacy of the female character.

The verbal process *said* has been removed from the translation. This could be interpreted as a null translation, but has now been included in finite clauses, because the element of speaking is carried to the translation in the word *tarkoituksenne*.

In the next example, not only the actual process but also the participant has been removed from the finite clause in the translation:

> (33) Tällaisissa tilanteissa lienee tapana ilmaista kiitollisuutta rakkaudentunnustuksesta riippumatta siitä, kuinka suurta vastakaikua se saa. / In such cases as this, it is, I believe, the established mode to express a sense of obligation for the sentiments avowed, however unequally they may be returned.

The clause *I believe* is carried over to the translation as *lienee* 'it probably is'. Both the Senser *I* and the mental process *believe* have been removed, but there is no doubt that the translation still conveys all the necessary elements of the source text's meaning. It is clear from the context of the utterance that the assessment 'it probably is' is the opinion of the speaker. It is therefore unnecessary to repeat all this in the translation, and the translator has opted for a more streamlined translation instead.

Non-finite translations may express the exact same process with the same participant configuration as their counterpart does, only discarding the finiteness of the process. One such clause was already given as example (30) above, when discussing a shift from a relational clause to a non-finite clause. Let us look at another example:

> (34) mikä estää häntä valitsemasta toisin? / why is not he to make another choice?

The shift taking place in this translation is a rather complex one, but the essence of it is that the finite material clause *is [...] to make [...] choice* has been replaced by the non-finite participle form *valitsemasta*. The participant, Mr Darcy, remains present in both constructions, albeit in different roles; he is much more prominent as the Actor of the finite material verb *make* of the source text. In the non-finite construction, he is still the Actor, but being removed from the position of grammatical subject, he is removed from the spotlight of action.

Noun constructions are usually static by nature. The same process may be present in the meaning of the clause, but the tone of description is very different. The participant, if present, is moved to a less prominent position. Let us look at two examples:

(35) Mikä kuviteltu ystävän teko on puolustuksenanne tässä tapauksessa? /
In what imaginary act of friendship can you here defend yourself?

(36) Sellainen tyttö sisarenpoikani kälynä! / And is such a girl to be my
nephew's sister?

In the first of these examples, the verbal process (that might also be interpreted as a material one) *defend* is translated as the noun *puolustuksenanne*. In the second one, the relational process *to be* only appears in the translation as the essive case ending *-nä* in the word *kälynä* 'as sister-in-law'.

Null translations are cases where a process is completely absent from one member of the coupled pair. Because these cases are not much more than a side note in the present study, we will discuss all coupled pairs involving one null member under this heading despite the fact that strictly speaking, cases where the source is null and the translation contains a finite process are, of course, not null translations. When the source is null, the translation contains an addition to the text. In the present data, there are four such cases. In all of these, the element that was added can be deduced from the context, or it is a repetition of something that is present in another part of the sentence. The following is an example of an element that was added based on the context:

(37) Luettelette vakavia vastoinkäymisiä, / These are heavy misfortunes,

In this case, Elizabeth responds to Lady Catherine's list of reasons why Elizabeth should not marry Mr Darcy. The process *Luettelette* 'You list' is not mentioned in the source text, but suits well into the context.

The data contains five cases in which a process has been completely removed from the translation. In the following example, the utterance's nature as an exclamation has received precedence over its actual content:

(38) Ei enempää eikä vähempää! / You have done all this!

Some content elements have been retained, namely the part *all this*, which is expressed in the translation in the form 'not more nor less [than this]'.

Next, we examine the proportion of these clause types of the total data. The following table presents the quantities of them in the data, and their proportion of all clauses. Most of these figures can be found in Tables 5 and 6, but are presented again here for clarity.

Table 8. The quantity and proportion of other clause types in the source text and in the translation.

Clause type	Source text	Target text
Finite clauses	16 / 3.8%	12 / 2.8%
Non-finite clauses	35 / 8.4%	6 / 1.4%
Noun constructions	14 / 3.4%	5 / 1.2%
Null translations	4 / 1.0%	5 /1.2%
Total of these clauses	69 / 16.5%	27 / 6.5%
Total of all clauses	417 / 100%	417 / 100%

All of these clauses are of course examples of translation shifts, as the data was compiled to contain no coupled pairs in which both the source text and the translation would have belonged to these categories. When dealing with these clause types, we do not therefore operate with proportions of translation shifts vs. translations with no shift. Instead, we look at the simple proportions of these constructions among the total of all clauses in the data.

From the table above we see that these clause types are much more common as the source text member of the coupled pair than as the translation. In 16.5% of all translations included in the data, one of these clause types has been replaced with a finite process clause with nominated character participants. Such a translation shift usually entails an increase in the prominence of participants or in the vividness of the process, or both. An opposite shift from a finite process clause to a different clause type has taken place in 6.5% of all coupled pairs; it is a much less common choice. In these translations, some aspect of the meaning of the clause has usually had to yield to allow a more streamlined and natural translation that is easier to read. Let us demonstrate these tendencies with some examples in addition to those given above. First, examples of finite processes being replaced by other clause types:

(39) Lähes heti taloon astuttuani minä valikoin juuri teidät tulevan elämäni kumppaniksi. / Almost as soon as I entered the house I singled you out as the companion of my future life.

In this example, the material process *I entered the house* turns into the non-finite *taloon astuttuani*. The process is still material, but is now in the shadow of the next process, that of choosing a spouse. In the source text, these two processes are expressed in more equal terms, both being finite material processes.

(40) että huolimatta monista viehättävistä avuistanne ei ole lainkaan varmaa, että kohdalleni osuu enää toista avioliittotarjousta. / that in spite of your manifold attractions, it is by no means certain that another offer of marriage may ever be made you.

Both members of this coupled pair refer to an indefinite, hypothetical marriage proposal, but the shift from a material process, with Elizabeth as a recipient, to a finite clause with no character participants does change some aspects of the meaning of the clause. In the source text, Elizabeth is portrayed as the recipient of an offer purposefully made; in the translation, an offer just happens to come by her completely by chance, as she has shifted from a recipient to a mere circumstance of location. Both these cases are excellent examples of flexible and creative formation of natural literary translations. Though something is moved aside or left out completely, the overall meaning is conveyed successfully, and the text becomes a pleasure to read.

Let us now move on to shifts that take place from other clause types towards finite process clauses with character participants:

(41) en tiedä kuinka voin ilmaista kieltävän vastaukseni tavalla, / I know not how to express my refusal in such a way

The addition of the modal verb *voin* turns the non-finite *how to express* into a finite verbal clause, and adds the Sayer, expressed by the first person ending *-n*. Despite the addition, the difference in meaning between the source text and the translation is minimal. The most important impact of the addition is that it clarifies the text and makes it a little less formal compared to the possible alternative *en tiedä kuinka ilmaista kieltävä vastaukseni*.

In the next case, a finite (relational) clause with an unnominated participant changes its viewpoint to become a material clause with Mr Collins as an Actor:

> (42) ja oman itsenne vuoksi valitkaa reipas, toimelias ihminen, / and for your own, let her be an active, useful sort of person,

The verb *valitkaa* is actually repeated from the two previous clauses, where it is also found in the source text as *Chuse properly, chuse a gentlewoman for my sake*. The repetition of the verb for one additional time adds to the symmetry of this long sentence. Repetition of elements, often three times with a slight change to the rhythm or vocabulary in the last repetition, is a stylistic pattern that is used in other sections of the data as well. The whole pattern in this case is as follows:

> (43) Valitkaa oikein,
> valitkaa säätyläisnainen minun tähteni,
> ja oman itsensä vuoksi valitkaa reipas, toimelias ihminen, […]
>
> Chuse properly,
> Chuse a gentlewoman for my sake;
> and for your own, let her be an active, useful sort of person, […]

The pattern has been strengthened in the translation by the addition of the process verb, and while this of course results in a slight change in the meaning of the clause in question, the overall meaning and effect of the whole pattern remains as close to identical to the source text as is possible. Another example of such a threefold repetition is one where the process type is repeated but the last stanza differs from the two first in other respects: *Hän on säätyläinen; minä olen säätyläisen tytär; siinä suhteessa olemme yhdenvertaiset. / He is a gentleman; I am a gentleman's daughter; so far we are equal.*

In the next example, a passive clause is turned into an active one, adding an Actor:

> (44) Olen kuitenkin tehnyt sen täysin tahtomattani / It has been most unconsciously done, however,

The Actor here is Elizabeth, who is making it clear that she has not meant to cause Mr Darcy any pain, and has not known of his feelings towards her. The reader can easily deduce that Elizabeth is the Actor behind the passive source text clause. In the translation, her position has been made overt. The active voice has been probably

chosen because a direct translation in the passive voice would have been rather too formal. Another possibility would have been the relatively natural clause *Se on kuitenkin ollut täysin tiedostamatonta* 'It has been fully unconscious, however'.

Sometimes, a noun phrase is turned into a process clause:

> (45) halveksitte itsekkäästi muiden tunteita, / your selfish disdain of the feelings of others,

In the source text, disdain is something that Mr Darcy possesses, almost like a quality. In the translation, it has become a mental process. The shift makes the feeling of disdain more immediate, letting the reader closer to Mr Darcy and allowing a glimpse of his mental process instead of showing him from a distance as someone who has disdain for the feelings of others.

In the next example, the process of coming here (to Longbourn) is absent (null) in the source text, although its taking place can be deduced from the context. In the translation, the process has been made overt:

> (46) päätin välittömästi lähteä matkaan, tulla tänne / I instantly resolved on setting off for this place,

If someone sets off for a place, and is then seen at that place, it is of course clear that they have come to that place. The location indication *this place* is present in the source text, but it is connected to the process of setting off towards it; in the translation, the location indication counterpart *tänne* is accompanied by the process verb *tulla* 'to come'. The process of setting off has been translated as *lähteä matkaan*, which contains its own location indication *matkaan*; it adds nothing to the meaning of the clause. The process of setting off has thus been separated from its original location indication by dividing the original process in two parts.

Above, we see that there is an abundance of examples where the process added to the translation casts the participants in more active roles and moves the process from relative obscurity into the spotlight. From these examples, we also see that translation shifts between clause types are an area in which the creativity of the translator is demonstrated most thoroughly. When the fluency of the translation requires the creation

of a completely new construction, the translator's ability to give the text a natural feeling of flow is put to the test. Much flexibility is required from and, indeed, allowed to the translator.

5.4 The construction of participants

In the previous sections, many observations were already made concerning the construction of characters in the data. In this section, we will examine the description of four major characters – Elizabeth Bennet, Mr Collins, Mr Darcy and Lady Catherine de Bourgh – found as participants in the three scenes that constitute our data. We will limit our examination to material, mental, verbal and relational processes, and the respective roles of these characters as Actor, Senser, Sayer or Carrier of the process. The total number of cases where each character is presented in any of these participant roles is also considered to establish the overall emphasis that each character receives in the text. For simplicity's sake, we will use the term Carrier for the participants of all relational clauses, making no distinction between attributive and identifying relational clauses. All the symbolic and ellipted participant roles are also included in the analysis, as well as constructions with one or more characters included in the same role. We will only carry out a quantitative analysis of process clauses, and will not consider any actual coupled pairs or translational shifts in this section. This will considerably limit the analysis.

Table 9 presents a quantitative analysis of finite process clauses, providing the quantities and proportions of cases where each of the four characters was found in each participant role in the source and in the target texts.

Table 9. Quantities and proportions of participant roles of four characters in the source and the target text.

	EB		LC		FD		C	
	FI	EN	FI	EN	FI	EN	FI	EN
Actor	34 (23.6%)	26 (20.6%)	19 (27.1%)	20 (32.3%)	21 (31.8%)	18 (29.5%)	25 (39.7%)	21 (35.6%)
Senser	35 (24.3%)	33 (26.2%)	20 (28.6%)	17 (27.4%)	19 (28.8%)	13 (21.3%)	15 (23.8%)	12 (20.3%)
Sayer	34 (23.6%)	24 (19.0%)	13 (18.6%)	7 (11.3%)	11 (16.7%)	10 (16.4%)	12 (19.0%)	11 (18.6%)
Carrier	41 (28.5%)	43 (34.1%)	18 (25.7%)	18 (29.0%)	15 (22.7%)	20 (32.8%)	11 (17.5%)	15 (25.4%)
Total	144 (100%)	126 (100%)	70 (100%)	62 (100%)	66 (100%)	61 (100%)	63 (100%)	59 (100%)

EB: Elizabeth Bennet
LC: Lady Catherine de Bourgh
FD: Fitzwilliam Darcy
C: Mr. Collins

When looking at the total number of clauses where each of these characters was cast in any one of the four participant roles, we notice that for all four characters, the number of clauses is slightly higher in the translation than in the source text. It seems that the translation process has resulted in the characters being given more visibility as participants of these processes. The increase is particularly prominent in the case of the two female characters, Elizabeth Bennet and Lady Catherine de Bourgh, who thus seem to have gained importance as participants.

In the source text edition used for the present study, excerpt 1 was four pages long, excerpt 2 four and a half pages, and excerpt 3 approximately six pages long. Mr. Collins, Mr. Darcy and Lady Catherine all appear in only one of the excerpts, while Elizabeth appears in them all. The attention received by the three characters is fairly well in proportion with the length of the excerpt they appear in. Elizabeth, however, does not receive as much attention: although the text in which she is present is three times longer

than that of the other characters, she is only cast as the Actor, Senser, Sayer or Carrier twice as many times as the others are.

When comparing the total numbers in the source text and in the translation, we notice that the female characters have gained slightly more visibility during the translation than the male characters have. The increase is approximately 7% for Mr. Collins, 8% for Mr. Darcy, 13% for Lady Catherine and 14% for Elizabeth Bennet. The translator thus seems to have accentuated the role of the female characters, although not to any great degree.

For all of these characters, the relative proportion of the Carrier role is lower in the target text than in the source text. This is consistent with the overall lower number of relational clauses found in the target text. The difference between the languages is the lowest for Lady Catherine, and the highest for both male characters, Mr. Darcy in particular. This means that male characters in particular have moved away from static descriptions constructed as relational clauses. They have not, however, moved directly to Actors; instead, the greatest increase is found in the role of Senser for Mr. Darcy, while the categories of Actor, Senser and Sayer have all increased for Mr. Collins, with none of them changing much more than the others.

Let us now take a closer look at any tendencies that can be found in the description of individual characters. Elizabeth Bennet, the protagonist, has gained ground as an Actor and a Sayer, retained a fairly similar position as a Senser, and lost some ground as a Carrier. The changes in her depiction, while not very large, are nonetheless interesting; she was a strong character in the original work, and seems to have become even stronger in the translation, often found doing or saying things instead of just being. It was observed in section 5.2 of the analysis that material verbs may sometimes be chosen to describe abstract processes for the purpose of accentuating the active role of a character by placing them in the position of an Actor. This may well be the case for Elizabeth Bennet; see e.g. example (22) above.

Lady Catherine is a perhaps an even more forceful character than Elizabeth, which is also reflected in her being cast as the Actor with relatively high frequency. In the target text, however, she has lost some of this strength. She takes up the Actor role less frequently than in the source text, and is increasingly often shown as a Senser and, even

more importantly, as Sayer. It can be deduced that while she keeps speaking her mind in the translation, she no longer engages in action as often as in the source text.

As was mentioned above, Mr. Darcy is increasingly often shown as a Senser in the translation, and less often as a Carrier. In other categories, there is not much change. His mental processes have thus been made more immediate to the reader, making him seem more active in this area. Mr. Collins, however, has not received similar treatment; while he is depicted as an Actor and a Senser slightly more often in the translation than in the source text, this can be explained by the overall tendency of moving away from relational clauses and towards the material, mental and verbal clauses in the translation.

6. RESULTS: TRANSLATIONAL NORMS IN A SOCIAL CONTEXT

In this chapter, I will draw together the translational norms that could be established based on the analysis of the data. I will also consider how the changes that have taken place in the text during translation, as reflected in the translational norms, might change the tone of the text, and whether a relationship can be established between these changes and the differences in the cultural and social contexts of the texts. In other words, I will first answer research question 1.C (the translational norms regarding process types). I will also consider participant roles in the source text and in the translation, answering research questions 2.B (translational norms regarding participant roles), 2.C (the identity of the participants) and 2.D (the social context behind changes in participant roles). Research question 1.D, which is concerned with the factors of social context behind all the translational norms will be considered after all the others. Finally, we will make a final assessment of the translation's position in the target culture.

First, we will attempt an answer to research question 1.C: what are the translational norms regarding process types that the translator has followed? A quantitative analysis of the coupled pairs, presented in chapter 5.3.1, revealed that in a clear majority of the coupled pairs, there was no translational shift between clause types; no shift occurred in 70.1% of the finite clauses with nominated character participants. Thus the basic norm is that the process type should be preserved. There are, however, a relatively high number of cases where this has not been done, which means that the norm is not a very strong one; exceptions are allowed freely, which is of course not unexpected in a literary translation. Even bearing in mind that some shifts are obligatory, the number of shifts in the present data is high enough to require further attention. We will now turn to more detailed norms found in our analysis.

Looking at individual process types (table 5), it was observed that the norm of preserving the process types operates less frequently in cases where the source is a relational process, containing a copula verb, and more frequently in cases where the source is a mental, behavioral, verbal or, to a slightly lower extent, a material process,

all of which are expressed using verbs that have a distinct lexical meaning. It can therefore be deduced that the presence of a lexical verb promotes the preservation of the process type; copula verbs, which are relatively void of lexical meaning, are easier to replace. We will consider the behavior of relational clauses, or copula verbs, during translation in more detail later in this chapter.

Next, we considered which process types were favored in the target text (table 6). Table 5 showed us which process types the translator had turned away from; now we see which process types she had turned to. We observed that material, mental and verbal processes were more frequently the result of a translational shift than relational verbs. While we could not at this point draw conclusions on which specific process types have replaced relational verbs in the data, it can be concluded that lexical verbs have in general been favored at the cost of other clause types.

A more detailed examination of relational source text clauses, presented in section 5.3.2.1, reveals that when undergoing a translational shift, they were most frequently turned into material or mental processes. What is particularly important in this tendency is its implication for the characterization of the participants: as relational verbs are replaced by other clause types, most importantly material verbs, the role of the participant undergoes an important change from an inactive Carrier of a static process into an Actor, an active initiator of an often purposeful process. Shifts from relational to mental processes also serve to make the description of a character's mental activity more immediate.

It might be expected that the norm of preserving the characteristics of the process that takes place in a clause would be stronger in units of a higher level, such as between process and clause types, and less strong when it comes to more delicate units, such as the subcategories found within a process type. Based on the analysis of the subcategories of mental verbs, presented in section 5.3.2.2, however, the opposite seems to be true: in an overwhelming majority of cases (93.3%), the process subtype was preserved. Furthermore, many of the shifts that did take place seem to have been more or less necessary to ensure that the target text is natural and will be correctly understood. There thus seems to be a very strong norm that lexical changes within a process type should be avoided, and only used when necessary for the linguistic quality of the text.

In the basic quantitative analysis of the translational shifts (section 5.3.1), as well as in the more detailed analysis presented in section 5.3.2.3, we saw that other clause types, including finite clauses with no character participants, non-finite clauses, nominal constructions and null counterparts, were much more frequent in the source text data than in the target text data included in the coupled pairs. In section 5.3.2.3, we observed that a translation shift from one of these clause types to process clauses with nominated character participants usually entails an increase in the prominence of participants or in the vividness of the process, or both. Based on these considerations, we may formulate the norm that the use of these constructions, which obscure the participant of the clause, should be avoided when translating the source text's process clauses with nominated character participants. On the other hand, when these constructions exist in the source text, they can be replaced with process clauses that bring the participants to the relative foreground.

The overall tendency in the translation of these other clause types is thus towards clearer, more lively description using finite processes and active participants. As we saw in the above, the analysis of process verbs yielded the same result. It can also be observed that in cases where the character participants and finite processes are obscured by the selection of a different clause type for the translation, this usually results in a more natural flow of the target text, making the text easier to read. Natural flow of the target language is thus given precedence to a studious reproduction of each process.

Examination of the participant roles that the four main characters in the data were cast into supports the basic norm: changes are also allowed in the participant roles, which is of course a natural consequence of the changes in the process types. This constitutes the answer to research question 2.B. The directions of change differed for the four characters, which means that the translator had made changes to the way in which individual characters are depicted. It seems that the female characters were changed into a more active direction, while one of the male characters, the main protagonist's love interest Mr Darcy, had gained visibility as a Senser – not an altogether surprising development in a novel that many readers still read as a predominantly romantic story. These observations could constitute the fragile beginnings of a gender-based translational norm; however, the scope of this section of the study was too limited to allow very definite results, and research question 2.C can only be answered in this

rather tentative manner. The construction of characters' identities through the use of process types would, however, constitute a very interesting subject for further study.

To answer research question 2.D, we should consider the societies in which the source text and the translation were published. One of the immense changes that have taken place in western societies between the publication of the source text and that of the target text is of course the improved equality between men and women. Modern Finnish society is a much more equal one than the English society at the beginning of the 19th century. This change seems to have become visible in the translation, with the female characters being cast in the roles of Actor (Elizabeth Bennet) and Sayer (Elizabeth Bennet and Lady Catherine) at increased frequency compared to the source text. Mr. Darcy, on the other hand, has become a more prominent Senser of mental processes, which could be seen as a reflection of the changed roles of men in society and in relationships. In the modern society, a man is able to adopt a more sensitive role.

It must be noted that the present study did not include a thorough analysis of the source and target cultures. This must necessarily mean that the conclusions that are made here about the impact of the cultural context on the translation must be preliminary results only. They may, however, offer a working hypothesis for further study. Factors other than the gender of the characters could be considered, and a much more extensive and detailed analysis carried out.

All the norms and tendencies that we were able to establish based on our analysis of the translational shifts, listed above, thus seem to point to the same direction: great flexibility is allowed in the translation of a literary text. We will now consider what this means for research question 1.D. A modern audience expects and appreciates lively and dynamic description, which has been achieved through the use of lexical verbs instead of copula, the casting of participants in more active roles, and the preference of process clauses at the expense of the clause types that obscure the process and the participants. The cultural distance between the source and the target contexts sometimes requires clarification of meanings, which has also been achieved via translational shifts. Natural flow of the text is considered essential in modern translations of fiction, and has been achieved in this translation using several means which have required changes in the clause or process type; very often, translation that has obscured the role of participants or the process can be justified with the requirement of naturalness.

In addition to the increased clarity and immediateness of the description, evidence of reduced formality could also be found. Reduced formality often means reduced complexity: the text becomes easier to read than if it had been translated following the same level of formality. It can thus be said that there is no strict norm that the level of formality of the source text should be preserved. It could also be suggested that this norm entails that where clarity and the level of formality are in conflict, clarity should be given precedence. However, this aspect of the texts was not systematically examined, and only tentative assumptions of the norm can therefore be expressed here. Similarly, the level of politeness has changed in some clauses as a result of a changed transitivity pattern; this is another area of study that cannot be treated with any length within the scope of this study.

The norms that could be established based on this data are thus well in line with the trends of the modern publishing industry, which reflect the social context in which the translation has been published. As mentioned above, the cultural context of the texts was not systematically investigated in this study, and we must therefore leave more detailed conclusions to further study.

In addition to establishing translational norms, the study yielded insight into how the field and tenor of the text are constructed. We observed, among other things, that the high proportion of mental and verbal verbs indicates that speech and thoughts are of great importance in the world described in Pride and Prejudice. The tenor of the situation, usually a matter of interpersonal metafunction, also reflects in the transitivity patterns of the text. We saw mental and verbal verbs being used to attack the other participant in the situation. Verbal verbs were also used by at least one character, Mr Collins, to accentuate his social position. Mr Darcy and Elizabeth, on the other hand, masked their vicious meanings with positive verbs. Such aspects of the construction of interpersonal relationships were not the focus of the present study, but raise interesting further questions about the nature of discourse and what could be revealed by a more detailed systemic functional study.

To begin the analysis, I considered the translation's position in the target culture and as a part of the literary system of Finland. It is now time to return to those considerations and to make a final assessment of the translation's position. In section 5.1.2, I observed

that the translation, called Ylpeys ja ennakkoluulo, has been considered part of the romantic genre by a majority of readers. This will, no doubt, remain true for many of them, and the new translation certainly does not reject this interpretation. However, the quality of the translation is extremely high, and well worth the original work's literary status. Based on the coupled pairs examined in this study, and the multitude of creative translation solutions found in them, the translator has clearly succeeded in writing a literary translation that is a pleasure to read and retains the beauty and expressive power of the original language.

7. CONCLUSION

Translation studies as an academic discipline involve two major approaches: the descriptive and the prescriptive approach. Furthermore, the gap between translation theory and the practical profession of a translator has been rather wide, and it has sometimes been considered whether translation theory is at all relevant to translators. As a descriptive field, the aim of translation theory is to understand translation processes as literary theory aims at understanding literature. Andrew Chesterman (Chesterman and Wagner 2002: 2) points out that there are two types of theoretical fields: those similar to literary theory, where the task of the theoretical endeavor is to provide information and to understand what is being done by practitioners, and those similar to mechanical engineering, where the theory aims at enabling the practitioners, engineers, to build better machines. According to Chesterman, modern translation theorists have largely left the latter approach behind them. Still, the question of what translation theory should be remains somewhat open.

It is an essential part of Gideon Toyry's model of translation research that it does not aim to give translators practical instructions of which norms they should follow (Toury 2012: 11). My work, therefore, aims only at revealing the norms that one highly experienced translator has used when translating one work of literature. While I believe that the result will reflect overall tendencies in translational norms, each translator must make his or her own decisions taking into account the properties of the text and the context and purpose of its translation. The results of this study are not, therefore, meant to be used as prescriptive rules for how to translate, but they do offer translators further basis for making well-justified decisions in their work.

In the introduction to this study, I considered the possibility of using the present study to draw conclusions on how translations are made between English and Finnish, thus enabling the use of this work in the general effort of forming an area-restricted theory, or a theory concerning translation between two languages or cultures. I believe that the norms and observations listed above have indeed value for such a theory: to be exact, the languages and cultures dealt with such a theory would be the Georgian English and the modern Finnish language and culture. Based on the present study, it can be concluded that translations between these require much flexibility, creativity and skill from the translator.

As a working translator, I found it very interesting to see translational norms in action in a literary translation. The systemic linguistic model brought out language as a tool of expression in a way that is extremely useful to a translator, whose task is to convey meanings and to select the linguistic means for doing so. As for literary translation, we know that it is an art requiring much creativity; now we see what this means from a functional linguistic perspective. Conducting this study, I have certainly learned to respect the immense variability of verbal constructions, the rich expressive resources of languages that allow meanings being constructed in so many different ways, and the many aspects of meaning that individual words are able to carry, allowing different interpretations in an incredibly flexible manner.

Countless possibilities of further study presented themselves in the course of the present study. More extensive data, data of different text types, and data from different time periods could be examined. Other aspects of the systemic linguistic model could be included in the analysis, making different aspects of language use visible, such as the impact of presenting flow of events as a nominal structure instead of using a process verb. Areas of particular interest would include a study of whether the norm to preserve the process type would be stronger in the case of non-fiction – for example, in corporate communications. A comparison of different text types with regard to this question would be likely to yield results that would be useful for many translators.

The study could also be expanded to include more extensive cultural considerations and to delve deeper into discourse analysis, with the added perspective of operating in two cultures and answering the questions that arise from translating the discourses under study. For example, character description could be examined more closely. Relationships between character pairs could be considered, as well as relationships between characters of the same or different gender in general: how do the characters talk to or about each other, and how do they refer to themselves? How do they position themselves in relation to others? A proper cultural analysis, absent from the present study, could form a major part of such a study and provide a more solid ground for the conclusions. Translated discourses are an endless source of interesting research topics combining the use of language with an intercultural social study.

From a text linguistic perspective, coherence within a text could be examined, as well as how a text may change as the story develops, or the themes are discussed further: does the discourse change as a dialogue or the text as a whole progresses? Study of cohesion could be most useful in the area of commercial translation operations. In modern translation business, translations are done using segment-based translation memories nearly without exception. The translator deals with the text one sentence at a time, and pressed by tight schedules and the need to make a profit, may never have time to look at the text as a whole. It can be expected that this could affect the cohesion of texts; does this result in problems in how translated texts fulfil their purpose? What types of texts are most at risk?

Linguistic studies of literary translation have sometimes been criticized as trying to quantify an unquantifiable process that belongs to the realm of art. All translators use their instincts in their work, and a literary translator must have particularly sharp instincts as to the use of language. Still, a translator's instincts have a firm basis in linguistic competence. It must follow that the increase of linguistic competence leads to even sharper instincts and better use of the linguistic tools available to the translator. Therefore, all translators benefit from a thorough knowledge of how language can be used to construct meanings.

As the work of M.A.K. Halliday has been so central to this work, I wish to conclude with a quote from him: "There can be no semiotic act that leaves world exactly as it was before." (Halliday 2002: 254.) The passage of time has created a new framework for Jane Austen's work, and the cultural and linguistic distance between Regency English and present-day Finnish has added its impact; but regardless of these factors, the semiotic acts created by Jane Austen – and recreated by Kersti Juva – still contribute to how we perceive our world.

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APPENDIX 1

Text excerpt 1

Field

Mr Collins has asked to speak to Elizabeth Bennet in private with the purpose of proposing marriage to her. The discussion takes place within the Bennet household. The topic of discussion are the merits of marriage to Mr Collins, and the refusal of Elizabeth Bennet. No reference is made to the immediate physical environment; only abstract matters are discussed.

Tenor

The participants of the discussion are Mr Collins and Miss Elizabeth Bennet. Mr Collins is a clergyman who holds an office given to him by Lady Catherine de Bourgh. His position in society is not high, but his importance to the Bennet family is increased by the fact that he is to inherit the Bennets' estate after Mr Bennet. Elizabeth Bennet is the second daughter of Mr Bennet, a gentleman of moderate wealth. She will only inherit a very small sum of money, which greatly diminishes her value in the marriage market. Elizabeth Bennet does not respect or like Mr Collins. Mr Collins is not aware of this. Mr Collins should in fact hold a position of authority towards Elizabeth, but Elizabeth does not recognize his position or only does so on a very superficial level. Mr Collins has no particular personal feelings towards Elizabeth, but considers her to be a suitable bride for himself. Mr Collins and Elizabeth Bennet do not know each other very well, as they have only spent a short period of time together while Mr Collins has been a house guest at the Bennet household. The emotional charge between them is unbalanced, with no particular feelings from Mr Collins' side and dislike from Elizabeth's side. Social conventions do, however, prevent Elizabeth from expressing her dislike and contempt.

Mode

The text excerpt is a written description of a fictional spoken dialogue. The participants to the dialogue are both present within the same space and near enough to each other to be able to carry out a successful discourse. Both participants respond to what the other one says, but Mr Collins greatly misinterprets Elizabeth's words. Both speak directly to the other. The rhetorical mode is persuasive. There is clear turn-taking with no simultaneous speech. Mr Collins speaks considerably more than Elizabeth and takes 7 turns of conversation, most of them very long, while Elizabeth takes 5 turns which are much shorter on average.

Text excerpt 2

Field
Miss Elizabeth Bennet is staying as a house guest at Hunsford rectory, the home of her cousin Mr Collins and his newly wedded wife, who is Elizabeth's long-time friend Charlotte Lucas. The others have gone to have tea at Lady Catherine de Bourgh's mansion, but Elizabeth has stayed back with a headache, wishing to avoid meeting Mr Darcy, who is visiting his aunt, Lady Catherine. Elizabeth has just heard that Mr Darcy has prevented a very likely engagement between her sister Jane and Mr Bingley, causing much grief to Jane, and she is very agitated. Mr Darcy arrives at the rectory and proposes marriage to Elizabeth. The dialogue takes place indoors at the rectory, with Mr Darcy standing and Elizabeth sitting down. The topic of discussion is the proposal, Elizabeth's refusal and the reasons for it, covering matters pertaining to Mr Wickham and the prevention of the engagement between Jane Bennet and Mr Bingley. No reference is made to the immediate physical environment. The topics of discussion are dealt with on a mostly abstract level.

Tenor
The participants of the discussion are Mr Fitzwilliam Darcy and Miss Elizabeth Bennet. Mr Darcy is a young man, but also a very wealthy and well-respected landowner, who holds a relatively high position in society. Elizabeth Bennet is the second daughter of a gentleman of moderate wealth and a lower social position than that of Mr Darcy. Elizabeth Bennet considers Mr Darcy to be proud and unpleasant, and does not hold him in high regard. However, she understands and recognizes his higher position in society. Mr Darcy has first considered Miss Elizabeth to be of too low a social standing to be considered as a possible spouse; furthermore, he is an introvert who generally avoids social situations, which has led to behavior that has been interpreted as disdainful by Elizabeth and others. Nevertheless, he has since fallen in love with her. Previously, Mr Darcy and Elizabeth Bennet have met several times and spent a few days in the same house. They have talked several times, but have not understood each other well. Elizabeth Bennet is lively and outspoken, while Mr Darcy is more reserved. The emotional charge between them is very unbalanced: Mr Darcy considers Elizabeth Bennet his future wife, and Elizabeth Bennet considers Mr Darcy a near-stranger who has caused her sister sorrow and is not pleasant to talk to. Social conventions have so far prevented the unbalance from showing clearly, but the proposal scene reveals it.

Mode
The text excerpt is a written description of a fictional spoken dialogue. The participants to the dialogue are both present within the same space and near enough to each other to be able to carry out a successful discourse. Both participants speak directly to the other, and respond to each other. The rhetorical mode is polemic. The pace of turn-taking is often rapid, and reactions to the other speaker strong.

Text excerpt 3

Field
Lady Catherine de Bourgh has arrived at the Bennet residence, and Lady Catherine and Elizabeth Bennet go outside to carry out a discussion. The purpose of Lady Catherine's visit is to let Elizabeth Bennet know that Lady Catherine does not approve of Elizabeth Bennet's assumed engagement to Mr Darcy. The topic of discussion are the rumors that Lady Catherine has heard, and her attempt to bend Elizabeth Bennet to her will. No reference is made to the immediate physical environment.

Tenor
The participants of the discussion are Lady Catherine de Bourgh and Elizabeth Bennet. Lady Catherine is a rich lady with a very high position in society. She is also the aunt of Elizabeth Bennet's developing romantic interest, Mr Darcy, and therefore holds a position of particular authority and respect with relation to Mr Darcy and, through him, to Elizabeth Bennet. Elizabeth Bennet is the second daughter of a gentleman of moderate wealth and a lower social position than that of Lady Catherine de Bourgh. Elizabeth Bennet recognizes Lady Catherine's higher social position, but has previously shown that she does not appreciate Lady Catherine's habit of intruding into other people's lives. Lady Catherine is very well aware of Elizabeth's lower social position, and believes Elizabeth to be disrespectful. Lady Catherine and Elizabeth Bennet have met on several occasions, but do not know each other well. The emotional charge between them is negative, as neither approves of the other one's attitude. Normally, social conventions would prevent the emotional charge from becoming evident in a dialogue carried out between participants of such different social status, but in the present case, the emotions involved can be assumed to be too strong to be hidden on both sides. Both participants are outspoken, and Lady Catherine considers it her right to tell her opinions and to guide others in all concerns.

Mode
The text excerpt is a written description of a fictional spoken dialogue. The participants to the dialogue are both present within the same space and near enough to each other to be able to carry out a successful discourse. The dialogue takes place outdoors, but there are no external disturbances. Lady Catherine wishes to dominate the discussion, but both participants respond to what the other one says. At one point, Lady Catherine feels that Elizabeth has interrupted her. The rhetorical mode is persuasive and polemic. Both participants speak directly to the other. Lady Catherine's turns are generally longer, but the pace of turn-taking is fairly rapid.