

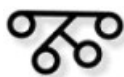
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**Culture gaps: challenges in translating non-standard language varieties**

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*Rad je obranjen \_\_\_\_\_ i ocijenjen ocjenom \_\_\_\_\_.*

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**Culture gaps: challenges in translating non-standard language varieties**

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## **Abstract**

This thesis comprises five annotated translations, accompanied by a discussion. Excerpts from three books were translated from English into Croatian, *The Willpower Instinct. How Self-Control Works, Why It Matters, and What You Can Do to Get More of It* by Kelly McGonigal, *Social Class in the 21st Century* by Mike Savage, and UNHCR Resettlement Handbook, and two from Croatian into English, *Ženski udesi: Tri pripovijesti (Parskina sreća - Sirota - Udala se)* by Živko Bertić, and *Oči* by Edo Popović. The discussion focused on the challenges in translating non-standard language varieties which can cause culture gaps. It was also meant to show possible solutions and the positive and negative aspects of existing taxonomies created to help translators make decisions during the translation event. In the discussion, the focus was on scholars Jianqing Wu and Vladimir Ivir who wrote about bridging the culture gaps in translations and they both offered their taxonomies. They each respectively developed procedure meant to help translators deal with cultural elements in source texts. Moreover, the discussion examines the positive and negative aspects and consequences of using these strategies in certain contexts.

## **Sažetak**

Ovaj diplomski rad sastoji se od pet prijevoda koji su popraćeni komentarima te na kraju slijedi rasprava. Tri su teksta prevedena s engleskog jezika na hrvatski, *The Willpower Instinct. How Self-Control Works, Why It Matters, and What You Can Do to Get More of It* autorice Kelly McGonigal, *Social Class in the 21st Century* autora Mikea Savagea, i UNHCR Resettlement Handbook, te dva s hrvatskog na engleski, *Ženski udesi: Tri pripovijesti (Parskina sreća - Sirota - Udala se)* autora Živka Bertića, i *Oči* autora Ede Popovića. Teme rasprave su izazovi pri prevođenju nestandardnih inačica jezika koje mogu uzrokovati rupe u kulturama. Također su prikazana moguća rješenja te pozitivne i negativne posljedice taksonomija koje pomažu prevoditeljima pri prevođenju. U raspravi su spomenute taksonomije Vladimira Ivira i Jianqing Wu koji su napisali radove o premošćivanju rupa u kulturama. Također se raspravlja o pozitivnim i negativnim aspektima i posljedicama korištenja tih strategija u određenim kontekstima.

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**Part One**  
**Discussion**

## **Culture gaps: challenges in translating non-standard language varieties**

### **1. Introduction**

There are different ways of defining translation, but the fundamental idea with which everyone agrees is that translation is the communication of the meaning of a source text (further in the text ST) by means of an equivalent target text (further in the text TT). Some linguists claim that by translating a text, we are rewriting it due to our upbringing, environment, social circumstances, etc. According to André Lefevere:

“Translation is the most obviously recognizable type of rewriting, and . . . it is potentially the most influential because it is able to project the image of an author and/or those works beyond the boundaries of their culture of origin.”  
(cited in Munday 2008: 126)

The process of translation always encompasses two cultures – the source culture (further in the text SC) and the target culture (further in the text TC). Culture is present in all aspects of life, including communication and languages. Its presence in communication and languages can be more explicit or more implicit, but it is always there because language and culture are intertwined. Jianqing Wu claims that “language is not seen as an isolated phenomenon suspended in a vacuum but as an integral part of culture“ (2008: 123). It is notably evident in literary works with various references to people, places, products, etc. from one culture which readers from another culture cannot always understand. This difficulty in understanding another culture is one of the reasons we need translating. According to Vladimir Ivir, “any act of translation represents an attempt to bridge the gap between two cultures.” (2003: 117) There are cases when concepts and ideas are similar in the two cultures and translating them does not pose a problem. However, more often than not, there are significant differences, meaning that the references from the ST do not elicit the same response from the target audience because they are not familiar to them. Therefore, it is the translator’s job to bridge the gaps between the two cultures and ensure that the TC audience experiences the text in the same way as the SC audience. André Lefevere says that the focus should be put on “the interaction between translation and culture, on the way in which culture impacts and constrains translation” (cited in Munday 2008: 125).

Standard language varieties are used by governments, in the media, in schools and for international communication. If a person is starting to study a new language, s/he will study the standard variety. Ronald Wardhaugh claims that “the standard variety is also often regarded as the natural, proper, and fitting language of those who use – or should use – it” (2015: 34). However, non-standard varieties are always present. They are often considered, as Peter Trudgill claims, “non-prestige, ‘wrong’, ‘ugly’, ‘corrupt’, or ‘lazy’”, unlike the standard variety which is usually associated with high education. (2000: 8) There are many types of non-standard varieties and Trudgill categorizes them by “location, social class, ethnic group, age, sex, and nationality” (2000: v). Non-standard language varieties add an additional layer of culture to the texts which in turn adds to the difficulty of understanding the text for the TC audience.

This thesis will look at texts written in the non-standard language varieties and the problems which arose due to cultural differences. The translator is to find a way to solve the problems and transfer the meaning into the TT by looking at each cultural element which might not be familiar to the TC audience and decide on the importance of the element in the particular text. Afterwards, the translator has to opt for, as Kate James says, “the solution which appears the most appropriate in each specific case” (2002: 1). In the first part of the thesis, we will try to examine some of the possible “strategies” presented by scholars such as Vladimir Ivir and Jianqing Wu. We will also examine the positive and negative aspects and consequences of using these strategies in certain contexts. It is the translator’s task to examine all available options and choose the one s/he deems the most appropriate.

## **2. Culture gaps**

Before we look at some of the strategies offered for translating cultural elements, we should first define culture gaps which are caused by the differences in cultures. To help us get an idea of what the term culture gap refers to, we will look at the definition provided by *Oxford Dictionary*: “a difference in values, behaviour, or customs between two cultures or groups of people, especially as a hindrance to mutual understanding and communication.” Ivir claims that “the gaps are due to the cultural peculiarities or individualities of the participants engaged in the act of communication” (2003: 117). Cultural gaps cause mutual misunderstandings and



incomprehension among people from differing backgrounds and experiences. Moreover, they are one of the most common problems in translation. Ivir identifies two types of problems:

“those that appear on the level of reception (where the translator, like any other receiver, must grasp the cultural content of the sender’s message, including the content that is implicit rather than explicit) and those that appear on the level of production (where the translator, like any other sender, must find the appropriate linguistic expression in the target language for the cultural content at hand).” (2003: 118)

As previously stated, all cultures are different, but it is also necessary to mention that cultures have many elements in common. If there was absolutely no common ground, translation would be nearly impossible. Cultures which are in contact have more in common than those which are not in contact due to the geographical distance. Closeness between cultures is what makes translation easier, and separation makes it harder. According to Ivir,

“Even distant cultures have enough similarity – deriving from the common biosphere in which they develop and the common biological (psycho-physical) make-up of the members of the human race – to make translation possible.” (2003: 118)

However, the further we move from our known culture, the more careful we need to be. We need to pay close attention to the changes in the society, culture, and, consequently, the language because it is, in fact, the language that reflects the culture. As Jianqing Wu says: “we must pay more attention to the analysis and comparison of the cultural connotation of words for it reflects the cultural differences in different countries.” (2008: 123) She further explains and lists the areas in which culture gaps appear most frequently. According to her, the culture gaps can be found in “cultural background, non-equivalence, extension and intention, and derivation“ (2008: 123).

Everyone is under the influence of their culture and this becomes apparent when communicating with a member of another culture. It is less noticeable if our interlocutor is from our culture, or from one that is very close to ours. However, our culture becomes apparent when our interlocutor is from a culture that is vastly different from ours. In such a case, communication becomes more troublesome because we do not share the same cultural background. Wu claims that “words, as an effective tool, reflect author’s attitude and beliefs, their points of view,” and “that language expresses cultural reality” (2008: 123). As an example, she uses the word “dog” and explains how it has different connotations in different cultures. According to her, “when a child who grows up in the American cultural world learns

the words “dog”, he will normally learn the cultural meaning of the word: the dog is “man’s best friend”, while a child brought up in the Chinese cultural world will be taught that the dog is a dirty and dangerous animal“ (2008: 123). This is just a simple example of how our cultural background shapes us and our worldview. It also cautions us to be mindful of these differences when translating.

The second area in which culture gaps appear according to Wu is *non-equivalence*. Languages differ one from another by a number of things. It might be due to their grammar, vocabulary, or different sets of linguistic rules. Translators always try to find the corresponding equivalent in the target language (further in the text TL); however, that is not always possible. According to Wu, there are two types of *non-equivalence*: when “a term in one language does not have a counterpart in another language,” and when “words or terms in both languages that appear to refer to the same object or concept on the surface actually refer to quite different things” (2008: 124). The first case when there is no counterpart for the term in another language occurs often because every culture has something unique to it that does not have a counterpart term in another culture (in most cases, it is because the item does not exist in other cultures). As an example, Wu used the expression *Sphinx’s riddle* which has no equivalent in Chinese. For the second type, when words seem to refer to the same object or concept but actually refer to different things, she used the examples *curry* and *ga li*, “for the Chinese, *ga li* only means to be a kind of condiments. But the curry in England refers to the chicken, meat, or other food stewed of curry, and it is generally mixed with rice, for it is both salted and peppery” (2008: 124).

According to Wu, culture gaps are also expressed in *extension* and *intention*. She makes a distinction between “terms that have more or less the same primary meaning, but which have secondary or additional meanings that may differ considerably from each other,” and “terms that have more or less the same primary meaning, but which have secondary or additional meanings that may differ considerably from each other” (2008: 124). The common characteristic of these two types is that subtle changes in meaning appear in the translation. Either the word in TL has additional meaning(s), or the meaning of the word from the SL is narrowed in the TL. For the example of *extension*, Wu used colours: “blue in Chinese implies purity and melancholy when it means salacious in English” (2008: 124). To explain the terms that have more or less the same primary meaning, but which have secondary or additional meanings that may differ considerably from each other, she used family relations, more accurately, she used the term *brother-in-law*. In English, it is used for “the sister’s husband,

husband's brothers and husband's sisters' husbands, who in Chinese we call “*mei fu*”, “*xiao shu zi*”, “*xiao jiu zi*” and so on” (Wu 2008: 214).

The last area Wu spoke about in which culture gaps appear is *derivation*. According to Wu, “culture is the forms of things that people have in mind, their models for perceiving, relating, and otherwise interpreting them,” meaning that they associate certain qualities with objects or concepts which, in turn, elicit some kind of reactions (2008: 125). As an example, she described how certain cultures associate different emotions with the same animals. Wu says:

“In the Chinese culture, the most-favoured animals should be the dragon and phoenix. The dragon stands for the emperor when the phoenix stands for the empress. All the Chinese people regard themselves as descendants of the dragon. To English speaker, however, the dragon is often a symbols of evil, a fierce monster that destroys, and therefore must be destroyed. And the phoenix is by no means the spouse of a dragon; rather, it is associated with rebirth and resurrection.” (2008: 125)

This example shows how members of different cultures react to the same cultural element. They associate different qualities and emotions with the same element due to their cultural background which shaped their perspective.

Now that we have defined what culture gaps are and have determined how and why they come to exist between different cultures, let us turn to actual strategies that can be used in the translation of the items.

### **3. Taxonomies**

There are various approaches to the translation of cultural items which cause culture gaps, all depending on a number of factors. It is the translators who decide how they will approach the text and which strategies they will use. The selection of strategies has to be done bearing in mind the target audience and the TT. The translator should first decide between foreignization and domestication of the TT, i.e. whether the text will be more SC or TC oriented. No matter the decision, the translator also has to decide to which degree the text will conform to the SC or TC, i.e. whether the TT will have the “exotic” flavour by keeping the SC elements, or whether the emphasis will be on using various strategies in order to tone down the SC references, if not replacing them entirely. According to André Lefevere, this decision is influenced by various factors such as “power, ideology, institution and manipulation” (cited in

Munday 2008: 125). The purpose or the “skopos” of the translation is also taken into account, as well as its TA.

Scholars interested in translation studies came up with different, but at the same time very similar, categories and strategies for translating cultural elements. There are many different taxonomies, and the ones which will be presented below are just a drop in the sea of translation studies.

### 3.1 Ivir’s taxonomy

The translator’s choice of strategy is influenced by him/her understanding the function of an element of the SC, how it will communicate with the TA. According to Kate James: “The translator also has to decide on the importance given to certain cultural aspects and to what extent it is necessary or desirable to translate them into the TL.” (2002: 1) It is important to recognize all possible problems and examine several options before opting for one in order to avoid undesirable consequences. Ivir suggests the following procedures: (a) borrowing, (b) definition or paraphrase, (c) literal translation, (d) substitution, (e) lexical creation, (f) addition, (g) omission (2003: 118). Here are his definitions and examples:

#### (a) borrowing

Ivir notes that “some expressions can be easily borrowed in the nominative case but are very hard to manipulate in the oblique cases and various formations” (2003: 122). As an example he uses the word *intervju* which is widespread in Croatian, but it still causes unease “when it needs to be pronounced or written in the locative singular (*u intervjuu*)” (Ivir 2003: 122).

#### (b) definition or paraphrase

In the following example, “*Macy’s parade* is in focus” and it is important to convey it to the TA (Ivir 2003: 119). The translator paraphrased the cultural element and added a definition in the footnote, as well some additional information which he deemed necessary for the reader to understand “the cultural significance” (Ivir 2003: 119).

*Would she be able to take a little girl to Macy’s parade?*

*Bi li mogla povesti malu djevojčicu na godišnju paradu robne kuće Macy’s?*

\*"Macy's, the largest department store in the world (occupying a whole city block in New York), has for forty years been staging a children's parade on Thanksgiving Day (in late November), with huge balloons representing Popeye, Donald Duck, etc."

(c) literal translation

According to Ivir, "the procedure of literal translation is blocked for semantic reasons when its use would produce undesirable results (for instance, if the American *high school* was translated as *visoka škola*)" (2003: 123).

(d) substitution

Substitution is used "when a specific element of the source culture is merely a background against which communication takes place" (Ivir 2003: 119). In the following example, little would have been gained if the translator had chosen to fully transfer the meaning; moreover, a long description of what the Western Union was would only impede the flow of the text and it would attract the reader's eye with its unusualness.

*Disguised as a Western Union messenger, he entered the bank and...*

*Prerušen u dostavljača brzojava, ušao je u banku i...*

(e) lexical creation

The procedure of creating new words and expressions to fill the culture gap is not so frequently employed because it can be difficult for the reader to understand the meaning until the new word is widely accepted. It is mostly used when translating STs which already contain neologisms, e.g. fantasy and science-fiction novels.

(f) addition

Addition is a procedure which is mostly used in combination with others, such as borrowing, literal translation, or lexical creation, when a short explanation of the cultural element is needed and when it is possible to incorporate it into the sentence without damaging the sentence structure or disrupting the reading flow.

(g) omission

Omission can be used if the meaning of the ST element is not important enough to be incorporated in the sentence or if the TC does not use anything in its place.

### 3.2 Wu's taxonomy

Wu stresses that dealing with translating culture gaps is “a very important process during translation” because “a translator should attach greater importance to cultural equivalence than to any other aspects” (2008: 125). Wu also recognizes that equivalence cannot be always achieved on the same level; therefore, she offers six procedures for translating culture gaps: (a) retaining original cultural flavour, (b) transliteration, (c) transference, (d) replacing the cultural expression of the SL with those of the TL, (e) translating the implied meaning, (f) explanation (2008: 125-127)

#### (a) retaining original cultural flavour

According to Wu, “whether to retain the original cultural flavor depends on the literal form and inner meaning” (2008: 125). If the readers can understand the meaning because of the context, the translator can leave the SC element. As an example, she used the abbreviated form *When the cat's away* of the saying *When the cat's away, the mice will play*. In her translation, she kept the abbreviated form because its function was clear and the readers understood it.

#### (b) transliteration

Wu mentions two types of transliteration: *transliteration*, and *transliteration plus a generic word*. *Transliteration* means that the “words are transliterated according to pronunciation”, e.g. *copy* as *kao bei* (2008: 126). *Transliteration plus a generic word* is used when “the readers do not understand the explicit meaning when using transliteration for they have no chance to know the thing directly” (2008: 126). Some of these words are *ballet*(*ba lei wu*), *Pizza*(*bi sa bing*).

#### (c) transference

*Transference* means that “the original word is all transferred into the translated text wholly or partly” (2008: 126). Such as *MTV*, *WTO*, etc.

#### (d) replacing the cultural expression of the ST with those of the TL

This procedure comes into effect when it comes to translating proverbs. Each culture has specific proverbs tied to the qualities and values of that culture. In most cases, it is impossible to find a true equivalent, so the procedure of replacing is used.

(e) translating the implied meaning

Wu claims that “people in different cultures express words differently, because of the difference of the mode of thinking” (2008: 127). In such cases, it is important to translate the implied meaning in that particular context.

(f) explanation

According to Wu, *explanation* is “another good way to solve culture gaps’ problems” (2008: 127). In cases when there is no equivalent in the TL for the cultural element, a short explanation of the element can be added.

### 3.3 Conclusion on taxonomies

Both Ivir and Wu offer several procedures on how to handle translating culture gaps. Table 3.3.1 compares the procedures and shows which ones fully or partly(\*) match, and which have no correspondence.

| <b>Ivir</b>              | <b>Wu</b>  |
|--------------------------|--|
| borrowing                | Transliteration*   |
| definition or paraphrase | explanation  |
| literal translation      | retaining original cultural flavour*                             |
| substitution             | replacing the cultural expression of the ST with those of the TL |
| lexical creation         | x  |
| addition                 | x  |

|          |                                 |
|----------|---------------------------------|
| omission | x                               |
| x        | translating the implied meaning |
| x        | transference                    |

**Table 3.3.1**

Out of these two divisions, Ivir’s taxonomy fits better for this thesis. It encapsulates all possible situation and solutions for them, while Wu’s taxonomy could be considered incomplete. Moreover, most of the terms used by Ivir are accepted and used worldwide in translation studies. Therefore, we will be using Ivir’s taxonomy in the second part of this thesis for the analysis of culture gaps in non-standard language varieties.

#### **4. Analysis**

We will now turn to the examples taken from the STs. We will be looking at examples from three different STs, all written in a non-standard language varieties. Non-standard language varieties are hard to translate because they can differ for a number of reasons and the translator has to know and respect the TC, be immersed into it. The translator also has to be always aware of the changes occurring in the language and be able to recognize if a language favours some procedures over others. Non-standard language varieties are often considered, as Trudgill claims, “non-prestige, ‘wrong’, ‘ugly’, ‘corrupt’, or ‘lazy’” and the speakers of non-standard varieties are often stigmatized (2000: 8). When translating such a difficult language variety, it is the translator’s task to decide which non-standard variety of TL will be used, or if non-standard variety will be used at all. Each non-standard language variety is different and does not have an equivalent non-standard variety in some other language. Therefore, translators have to be extremely cautious when choosing the language variety in order to avoid unpleasant consequences.

The first ST we will look at is *Social Class in the 21st Century* by Mike Savage. It is a book on social class in the UK and it is not written in a non-standard variety of English; however, there was one sentence that caught my eye. It is the sentence said by Paul, one of the research respondents. He said that guilty pleasures are for when “you’re knackered and your energies are dissipated” (2015: 119). The translation was “kada si mrtav umoran i nemaš ni trunke



energije". The combination of words that Paul used is peculiar because he took the verb dissipate from physics but the first part of his statement is a very typical British slang word. A dissipative process is a process in which energy (internal, bulk flow kinetic or system potential) is transformed from some initial form to some final form; the capacity of the final form to do mechanical work is less than that of the initial form. In Croatian the same term exists, *disipacija* (<http://hjp.znanje.hr/index.php?show=search>); however, it cannot be used to express the levels of energy one has left in the body like it can be used in English. The term from physics could not be retained, compensation was used for that by using a collocation which contains the word *energy* and means that one is so tired that s/he has no energy left. After some research, the expression *nemam ni trunke energije* appeared and it fits well in the text and with the phrase before it, *mrtav umoran*. The reason the phrase *mrtav umoran* was used instead of *iscrpljen* is because it is Paul, an average British man, who said it, and not the author with his formal style. Moreover, he used the colloquial expression *knackered* which allowed a break from the formality and also the usage of a colloquial expression which is very commonly used in Croatia.

The second ST we will look at is *Oči* by Edo Popović. *Oči* is a contemporary novel about an atypical man who lives in the suburbs of Zagreb. He grew up in a dysfunctional family and he became a member of his own dysfunctional family after trying to build a life for himself. The text is written in a non-standard language variety and it is filled with slang words, metaphors which are not common for the standard variety of Croatian, cultural references, and there is a lack of quotation marks and some punctuation. Firstly, it was necessary to determine how to successfully transfer the style to the TT. Non-standard language variety in English is characterized by many features, and the most common are contracted verb forms, especially in writing. Considering that the original is written in a non-standard language variety of Croatian, it was necessary to retain the informality and the most obvious choice was to use contractions whenever possible, especially in direct speech, e.g. *he's*, *don't*, *wasn't*. Such contracted forms are not possible in Croatian due to grammatical limitations, meaning that Croatian has a gap where English has such a distinct feature which changes from one social group to another. In some groups, it is even expressed by ungrammatical expressions like *ain't*, etc.

In the ST, we can come across the word *stara*. The Croatian slang word *stara*, meaning mother, is, I believe, unique because it does not derive from the same root as the word *mother*

as most nicknames. That very reason could lead to a possible mistranslation of the word as *the old lady*. The expression *the old lady* has a completely different meaning in informal English, and it means a girlfriend or a wife. Therefore, it was necessary to use substitution or paraphrasing. There are many slang words for *mother* in the Online Slang Dictionary (<http://onlineslangdictionary.com>); however, most of them did not fit into the context of the ST. There were several options which could work: *mom*, *ma*, *mum*, but after discussing it with other colleagues, it was decided that the word *ma* was the best solution as it belongs to a non-standard language variety, and is frequently used. Some part of the meaning got lost in the translation because there is simply no word in English that could replace it in the TT. This was not an expression of significant importance, but it shows that culture gaps can be found even in the most ordinary parts of life.

Another thing that English has and Croatian does not is the ability to create numerous compounds. In the following part, the main character is complaining about his doctor in a rather childish way: “A i bio mi ga je pun kufer. Njega i njegove pametne face.” The first sentence is a very well know expression in Croatia that means someone is annoying you and you cannot take it anymore. The second sentence is a childish insult, most likely born out of jealousy. To compensate for the lack of such a graphic expression with a suitcase, the second expression was overly emphasized as childish, “And I’ve had enough of him. Of him and his I’m-so-much-smarter-than-you face,” to create the impression of his childish mocking. An average American reader would read this phrase in a childish voice and imagine a child blowing a raspberry, which is a much stronger effect that the Croatian reader would have.

Culture gaps are also evident in how members of the certain culture call other places. In the novel *Oči*, the main character uses the word *Amerika* while referring to the United States of America. It is common in Croatia to use that term to refer to the country. However, that is not the case for the members of the English speaking cultures. The translation procedure used here was substitution. One element of the SC was replaced by another element from the TC which is more familiar to the TA. In non-standard English varieties, the names United States or the U.S. are more commonly used than *America*.

The third ST we will look at is *Ženski udesi: Tri pripovijesti (Parskina sreća - Sirota - Udala se)* by Živko Bertić. The book was written in 1902 which posed a lot of challenges in translating the non-standard language variety from that era. The characters live in a village in Slavonia, a rural part of Croatia. Considering the era and where they lived, it is not hard to

imagine that they would use some form of a dialect. Moreover, their speech is full of words of Turkish origin which creates a big culture gap considering that the Turkish and Anglophone cultures have not been in constant direct contact as were Croatian and Turkish.

The word *sokak* posed a problem because it has a specific meaning. *Sokak* is a narrow street, which of course does not make it any different than other narrow streets. However, *sokak* is used only for narrow streets in Oriental areas and for narrow streets in flat rural areas like Slavonia. There is no equivalent in English for that cultural element; therefore, it had to be paraphrased or substituted. There were two options we could use: *a street* and *an alley*. Considering that the word *street* has the connotation of a street in a city, we opted to translate *sokak* as *an alley*.

In one of the short stories, a unique saying is mentioned. The saying which the author mentions is “U majstora soba ladna, majstorica gladna”. It was difficult to translate because the vocation had to be retained because the main character is speaking about who would be a better husband, also the meaning and the rhyme had to be retained. In English speaking cultures, they do have the same vocation, *master craftsman*, but English fails short of the title for the master craftsman’s wife. This was the only time omission was used, and only because of the culture gap. Because there is no vocational title for the wife in English, and addition or paraphrase would be too long for the saying, the translation made no mention of the wife: “Craftsman’s room holds no heat, finding food is a feat.” The occupation was retained by using the shorter form of the phrase *master craftsman*, and the expression rhymes. The only thing that slightly changed is the meaning. In the Croatian version, it is explicitly said that the craftsman’s wife is hungry, and in the translation it is implied that they both have no food. However, I think that such slight change in meaning does not impact the translation negatively in any way.

Everyday life and customs differ from culture to culture, and it is precisely in those customs that we can find a lot of cultural gaps. In the ST, *otarak* or *peškir* is mentioned. *Otarki* are linens that were used in everyday life, but also for baptisms, weddings, and funerals, and are typical for Slavonia. In the ST, the aunt of the groom asks the potential bride “...mogu li doći Čolakićevi po otarke”, which was translated as “should the Čolakić family come for the linens”. In the translation, only *linens* are mentioned because the TA was American and the word *otarki* would be most unfamiliar to them. Paraphrasing and addition were not used here because the sentence is a part of a dialogue and additional longer explanation could not be

embedded in the sentence. However, there was still a need to explain to the reader why the aunt was asking about the linens. A footnote was added (“In the Eastern part of Slavonija, there is a custom that the bride gives *otarke* or *peškire*, linens made out of flax and hemp, to the groom and his family to be used for the wedding.”) in order to explain the custom of gifting the linens.

## **5. Conclusion**

The aim of this thesis was to identify the challenges in translating non-standard language varieties which can cause culture gaps. It was also meant to show possible solutions and the positive and negative aspects of existing taxonomies created to help translators make decisions during the translation event. Even in this small sample, it is evident that culture permeates all aspects of a language. Through languages, standard and non-standard varieties, elements of culture permeated literary works which is evident the most during the translation event. Any translation event is an attempt at bridging the culture gaps and giving the TA the same experience the SA had. Bridging the culture gap is difficult no matter how close the cultures are or how far they are from each other. However, the further we move from our known culture, the more careful we need to be. We need to pay close attention to the changes in society, culture, and, consequently, the language because it is, in fact, the language that reflects the culture. Jianqing Wu and Vladimir Ivir wrote about bridging the culture gaps in translations and the both offered their taxonomies. They each respectively developed procedures meant to help translators deal with cultural elements in STs. However, that is not enough. Each translator has to decide for each cultural element how important it is and what the consequences would be for each of the procedures used to communicate the meaning to the TA. We looked at three STs, all different from each other, but written in non-standard language varieties. The first ST only had hints of non-standard variety, while others were written in a non-standard variety in their entirety. Through these examples, we could see that culture gaps appear in all types of texts, in all aspects of life without us even noticing. The second ST was a contemporary novel, and the third ST was from 1902, but they both still expressed the gaps between cultures, even though there is a gap of over one hundred years between them. In the examples, different types of procedures were used, but the one which was used the most is substitution. In some cases, it was a partial substitution, and in some full substitution. It was possible to use substitution because the cultural elements were in the background and not significantly relevant for the plot. However, procedures should be chosen cautiously because not every language will allow every procedure.

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**Part Two**  
**Translations**

## **Translation 1**

Kelly McGonigal. 2012. *The Willpower Instinct. How Self-Control Works, Why It Matters, and What You Can Do to Get More of It*. London: Pearson

Pp 82-86

## 1. Glossary

| Source term      | Target term              | Resource  |
|------------------|--------------------------|---|
| attitude         | stav                     | <a href="http://hrcak.srce.hr/148328">http://hrcak.srce.hr/148328</a>   |
| bad              | loš                      | <a href="http://hrcak.srce.hr/83114">http://hrcak.srce.hr/83114</a>   |
| decision making  | donošenje odluke         | <a href="https://zir.nsk.hr/islandora/object/ffri%3A506/datastream/PDF/view">https://zir.nsk.hr/islandora/object/ffri%3A506/datastream/PDF/view</a>   |
| desire           | želja                    | <a href="http://hrcak.srce.hr/71845">http://hrcak.srce.hr/71845</a>   |
| discriminate     | diskriminirati           | <a href="http://hrcak.srce.hr/31657">http://hrcak.srce.hr/31657</a>   |
| good             | dobar                    | <a href="http://hrcak.srce.hr/83114">http://hrcak.srce.hr/83114</a>   |
| gut response     | intuicija                | <a href="http://hrcak.srce.hr/120422">http://hrcak.srce.hr/120422</a>   |
| impulse          | instinkt                 | <a href="https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Lana_Pehar/publication/268332953_Investigation_of_evolutionary_determinants_of_ethnic_discrimination_tendencies_Ispitivanje_evolucijskih_odrednica_sklonosti_etnickoj_diskriminaciji/links/5468dc960cf20dedafd0d44d.pdf">https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Lana_Pehar/publication/268332953_Investigation_of_evolutionary_determinants_of_ethnic_discrimination_tendencies_Ispitivanje_evolucijskih_odrednica_sklonosti_etnickoj_diskriminaciji/links/5468dc960cf20dedafd0d44d.pdf</a> |
| indulge          | ugađati                  | <a href="https://zir.nsk.hr/en/islandora/object/ffri%3A559/datastream/PDF/view">https://zir.nsk.hr/en/islandora/object/ffri%3A559/datastream/PDF/view</a>   |
| instinctive bias | instinktivna pristranost | consultation with an expert   |
| justification    | opravdanje               | <a href="https://www.ffst.unist.hr/images/50013807/Epistemologija_prirucnik(1).pdf#page=52">https://www.ffst.unist.hr/images/50013807/Epistemologija_prirucnik(1).pdf#page=52</a>   |
| license          | dozvola                  | Bujas, Ž., Veliki englesko-hrvatski rječnik   |
| logic            | logika                   | Bujas, Ž., Veliki englesko-hrvatski rječnik   |
| moral            | moralan                  | <a href="http://hrcak.srce.hr/23154">http://hrcak.srce.hr/23154</a>   |



|                   |                         |   |
|-------------------|-------------------------|---|
| moral credentials | moralna vjerodostojnost | <a href="http://hrcak.srce.hr/142002">http://hrcak.srce.hr/142002</a>   |
| moral lapse       | moralan propust         | <a href="http://hrcak.srce.hr/85504">http://hrcak.srce.hr/85504</a>   |
| moral licensing   | moralno licenciranje    | consultation with an expert   |
| moral reasoning   | moralno rasuđivanje     | <a href="https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Elvio_Baccarini/publication/259690032_Moralna_spoznaja/links/00b7d52d570b25a124000000.pdf">https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Elvio_Baccarini/publication/259690032_Moralna_spoznaja/links/00b7d52d570b25a124000000.pdf</a>   |
| motivation        | motivacija              | Bujas, Ž., Veliki englesko-hrvatski rječnik   |
| permission        | dopuštenje              | Bujas, Ž., Veliki englesko-hrvatski rječnik   |
| racist            | rasistički              | Bujas, Ž., Veliki englesko-hrvatski rječnik   |
| right             | ispravno                | <a href="http://hrcak.srce.hr/55858">http://hrcak.srce.hr/55858</a>   |
| sexist            | seksistički             | Bujas, Ž., Veliki englesko-hrvatski rječnik   |
| stereotype        | stereotip               | Bujas, Ž., Veliki englesko-hrvatski rječnik   |
| vice              | porok                   | <a href="http://s3.amazonaws.com/academia.edu/documents/35060282/24324133-Hume-Rasprava-o-Ljudskoj-Prirodi.pdf?AWSAccessKeyId=AKIAIWO WYYGZ2Y53UL3A&amp;Expires=1490740851&amp;Signature=hUaghgoJx88prh7S2YmoBjNpipI%3D&amp;response-content-disposition=inline%3B%20filename%3DDejvid_Hjum_-_Moral_Rasprava_o_ljudskoj.pdf">http://s3.amazonaws.com/academia.edu/documents/35060282/24324133-Hume-Rasprava-o-Ljudskoj-Prirodi.pdf?AWSAccessKeyId=AKIAIWO WYYGZ2Y53UL3A&amp;Expires=1490740851&amp;Signature=hUaghgoJx88prh7S2YmoBjNpipI%3D&amp;response-content-disposition=inline%3B%20filename%3DDejvid_Hjum_-_Moral_Rasprava_o_ljudskoj.pdf</a> |
| virtue            | vrlina                  | <a href="http://hrcak.srce.hr/23154">http://hrcak.srce.hr/23154</a>   |
| wrong             | pogrešno                | <a href="http://hrcak.srce.hr/55858">http://hrcak.srce.hr/55858</a>   |

## 2. Translation

U nekim slučajevima postajemo žrtve uspjeha vlastite samokontrole. Razmotrit ćemo paradoks kako napredak može narušiti našu motivaciju, kako nam optimizam može dozvoliti da si ugađamo<sup>i</sup>, i zašto je zadovoljstvo našim vrlinama najkraći put do poroka. U svakom ćemo slučaju vidjeti da je popuštanje izbor, i to ne neizbježan. Prepoznavanjem načina na koji si dajemo dopuštenje također možemo otkriti kako se kontrolirati.

### OD SVETACA DO GREŠNIKA

Htjela bih<sup>ii</sup> da ocijenite sljedeće tvrdnje na ljestvici od u potpunosti se ne slažem, donekle se ne slažem, donekle se slažem, u potpunosti se slažem. Prva tvrdnja je: *Većina žena nije vrlo pametna. A sljedeća je: Većina je žena pogodnija za ulogu kućanice i odgajanje djece nego za rad.*

Zamislite da ste postavili ovo pitanje studentima preddiplomskih studija na Sveučilištu Princeton. Ako ste sretni, studentice vam neće reći što možete napraviti s vašom anketom i pretpostavkama<sup>iii</sup>. Čak će i studenti odbaciti te seksističke tvrdnje. No što bi se dogodilo da ste ih pitali da ocijene malo drukčije tvrdnje: *Neke žene nisu vrlo pametne, i Neke su žene pogodnije za ulogu kućanice i odgajanje djece.* Nije tako lako odbaciti te tvrdnje. Iako se mogu činiti donekle seksističkima, teško je osporiti riječ „neke”.

Te su ankete bile dio istraživanja koje su provodili psiholozi Benoît Monin i Dale Miller o stereotipima i donošenju odluka. Ne iznenađuje da su studenti sa Sveučilišta Princeton koji su ocjenjivali prve dvije tvrdnje iste vrlo brzo i osudili. No studenti koji su ocjenjivali ograničene tvrdnje „neke žene” zauzeli su više neutralnija stajališta.

Studente su nakon ocjenjivanja tvrdnji zatražili da donesu odluku u hipotetskoj situaciji zapošljavanja novog radnika. Njihov je zadatak bio da procijene podobnost nekoliko kandidata, muškaraca i žena, za visoku poziciju u industrijama poput građevine ili financija u kojima, prema stereotipima, vladaju muškarci. Zadatak se činio jednostavnim, posebice za studente koji su netom odbacili seksističke tvrdnje. Oni sigurno neće diskriminirati kvalificirane žene. No istraživači na Princetonu došli su do potpuno suprotnog zaključka. Studenti koji se u potpunosti nisu slagali s očito seksističkim tvrdnjama više su bili nakloni dati posao muškarcima od studenata koji su se donekle nevoljko složili s manje seksističkim tvrdnjama koje su sadržavale sastavnicu „neke žene”. Rezultat je bio isti kada su istraživači

pitali studente o stavovima o rasizmu i zatim im pružili mogućnost diskriminacije protiv rasnih manjina.

Ova su istraživanja šokirala mnoge. Psiholozi su dugi niz godina pretpostavljali da se osoba jednom kad izrazi svoj stav, ponaša u skladu s njime. Uostalom, tko želi da ga se zove licemjerom? No psiholozi na Princetonu otkrili su iznimku našoj uobičajenoj tendenciji da budemo dosljedni. Kada je riječ o tome što je ispravno, a što pogrešno, većina nas ne teži prema moralnom savršenstvu. Samo se želimo osjećati dovoljno dobro, i to nam onda dopušta da radimo što god želimo.

Studenti koji se u potpunosti nisu slagali s očitim seksističkim ili rasističkim tvrdnjama imali su osjećaj da su uspostavili svoju moralnu vjerodostojnost<sup>iv</sup>. Sami su sebi dokazali da nisu seksisti ili rasisti, ali upravo su zbog toga postali podložni pojavi koju psiholozi zovu *moralno licenciranje*<sup>v</sup>. Kada napravite nešto dobro, osjećate se dobro zadovoljni ste sobom. To znači da ćete vrlo vjerojatno vjerovati svojim instinktima, a to često znači da ćete si dozvoliti nešto loše. U ovom su se slučaju studenti osjećali dobro jer su odbacili seksističke i rasističke tvrdnje i stoga nisu bili tako oprezni pri donošenju seksističkih i rasističkih odluka. Veća je bila vjerojatnost da će slijediti instinktivnu pristranost nego razmotriti je li njihova odluka u skladu s njihovim širim ciljem, a to je da budu poštene. Oni nisu htjeli diskriminirati, već su jednostavno dopustili da ih zaslijepi njihovo ranije dobro ponašanje i nisu uočili štetnost njihove odluke.

Ne samo da nam moralno licenciranje ne dopušta da napravimo nešto loše, već nas oslobađa od obaveza kada smo zamoljeni napraviti nešto dobro. Primjerice, ljudi koji se prvo prisjete vremena kada su bili darežljivi daju 60 posto manje novca za dobrotvorne svrhe nego ljudi koji se nisu prisjetili dobrog djela iz prošlosti. U simulaciji poslovnog okruženja male su šanse da će direktori proizvodnog pogona poduzeti skupe mjere kako bi smanjili zagađenje ako su se nedavno prisjetili vremena kada su postupali etički ispravno<sup>vi</sup>.

Efekt moralnog licenciranja mogao bi objasniti zašto neke osobe koje su očito moralno vjerodostojne –<sup>vii</sup> svećenik, političar koji se drži obiteljskih vrijednosti, državni tužilac koji se bavi kaznenim progonom korupcije – mogu sebi opravdati ozbiljne moralne propuste, bilo da je oženjeni evangelistički propovjednik koji je i medijska ličnost<sup>viii</sup> imao aferu sa svojom tajnicom, fiskalni konzervativac upotrijebio javna novčana sredstva za preuređenje vlastitog doma, ili da je policijski službenik upotrijebio prekomjernu silu pri uhićenju kriminalca koji

se nije odupirao. Većina ljudi ne preispituje svoje instinkte kada se osjećaju vjerodostojno, a položaj nekih ljudi trajno ih podsjeća na njihove vrline.

Zašto odjednom raspravljamo o diskriminaciji i seksualnim skandalima umjesto o dijetama i odgađanju<sup>ix</sup>? Jer što je izazov snage volje nego bitka između vrlina i poroka. Sve što moralno preispitujemo može postati predmetom efekta moralnog licenciranja. Ako si kažete da se osjećate „dobro” kada vježbate, a „loše” kada ne vježbate, onda su velike šanse da nećete otići u teretanu sutra ako ste vježbali danas. Kažite si da se osjećate „dobro” kada radite na važnom projektu, a „loše” kada odgađate, i postoji velika šansa da ćete ljenčariti popodne ako ste napredovali s projektom ujutro. Jednostavno rečeno: kad god imamo želje koje su u sukobu, dobro ponašanje dopušta nam da se ponašamo malo lošije.

Važno je napomenuti da nije samo stvar u tome da nam padne razina šećera u krvi ili nestane snaga volje. Kada psiholozi pitaju ljude o ugađanju samima sebi, oni kažu da se osjećaju kao da kontroliraju svoje odluke, a ne da nisu pod njihovom kontrolom. Također se ne osjećaju krivima. Umjesto toga kažu da se osjećaju ponosnima na sebe jer su zaslužili nagradu. Opravdavaju se tvrdnjom, „Bio sam tako dobar da se zaslužujem malo počastiti.” Taj osjećaj da na nešto imamo pravo često je ono što nas dokrajči. Tako često doživljavamo ugađanje samima sebi kao najbolju nagradu za vrline, da zaboravimo naše prave ciljeve i prepustimo se iskušenju.

### **TOPLA I UGODNA<sup>x</sup> LOGIKA LICENCIRANJA**

Logika licenciranja nije strogo gledano logična. Jedan od razloga je to što nam je rijetko potrebna veza između „dobrog” ponašanja i „lošeg” ponašanja koje opravdavamo. Kod kupaca koji se suzdrže od kupovine nečeg primamljivog postoji veća šansa da će otići kući i *pojesti* nešto primamljivo. Zaposlenici koji rade prekovremeno na projektu mogu time opravdati plaćanje privatnih troškova karticom poduzeća.

Sve zbog čega se osjećamo toplo i ugodno u vezi naših vrlina, čak i sama pomisao da napravimo nešto dobro, može nam dozvoliti da slijedimo naše instinkte. Sudionike jednog istraživanja zamolili su da odaberu koja im je vrsta volonterskog rada draža: podučavanje djece u skloništu za beskućnike ili unapređenje okoliša. Iako se nigdje nisu prijavljivali za pravi volonterski rad, sama pomisao da imaju izbor povećala im je želju da se razmaze parom dizajnerskih traperica. Drugo je istraživanje pokazalo da je sama pomisao na mogućnost darivanja novca u dobrotvorne svrhe, bez davanja pravog novca, povećala želju ljudi da si

priušte nešto u trgovačkom centru. Vrlo si velikodušno pripisujemo zasluge za stvari koje smo mogli napraviti, ali nismo. *Mogli smo* pojesti cijelu pizzu, ali smo pojeli samo tri kriške. *Mogli smo* kupiti cijelu novu garderobu, ali smo kupili samo novu jaknu. Ako slijedimo takvu smiješnu logiku, možemo pretvoriti svaki trenutak ugađanja u nešto čime se možemo ponositi. (Osjećaš se krivim jer si u minusu na kreditnoj kartici? Nema veze, bar nisi opljačkao banku da otplatiš dug!)

Ovakva istraživanja pokazuju da ne postoji računovođa u našim glavama koji pažljivo računa koliko smo bili dobri i kakav smo tretman ugađanja zaslužili. Umjesto toga, vjerujemo *osjećaju* da smo bili dobri i da smo dobra osoba. Psiholozi koji proučavaju moralno rasuđivanje znaju da tako većinu vremena prosuđujemo što je ispravno, a što krivo. Slijedimo instinkte i okrećemo se logici ako smo prisiljeni objasniti naše osjećaje. Mnogo puta čak ni ne možemo smisliti logično objašnjenje zašto smo tako prosudili – ali i dalje ustrajemo u tom osjećaju. Kao primjer takve situacije možemo uzeti jedan od moralno upitnih scenarija kojime se psiholozi koriste za proučavanje procesa donošenja odluke o tome što je ispravno, a što je pogrešno. Mislite li da je moralno prihvatljivo da se odrasli brat i sestra upuste u seksualni odnos ako oboje to žele i koriste kontracepcijska sredstva? U većini nas ovo pitanje izazove trenutno unutarnje gađenje.

### 3. Resources

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Researchgate.com. Accessed March 2017. <<https://www.researchgate.net/>>

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<<http://hrcak.srce.hr/?lang=en>>

Znanje. *Hrvatski jezični portal*. Accessed March 2017. <<http://hjp.znanje.hr/>>

## **Translation 2**

Savage, Mike. 2015. *Social Class in the 21st Century*. Penguin Random House UK.  
pp 117-122

## 1. Glossary

| Source term              | Target term                 | Resource  |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------|---|
| aesthetic appreciation   | estetsko vrednovanje        | <a href="http://hrcak.srce.hr/index.php?show=clanak&amp;id_clanak_jezik=143014">http://hrcak.srce.hr/index.php?show=clanak&amp;id_clanak_jezik=143014</a>   |
| aesthetic judgment       | estetska prosudba           | <a href="http://hrcak.srce.hr/index.php?show=clanak&amp;id_clanak_jezik=172953">http://hrcak.srce.hr/index.php?show=clanak&amp;id_clanak_jezik=172953</a>   |
| appreciate               | cijeniti                    | <a href="http://hrcak.srce.hr/2100">http://hrcak.srce.hr/2100</a>   |
| culture                  | kultura                     | <a href="http://struna.ihjj.hr/naziv/kultura/25437/">http://struna.ihjj.hr/naziv/kultura/25437/</a>   |
| cultural capital         | kulturni kapital            | <a href="http://struna.ihjj.hr/naziv/kulturni-kapital/25118/">http://struna.ihjj.hr/naziv/kulturni-kapital/25118/</a>   |
| cultural consumption     | kulturna potrošnja          | <a href="http://hrcak.srce.hr/index.php?show=clanak&amp;id_clanak_jezik=210867">http://hrcak.srce.hr/index.php?show=clanak&amp;id_clanak_jezik=210867</a>   |
| cultural eclecticism     | kulturni eklekticizam       | <a href="http://hrcak.srce.hr/index.php?show=clanak&amp;id_clanak_jezik=89050">http://hrcak.srce.hr/index.php?show=clanak&amp;id_clanak_jezik=89050</a>   |
| discernment              | rasuđivanje                 | <a href="https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Elvio_Baccarini/publication/259690032_Moralna_spoznaja/links/00b7d52d570b25a124000000.pdf">https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Elvio_Baccarini/publication/259690032_Moralna_spoznaja/links/00b7d52d570b25a124000000.pdf</a> |
| eclectic knowledge       | eklektičko znanje           | <a href="http://www.matica.hr/vijenac/265/Majstori%20eklektiki%C4%8Dkog%20modernizma/">http://www.matica.hr/vijenac/265/Majstori%20eklektiki%C4%8Dkog%20modernizma/</a>   |
| escapism                 | eskapizam                   | <a href="http://www.enciklopedija.hr/Natuknica.aspx?ID=18370">http://www.enciklopedija.hr/Natuknica.aspx?ID=18370</a>   |
| highbrow culture         | visoka kultura              | <a href="http://struna.ihjj.hr/naziv/visoka-kultura/24991/">http://struna.ihjj.hr/naziv/visoka-kultura/24991/</a>   |
| popular culture          | popularna kultura           | <a href="http://www.enciklopedija.hr/natuknica.aspx?id=49511#top">http://www.enciklopedija.hr/natuknica.aspx?id=49511#top</a>   |
| privileged understanding | privilegirano razumijevanje | <a href="http://hrcak.srce.hr/139491">http://hrcak.srce.hr/139491</a>   |



|                        |                           |   |
|------------------------|---------------------------|---|
| skill                  | vještina                  | <a href="http://www.enciklopedija.hr/natuknica.aspx?id=64994">http://www.enciklopedija.hr/natuknica.aspx?id=64994</a> |
| snobbery               | snobizam                  | <a href="http://hrcak.srce.hr/27661">http://hrcak.srce.hr/27661</a>   |
| social differentiation | društvena diferencijacija | <a href="http://www.enciklopedija.hr/natuknica.aspx?id=15031">http://www.enciklopedija.hr/natuknica.aspx?id=15031</a> |

## 2. Translation

Svake bi se večeri u njegovoj kući mogli čuti zvuci razgovora, a glavna tema bila je kultura. „Radi se o tome da uvijek treba imati materijala koji se može dodati u raspravu”, objasnio je, „o čemu god ona bila.”

U tome se krije moć kulturnog kapitala u nastajanju. Može se izraziti konzumiranjem „ispravne” vrste popularne kulture, moglo bi se reći i prave popularne kulture, ali se također može raditi o konzumiranju „krivog tipa” (vulgarne) popularne kulture na *pravi* način. Samo si u glavi trebate zamisliti, na primjer, suvremenog „hipstera<sup>xii</sup>” čiji su ukusi uistinu mješavina „ironične” i „kičaste” kulturne potrošnje da biste dobili sliku o tome kako u praksi izgleda uspješna provedba tog kapitala u nastajanju. Ovdje je u svakom slučaju najbitniji osobit stil estetskog vrednovanja, izvjesna odvojena orijentacija znanja o popularnoj kulturi koja pokazuje eklektičko znanje i privilegirano razumijevanje.

### Načini viđenja

Kulturni kapital ne obuhvaća samo ukazivanje na razlike u kulturnim aktivnostima različitih grupa ljudi. Analitičari tržišta redovito profiliraju potrošačke proizvode tako što uočavaju da privlače različite „segmente” tržišta. Također trebamo vidjeti kako bi takve aktivnosti mogle biti cijenjene na drugačije načine jer se neke smatra legitimnima, dok se druge ocrnjuje. Tu možemo promatrati značajnu razliku između načina na koji se neke aktivnosti smatra mudrima, a druge neposrednima i osjetilnima.

Moć rasuđivanja obuhvaća sposobnost kretanja kroz žanrove i aktivnosti, brzo procjenjivanje, i mogućnost obrazloženja istih. Upravo te vještine sve više postaju dio obrazovanja i cijene se u brzim profesionalnim i korporativnim poslovnim okruženjima. No te vještine nisu neutralne. One djeluju kao oblik kulturnog kapitala jer istovremeno ocrnjuju druge vrste orijentacije. Kada smo provodili intervju, saznali smo da također postoji svojstvena sumnja u više neposredne, senzualne reakcije. Ne radi se o tome da ispitanici nisu spomenuli takva iskustva, već da su ih svrstali pod „slatki grijeh<sup>xiii</sup>”, iznimke od pravila, za kada, kako je Paul rekao „si mrtav umoran i nemaš ni trunke energije<sup>xiiii</sup>”. Priznanja o slatkim grijesima otkrila su mnogo. Najvažnija ideja bila je da se treba „raditi” na tome da se cijeni kulturu i da je kroz estetski rad moguće dosegnuti višu razinu vrednovanja. Kako je Elizabeth rekla za kraj: „Ne želim samo konzumirati, želim da me se rastegne.”

Ovaj je način viđenja važan jer ga se može usmjeriti, implicitno ili eksplicitno, protiv onih koji su manje dobrostojeći i koji su manje obrazovani. Za takve ispitanike kulturni užitak nije nešto za što treba rad ili izdvojenost, ili što zahtjeva prosudbu. Upravo suprotno; oni smatraju da se u kulturu potpuno i bezobzirno uranja kao u neku vrstu eskapizma koji nam dozvoljava „time-out<sup>xiv</sup>”. Imogen je, na primjer, objasnila da je njezina interakcija s plesom, glazbom i modom u suštini usmjerena k „slavlju”, a glavni je cilj zadovoljstvo. U sličnoj se je situaciji našla Jane čija je strast za sapunicama bila izravno povezana s njezinom sposobnošću da se emocionalno „veže” uz likove. „Pa to je život, zar ne? O životu je”, rekla nam je prije nego što je objasnila kako je povezana s likom iz serije *Coronation Street*<sup>xv</sup> kojemu je, poput nje, nedavno dijagnosticirana Alzheimerova bolest.

Ovaj se način viđenja također može upotrijebiti protiv onih ispitanika iz radničke klase koji su rekli da konzumiraju visoku kulturu, ali ne nužno na „proncljiv” način. Tina primjerice radi u tvornici i kao njegovateljica, ali je također veoma zanimaju balet, kazalište i klasična glazba. No stil vrednovanja otkrio je neke stvari. Ono što je zanimljivo u vezi Tine jest da je njezino vrednovanje visoke kulture ostalo podosta drugačije od vrednovanja privilegiranih ljudi. Tina nije mnogo govorila o tome što je „dobila” od baleta ili kazališta, već je jednostavno opisala neutaživu, autodidaktičku žeđ za spoznajama o kulturi<sup>xvi</sup>. Ona je stoga bila više zainteresirana steći nova iskustva nego razviti estetski iskaz svojih interesa.

Tinin nam primjer pokazuje da čak i ako visoka kultura nije ograničena samo na visoko obrazovane, suptilne razlike u načinu uživanja mogu postati osnova za snobizam. U nekim je slučajevima postojalo jasno odbacivanje visoke akademske estetike za koju se smatralo da uzrokuje društvenu diferencijaciju. Alan, prodajni predstavnik u kemijskoj industriji, rodio se u radničkoj obitelji<sup>xvii</sup> i završio je studij komunikologije na novom sveučilištu. Zanimljivo je da je Alan imao ambivalentan osjećaj prema svojoj diplomi. Ne samo da mu „nije zaista pomogla” u karijeri, već je odbio apstraktnije načine procjene kulture koje je akademija pokušala potaknuti:

Mislim da nije stvar u tome da je to iznad moje razine; u smislu „Nikada mi se ne bi moglo sviđati.” Jednostavno me to ne zanima. Na sveučilištu sam podosta proučavao filmove koji se smatraju dijelom visoke kulture, stoga sam gledao film *Krstarica Potemkin* i druge njemu slične. Neki su od njih bili u redu, ali mislim da sam se do kraja studija toliko navikao analizirati ih, a ne gledati, da sam poslije htio samo... Samo nešto da me zabavlja, nešto o čemu ne moram puno razmišljati.

Snobizam se stoga ponovno pojavljuje zajedno sa samim kulturnim kapitalom. Kako oblici kulture koji su prije bili ograničeni samo na obrazovanu srednju klasu ustvari obuhvaćaju veći dio populacije, tako se ponovno pojavljuju linije podjele koje stavljaju naglasak na to *kako* se uživa u određenim kulturnim aktivnostima. Sada se smatra pohvalnim kada se visoko obrazovani suzdrže od otvorenog izražavanja „snobizma”, i razlike su puno suptilnije – ali zato i mnogo snažnije.

## Kulturni snobizam

Ljudi koji pripadaju višem sloju društva obično se udaljavaju od bilo kakvih sumnji na snobizam. Postojala je eksplicitna osviještenost da se o ukusima ne raspravlja jer bi to moglo implicirati snobizam ili osudu, stoga su mnogi ograničili svoje preferencije s izjavama poput „Nisam mislio zvučati kao snob...” ili „Znam da ću možda zvučati kao snob, ali...”. Samosvjesno odbacivanje snobizma često je išlo ruku pod ruku s navodom kulturnog eklekticizma koji je opisan ranije u ovom poglavlju. „Nikada ne bih osudio tuđi ukus”, rekao je Fraser. „Ako je to njihov ukus, onda je njihov. Uvijek kažem, živi i pusti druge da žive.”

No usprkos očitom *laissez-faire*<sup>xviii</sup> stavu, ljudi često proturječe samima sebi kada se radi o snobizmu. Fraser je dokaz tome. Rekao je da „nikada ne bi osudio” ukus drugih ljudi, ali je nastavio govoriti uvredljivim tonom prvo o ljudima koji igraju bingo („Bingo nije neka intelektualna razbibriga – osim ako si pohlepan i nadaš se pobjedi”), a zatim o ljudima koji ne vole operu („Žao mi ih je jer ako ne cijeniš ljepotu nečega poput opere, puno propuštaš u životu”).

Takva vrsta drskog proturječja začuđujuće je česta. Čini se kao da ljudi smatraju da sve dok je njihovo osuđivanje usmjereno prema načinu života, a ne izravno prema osobi koja pripada određenom „tipu”, onda je njihova osuda društveno prihvatljivija. Takve su estetske prosudbe često bile upućene određenim vrstama umjetnosti, žanrovima ili koje se smatralo svojstveno manjkavima. *Reality* televizija i *talent showovi*<sup>xix</sup> često su se spominjali, kao i određeni umjetnici iz popularne kulture, i kulturne aktivnost poput binga. Takva je vrsta popularne kulture estetski smatrana „banalnom”, „svjetovnom”, „očitom” ili kao da nema „suštinu”. Kako je Elizabeth sažela književnost namijenjenu uglavnom ženama – „Nedostaje joj razlog postojanja!” Drugo područje u kojemu su se često postavljale granice je moda. Moda je često žarište rasprava o „lošem ukusu”. Tu je ključno pitanje „markiranja<sup>xx</sup>”. Visokoobrazovani markiranu robu smatraju „neukusnom” i „kičastom”.

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### **Translation 3**

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Zagreb: Naklada "Matice hrvatske".

pp 125-131

## 1. Translation

“You don’t have to...<sup>xxi</sup> my sweet child...”<sup>xxii</sup> shaking from sobbing, her mother started to stutter and say what was on her mind.

But when Evka noticed that her mother knew about everything, she sank further into sorrow and hugged her tighter to her bosom – oh, if she could, she would swallow her whole, her dear mother. Oh how much she loves her, how much she loves her, and yet how much she suffers because of her!

However, only moments have passed in such manner before Evka seemed to notice she was doing something other than she had intended, and she ripped herself away from her mother.

“Why are we shedding our tears<sup>xxiii</sup>, mother?” she said courageously. She was yet to stop shaking from sobbing, but she tried with all her might to calm herself, to stop crying.

“You don’t have to, my sorrow. I’m not forcing you,” mother started choking with tears anew.

“But I know, mother, that you’re not forcing me. Such thought has never crossed my mind or passed my lips. But I have conceived to myself that I must go...”

She turned around to fetch a skirt and a scarf, and clothing herself, she continued in a calm and resolute manner: “I have conceived it to be better to go there where there’s something than into poverty. The most important thing is to live, everything else is bearable.”

Her mother was astonished by her first words. She stopped sobbing and she laid her arms on her chest. Following her every step with her eyes, she listened with great care to her words. She never would have thought to hear such words pass her lips, and she hoped to hear it now the least.

“This is what I have conceived,” Evka continued, “and so be it, let God’s will be done. It must’ve been meant to be. And true are the words of her Only One<sup>xxiv</sup>, “if one can survive being struck by misfortune, I can survive being by his side.”

“Yes, it is so, my sorrow<sup>xxv</sup>!” her mother agreed now in better spirits. Barely containing herself, she poured in one breath to Evka all the thoughts she had had since she started preparing for Evka’s wretched wedding.

“Neither have I, as one might say, held much love for your father when I was to become his wife. And still, thanks be to God, I have lived a happy life with him. If it only depended on love, my sorrow, few would spend their lives together. What is love – it is only a fleeting foolishness. The young only think of love; yet that is nothing, nobody can live from love. Do not listen, my sorrow, what others whisper in your ear, nor should you rely too heavily on your heart, but listen to what your mind and your mother have to say. Your mother is your closest friend... I think of nothing else but you, my sorrow, so I know it would be better, and my heart too would sing from joy if you would find a house and a man, but when you can only have one, it is better to take that which is more important and will provide for you. Do not dwell too long on what the other women have to say and their taunts. Should you leave today, every one of them would take him tomorrow. One must not place their trust only in the world because it is full of lies and it is an evil companion. There are no more worthy companions than your father and mother.”

So has her consoled mother spoken, but Evka has closed her heart and mind to her words. Those words are not able to bring her any comfort! She well knew that the words dripping with honey or shining with gold cannot make her heart grow fond of Aleksa. Everything is futile, words are words. Words are for mocking, not even for some type of medicine. Words and wit can mask the troubles, but they cannot be hidden or eased. The one thing which eased her mind was that she comforted and calmed her mother, and now she can continue on without only listening to many comforting words because she felt she could rise against hers and her mother’s fabricated words. When she dressed herself, she abruptly asked her mother, interrupting her speech, where they had gone to work.

“They went to the threshing floor to thresh hemp seeds,” replied her mother in the same tone as if it were a part of her speech. “But you do not have to go to them, my sorrow, if you do not desire so. You can stay at home and do your work. You will do a lot of chores in your lifetime. Stay with your mother a bit more.”

However, Evka could not wait to escape her mother’s gaze. “I will go just to get some fresh air!” she replied, and wrapping her scarf, she left without glancing back.

But her mother followed her. She would have liked the most if Evka remained at home so she could speak with her until they both tire. However, if the child genuinely just wanted to get some fresh air, she would let her, let her go, but she would walk with her for just a moment more.



Evka did not use the alley<sup>xxvi</sup>, but went through the courtyard towards the plum orchard and from there to the threshing floor. Her mother was determined to walk with her until the end of the plum orchard because she was not able to separate herself from her daughter. Along the way, when she sensed that Evka was not willing to discuss that, she would talk about anything but she could not think about anything else. She could not comprehend how Evka had changed so abruptly. When they reached the top of the orchard where there was a crossing, they stopped and spoke for a long time about everything and anything while they both had only one thing on their mind – until they at last went their separate ways. Her mother went back towards their home, and Evka continued towards the threshing floor.

On her way back home, her mother would stop every few steps and gaze back towards Evka. Evka knew it would happen, so she held her head high and walked briskly, with a spring in her step but she could not turn around at any cost. Tears were streaming down her face, she was crying...

And her old mother started weeping again. She would stop along the way to watch after Evka and dry her tears with her apron. She could not breathe, her heart felt heavy... Oh, what can she... what can she do... she would give Evka her heart but she cannot help her. She cannot find her a man.

## VI

Not even two weeks had passed after the night when Evka conversed<sup>xxvii</sup> with Aleksa, when Aleksa's aunt came to the home of the Matic<sup>xxviii</sup> family to ask if their daughter would marry her Aleksa, and should the Čolakić family come for the linens<sup>1</sup>.<sup>xxix</sup> The very next morning after that evening, Aleksa boasted to the women in the house how Evka had conversed with him. The women then thought they could go ask the family because surely Evka did not converse with their man in vain.

However, as Aleksa's aunt arrived, so did a letter for Evka's mother from a master craftsman from a nearby village. In the letter, he asked for Evka's hand in marriage if she would have him.

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<sup>1</sup> In the Eastern part of Slavonija, there was a custom that the bride gives *otarke* or *peškire*, linens made out of flax and hemp, to the groom and his family to be used for the wedding.

Therefore, Evka's mother said Aleksa's aunt that she could not give her an answer, "she has other suitors," but she told her to return after some time had passed and then she would get an answer. She hoped that she and the house of Čolakić did not think ill of them because she was not stalling because it amused her, but because she must think it through thoroughly. "You know how it is, my friend," she said to Aleksa's aunt, "I can only give her hand once, and she is my only child. I must be careful with what I am doing and whose proposal I am accepting. Please do not think ill of me, you and my friend Tereza, and their family. If it was meant to be, they shall be joined in marriage even if I said to you now: 'you cannot have her,' and if it was not meant to be, nothing could be done about it, even if I said to you now: 'here she is, take her to your home'. You know that everything is as God wills it, and nothing is how we want it."

"Yes, you speak the truth, my friend," Aleksa's aunt replied, "I know what it means to get married. Your actions are the actions of my mother, and every other mother. Before you choose, you weigh all of the choices carefully, who, what, and where. I shall not think ill of you even if she does not marry my Aleksa, and especially not if you ask us to wait."

Those were the words of Aleksa's aunt who appeared as if she was not disappointed, when in fact she was, as was the whole Čolakić family when they heard the answer. They found themselves to be insulted; they were hoping to hear a more positive answer. Aleksa's aunt berated Evka and her kin in front of the whole Čolakić family. "Who do they think Evka is, a princess, so we should come for her a hundred times and pray to God," said the enraged aunt. "I will not go ask for her again even if the sky fell on me, nor will I make a path to her house, but you do as you please... It would be best to ask for another's hand in marriage. Evka isn't the best woman in the world, and later she can clench her jaw in despair and hope to find a better man."

However, the aunt's opinion was not shared by the Čolakić family. They were disappointed, but they kept silent and did not pander Aleksa's aunt. They adored Evka and welcomed her in their house with greatest joy. They would suffer even greater embarrassment for her, let alone this one. After all, this is no embarrassment. A wise girl cannot at random marry into someone's family; she must think it through.

Evka, when she heard of master craftsman's proposal, lit up with joy. She felt hopeful and reborn. First, and most important, she would not have to marry Aleksa. Then, despite the saying: "Craftsman's room holds no heat, finding food is a feat"<sup>xxx</sup>, it is still considered

honorable to marry a master craftsman. Even now, all the good girls are competing to marry a master craftsman. It is true that everything is futile. Marry a farmer, and no matter how good he is in his craft, you shall always be his dirty farmer wife. Marry a master craftsman, and you can be hungry and not care how you behave, everyone shall still call you “missus”; but if you behave just a fraction better, you shall be called “my lady”.

Evka heard that the master craftsman’s appearance is not unpleasant and that he leads a comfortable life, unlike many fellow craftsmen. People say he has his own house and is his own master and that one can at any hour hear the clank of his hammer in his workshop for he has many costumers. They say he is a blacksmith and has no kin other than his old mother who is as healthy as a horse and runs his household.

Evka rejoiced, hoped... But not for long.

A second letter came for Evka’s mother, and in it the master craftsman asked for three hundred forints from Evka’s father for dowry.

“There are,” wrote the master craftsman in the letter, “wealthier girls who have up to a thousand forints and wish to marry him, but he loves Evka and wants to marry her even with a smaller dowry.”

Evka’s mother told her father what the letter said, and he, when he heard what was asked of him, did not even want the master craftsman’s name to be mentioned in his house!

He was an older man, hardworking, honest, and strict, and he kept to the old values and traditions. He was the head of the household, and he had no other child, son or daughter, but only his Evka. He could at last take from the household three hundred forints for his child, his brothers neither could nor should complain, but he, no matter how deeply he loved his only child, also loved his home and was concerned for its good fortune. All of his life, he thought about expanding his home and worked towards it, and now in his old age, he is supposed to tear down what he had been building his whole life and risk being cursed by his brothers and their children after death.

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## **Translation 4**

Edo Popović. 2007. *Oči*. Zagreb: Naklada OceanMore  
pp 101-108

## 1. Translation

My ma<sup>xxx</sup> would drop by once a month. First, she would take care of the official business; an envelope with money for my uncle, and money without an envelope for me.

I don't need it, I would say every time.<sup>xxxii</sup>

Just in case, she would reply.

Then we would sit down and have some coffee. We wouldn't talk much. There was nothing to talk about.

How are you?

Fine.

How's your health?

I'm fine.

How is Josip? (She would ask me this if my uncle wasn't at home.)

He's<sup>xxxiii</sup> fine.

Do you need anything?

No, I don't.

Do you plan on starting college next year?

I don't know.

Which one?

I don't know?

And questions like that. Then she would abruptly get up, grab her handbag, squeeze not my hand but my fingers, look straight into my eyes and leave.

After that, the day would slowly get better. The tap in the kitchen would start dripping again. The cars would start honking again. Life would once again have some kind of meaning.

25.

And then Igor stopped harassing me. He stopped getting into my face on the staircase, ringing my doorbell, drinking my coffee. He vanished into thin air<sup>xxxiv</sup>. I imagined that they had probably dragged him back to the nuthouse. Or to some place similar to it to slightly cloud his crystal eyes.

Anyway, winter was passing by. There were a lot of gloomy days, cold winds, freezing rains, but also few good moments. For example, when someone would call and ask about some product, some face cream or something, and I would reply that I knew nothing about it, but that I was just thinking about getting something like that. Then they would talk about the characteristics of the product and its advantages over their competitor's products. And so we would have a nice chat, open, friendly, without hidden intentions<sup>xxxv</sup>. Although I would refuse their offer in the end, I didn't get the feeling they were telling me things that don't concern me. That's why I stopped reading the newspapers. I'm not likely to find in them anything else but things that do not concern me. The times when others would guess how I'm feeling are long gone. How many times did it happen to you that you couldn't name what you were feeling? And then you read it somewhere or heard someone talking about it in the tram and it all suddenly made sense and all you could think was: Damn it, that is exactly it.

In the morning, I would usually get up, drink coffee, smoke cigarettes, cough, and look out the window. The Sun was lost somewhere in space<sup>xxxvi</sup>. The trees were covered with frost. Soot was drizzling from the low steel sky.

But life still went on outside. You could see all kinds of scenes. For example: A white-haired man walking through the parking lot and a big-headed terrier running around his legs with his tail as straight as an antenna. A woman in a brown coat throwing the newspapers in the paper recycling bin. A man in a bright red ski jacket scraping ice off the windshield. The kids from kindergarten marching down the sidewalk in a straight line. It looks like they are having fun. They are laughing. They have no idea what is waiting for them around the corner.

But, like I said, I wasn't just absentmindedly staring out of the window. One day, the phone rang. It was Tamara.

How are you? she asked.

Good, I replied.

What are you doing?

I have some presents for you guys.

What kind of presents?

Christmas presents. I keep forgetting about them, I said, not telling her that I drank Adam's present in the meantime.

But Christmas was so long ago, Tamara said.

It doesn't matter. These presents are timeless.

In the meantime, I cancelled my appointments with doctor Galin. I couldn't afford him anymore. And I've had enough of him. Of him and his I'm-so-much-smarter-than-you<sup>xxxvii</sup> face. It was actually Tamara who recommended him to me. He was supposed to set me straight, to help me feel better. But I didn't feel better. I was only losing money.

I called him and told him I wouldn't be coming to my appointments for some time because I was in the middle of some important stuff, work and all that.

You don't say, he said.

I'll let you know when I'm done.

Of course.

I could hear in his voice that he was mocking me. The prick was onto me. He knew I was broke. But that wasn't important to me. What was important was that I was on the right track.

I'm on the right track now, I said and hung up.

Another day, the phone rang again. I didn't pick up.



One morning, I got out of bed and felt my heart trying to jump out of my chest. My skin was on fire, I was sweating and shivering, and my legs had a mind of their own. And to top it all off, I was coughing up so much mucus that I thought I would suffocate. I went to the bathroom and spat in the sink. Slimy silky-yellow spit was streaked with red veins and spots. My throat is fucked, I thought. Damn that tobacco, I'll have to cut down a bit, take care of myself. I brushed my teeth, washed my face, and went to the kitchen. Hunger, suddenly I felt unbelievable hunger. Everything in me was screaming for food, every bone, muscle, every drop of blood. I rummaged through the fridge, shelves and cabinets in the kitchen, but I couldn't find anything to eat. I couldn't remember when the last time I ate was.

The saleswoman in the convenience store put down the newspapers on the counter and looked at me. She had red freckles all over her cheeks. She had short chubby fingers and I could see she bit her nails. I couldn't control myself. My heart was pounding and my hands were shaking. And above all, I had trouble breathing.

Are you alright, sir? she asked me.

Hell no, I gasped out rudely and started listing what I needed:

Ten bags of pasta, a jar of mustard, a jar of pickles, two jars of capers, five bags of almonds, three dark chocolates, three cans of peeled tomatoes, three cans of spam, and a big package of Kool-Aid<sup>xxxviii</sup>.

She was taking off things from the shelves with an insulted look on her face. In the meantime, my heart slowed down and I could breathe normally.

So what do they say in the newspapers, I asked offering her as a peace offering, regretting my previous tone, will spring even come this year?

I'm sure it will, she said dryly.

It doesn't look like it, I replied.

But spring did arrive, eventually. I started missing Igor at the same time. Once, after returning home in the evening, I found my uncle lying on the living room floor. Naked with his knees bent, one hand pressing on his stomach, the other stretched towards his then boyfriend who was standing above him with his legs spread. None of them noticed me entering the room. My

uncle was trembling like a Pinscher who just had a nervous breakdown. Blood was mixing with snots on his moustache and the guy was telling him: You asked for it, you asked for it.

My uncle was a lot of things, but he wasn't looking to be beaten up. I grabbed a bottle of wine from the table; they always drank some good wines, made a step towards the queer bully, and shifted my weight on my other leg. I planned to call him over so he would turn around and then smash his head. But then my uncle looked at me and silently shook his head. The guy slowly turned around, eyed me up, and said that this was none of my business. I kept tightening my grip on the bottle-neck and looking at my uncle, but he kept shaking his head. Everything is alright, he said, go to your room.

My uncle's eyes were soft and forgiving. I was witnessing a miracle; a beaten up fag turned into Jesus and was now suffering for all the victims of abuse, and was forgiving his abuser at the same time. Although the guy never again came to our place, nor did my uncle ever mention him again, I think he missed him. Just like I am missing Igor right now.

I was very fidgety this morning. I kept pacing around the flat. I opened my wardrobe looking for something and not knowing what. I was switching between radio stations. I took out my old Nikon camera from the bag and took photos of nothing. I was staring at the phone. Coffee didn't sit well with me. Nor did tobacco. I was coughing all the time. I was coughing even when I wasn't smoking. For some time, I was looking through the peephole. The elevators went up and down. When the light on the staircase would turn on, I could see the door of Igor's flat. I couldn't stand it anymore; I went out and rang the doorbell. Igor was still in his pyjamas.

Oh, hey, I greeted him; do you want to go grab a cup of coffee?

He had an insulted look on his face.

You were home that time, he said.

What?

That time when I rang your doorbell...

Oh well, you know...

He lifted his hand and I shut my mouth.

I rang and rang the doorbell, he said, and you never opened the door. Just like for Christmas.

I kept quiet. We were staring in each other's eyes. It seemed like his eyes had gotten soft, like some sad man, no longer a bird, was living behind them.

I hate closed doors, he said.

I'm sorry, I replied.

Hold on. I just need to put on some clothes, he said.

This is for you; he gave me a little package wrapped in silver paper.

I unwrapped it – it was a box of *Fleur de Savane*.

You shouldn't have, I said.

It doesn't matter; he replied and took my Nikon camera in his hands. What is this?

A camera.

I can see that, but...

What?

Doesn't this belong to some other time?

I shrugged.

Do you use it?

Less and less.

You switched to digital cameras?

No, that's not why.

Why then?

Because I don't have a job.

Can you afford not having a job?

No, but what other choice do I have?

Then how do you manage to live?

I didn't say anything.

Did you fuck up?

Yeah, a bit, I said.

I didn't want to go into too many details about my miserable life. I asked him where he messed up. He smiled softly.

I fell in love, he replied.

There in the U.S.<sup>xxxix?</sup>

Yes.

American girls are dangerous.

She wasn't American.

No?

Igor stretched his hand over the table and put it on mine. His hand was dry and fragile, almost weightless, like it belonged to a mummy.

He<sup>xl</sup> was Moroccan, he said, I fell in love with a Moroccan man.

He was looking in my eyes but he didn't find what he was looking for.

You're not disgusted? he asked.

What do you think? I replied.

I don't know. You didn't pull your hand back.

Don't get any ideas, I said, you're not my first homo.

He tiredly shook his head.

And how did it go? I asked.

Badly. He made fun of me. And then, I don't remember anymore. I felt... Try to imagine all the people in the world at the same time. Try to fit all of them into a single moment, their facial expressions, their movements, the words they are saying at that moment, their relationships. At first, that was how I felt, confused. Really confused, you know, like I was charged by some nuclear power plant. And then I simply, I don't know...burned out... I cannot tell to you how relieved I was... Everything became so much simpler. You just breathe... and watch.

He sighed and got up. He stopped next to me and started running his fingers through my hair.

Let me tell you a story, I said.

And I started telling him how I used to work in a sawmill in Germany. There was this foreman named Norbert and he was around 40 years old. For some reason, he really took to me. The feeling was mutual. He was burly, had red hair and beard. He looked like one of those old Germanic warriors from the comic books. One day, he asked me to help him tidy up his garden over the weekend. They, he and his wife, had a nice house and a big garden in the suburbs. He could've done it himself, but he got hit with a shovel few days back at work by a Spanish guy from whom he confiscated a bottle of whiskey. Everyone drank excessively there, so one of his arms had a twitch. And so we were fiddling around the garden and talking about various topics, when he suddenly started telling me how his wife and he have everything average people need: a house, a stable job, savings, they are healthy, and so on, but... But damn it, they didn't have any children. They had been trying for years. They visited dozens of doctors, tried various methods, talked to herbalists. They tried everything they could think of, but to no avail. He was able to take it because it was fate, you can't go against fate. But his wife... It broke her. First she quit her job. She just couldn't work anymore. And as time went by, she stopped going to the city to buy groceries, to hang out with her friends and acquaintances, and in the end, she stopped leaving the house. I was listening to his story without knowing what to say to all of that, or if I should say anything at all. And so we finished our work, went in the house to wash our hands and eat something, and his wife Ulla, as soon as I sat by the table, brought a washbowl and a towel and asked me to take off my socks. It seemed a bit silly that she was asking me to wash my feet, and especially since I obviously had to do it in a washbowl in the dining room, but fine. I thought it was just a local custom. But when I put my feet in the washbowl, Ulla knelt down and started washing my feet.

Igor stopped running his fingers through my hair and recoiled.

You're making this up, he said.

## 2. Resources

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## **Translation 5**

UNHCR Resettlement Handbook. 2011.

pp 99-103



#### 4. Glossary

| Source term         | Target term         | Resource  |
|---------------------|---------------------|---|
| 1951 Convention     | Konvencija iz 1951. | <a href="http://www.unhcr.hr/images/stories/pdf/konvencija_1951.pdf">http://www.unhcr.hr/images/stories/pdf/konvencija_1951.pdf</a>                           |
| act                 | čin                 | <a href="http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/HR/ALL/?uri=CELEX:22016P0531(01)">http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/HR/ALL/?uri=CELEX:22016P0531(01)</a> |
| act of violence     | čin nasilja         | <a href="http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/HR/TXT/?uri=CELEX:52014IP0099">http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/HR/TXT/?uri=CELEX:52014IP0099</a>       |
| asylum-seeker       | tražitelj azila     | <a href="http://www.unhcr.hr/kome-pomazemo/trazitelj-azila">http://www.unhcr.hr/kome-pomazemo/trazitelj-azila</a>   |
| civilian            | civil               | <a href="http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/HR/ALL/?uri=CELEX:22016P0531(01)">http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/HR/ALL/?uri=CELEX:22016P0531(01)</a> |
| criminal act        | kazneno djelo       | <a href="http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/HR/TXT/?uri=CELEX:32012L0013">http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/HR/TXT/?uri=CELEX:32012L0013</a>         |
| criminal charges    | kaznena prijava     | Gačić, M. Englesko-hrvatski rječnik prava i međunarodnih i poslovnih odnosa   |
| criminal conduct    | kriminalna radnja   | <a href="http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/HR/TXT/?uri=CELEX:32014L0042">http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/HR/TXT/?uri=CELEX:32014L0042</a>         |
| criminal law        | kazneno pravo       | <a href="http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/HR/TXT/?uri=CELEX:52016PC0826">http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/HR/TXT/?uri=CELEX:52016PC0826</a>       |
| criminal proceeding | kazneni postupak    | <a href="http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/HR/TXT/?uri=CELEX:32014L0042">http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/HR/TXT/?uri=CELEX:32014L0042</a>         |
| country of origin   | zemlja podrijetla   | <a href="http://www.unhcr.hr/images/stories/pdf/zastita_izbjeglica.pdf">http://www.unhcr.hr/images/stories/pdf/zastita_izbjeglica.pdf</a>                     |
| exclusion           | isključenje         | <a href="http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/HR/TXT/?uri=CELEX:32011L0095">http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/HR/TXT/?uri=CELEX:32011L0095</a>         |

|                     |                                     |   |
|---------------------|-------------------------------------|---|
| extradition request | zahtjev za izručenje                | <a href="http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/HR/TXT/?uri=CELEX:32002F0584">http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/HR/TXT/?uri=CELEX:32002F0584</a>   |
| host country        | zemlja domaćin                      | <a href="http://www.unhcr.hr/images/stories/pdf/zastita_izbjeglica.pdf">http://www.unhcr.hr/images/stories/pdf/zastita_izbjeglica.pdf</a>   |
| Interpol            | Interpol                            | <a href="http://www.policija.hr/main.aspx?id=118232">http://www.policija.hr/main.aspx?id=118232</a>   |
| offence             | kazneno djelo                       | <a href="http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/HR/TXT/?uri=CELEX:32014L0042">http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/HR/TXT/?uri=CELEX:32014L0042</a>   |
| peace               | mir                                 | <a href="http://www.unhcr.hr/images/stories/pdf/zastita_izbjeglica.pdf">http://www.unhcr.hr/images/stories/pdf/zastita_izbjeglica.pdf</a>   |
| persecution         | proganjanje                         | <a href="http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN-HR/TXT/?uri=CELEX:31996F0196&amp;fromTab=ALL&amp;from=EN">http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN-HR/TXT/?uri=CELEX:31996F0196&amp;fromTab=ALL&amp;from=EN</a> |
| prosecution         | sudski progon                       | <a href="http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/HR/ALL/?uri=CELEX:62013CJ0472">http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/HR/ALL/?uri=CELEX:62013CJ0472</a>   |
| refoulement         | prisilno udaljenje ili vraćanje     | <a href="http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/HR/TXT/?uri=CELEX:62013CC0373">http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/HR/TXT/?uri=CELEX:62013CC0373</a>   |
| refugee             | izbjeglica                          | <a href="http://www.unhcr.hr/images/stories/pdf/zastita_izbjeglica.pdf">http://www.unhcr.hr/images/stories/pdf/zastita_izbjeglica.pdf</a>   |
| resettlement        | preseljenje                         | <a href="http://www.unhcr.hr/images/stories/pdf/zastita_izbjeglica.pdf">http://www.unhcr.hr/images/stories/pdf/zastita_izbjeglica.pdf</a>   |
| RRF                 | obrazac za registraciju preseljenja | discussion with the group, <a href="http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/en/TXT/?uri=CELEX:52016DC0222">http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/en/TXT/?uri=CELEX:52016DC0222</a>                                  |
| RSD                 | utvrđivanje statusa izbjeglice      | discussion with the group, <a href="http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/HR/TXT/?uri=CELEX:31996F0196">http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/HR/TXT/?uri=CELEX:31996F0196</a>                                    |
| security            | sigurnost                           | <a href="http://www.unhcr.hr/images/stories/pdf/zastita_izbjeglica.pdf">http://www.unhcr.hr/images/stories/pdf/zastita_izbjeglica.pdf</a>   |

|                        |                           |   |
|------------------------|---------------------------|---|
|                        |                           | <a href="#">jeglica.pdf</a>   |
| terrorism              | terorizam                 | <a href="http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/HR/TXT/?uri=celex%3A32002F0475">http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/HR/TXT/?uri=celex%3A32002F0475</a>   |
| terrorist              | terorist                  | <a href="http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/HR/ALL/?uri=CELEX%3A62014CC0573">http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/HR/ALL/?uri=CELEX%3A62014CC0573</a> |
| terrorist act          | teroristički čin          | <a href="http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/HR/ALL/?uri=CELEX%3A52016DC0205">http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/HR/ALL/?uri=CELEX%3A52016DC0205</a> |
| terrorist organization | teroristička organizacija | <a href="http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/HR/ALL/?uri=CELEX%3A62014CC0573">http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/HR/ALL/?uri=CELEX%3A62014CC0573</a> |
| UNHCR                  | UNHCR                     | <a href="http://www.unhcr.hr">http://www.unhcr.hr</a>   |

## 5. Translation

S obzirom na kontinuirani nedostatak opće prihvaćene definicije terorizma, donositelji odluka trebali bi, uzimajući u obzir primjenjivost članka 1.F na određenog pojedinca, odrediti ispunjavaju li činovi<sup>xli</sup> s kojima je pojedinac<sup>xliii</sup> navodno povezan kriterije iz te odredbe, a ne se usredotočiti na oznaku „terorizam”. Većina činova nasilja koje se uobičajeno naziva „terorističkima“ predstavljaju nepolitička kaznena djela u smislu članka 1.F točke (b) Konvencije iz 1951.<sup>xliii</sup>, posebice ako bez diskriminacije ugrožavaju ili nanose štetu civilima. Unatoč tome što činovi mogu biti politički motivirani, oni mogu prouzročiti isključenje jer u brojnim takvim slučajevima poveznica između zločina i navodne političke svrhe nije dovoljno bliska i/ili se korištena sredstva ne mogu smatrati proporcionalnima njihovom cilju.

Članak 1.F točka (c) – „činovi suprotni ciljevima i načelima Ujedinjenih naroda” – također bi mogao biti mjerodavan u slučajevima koji uključuju terorističke čine ako ti činovi utječu na međunarodnoj razini u pogledu njihove ozbiljnosti, međunarodnog učinka te posljedica za međunarodni mir i sigurnost. Definicija<sup>xliv</sup> „terorističkog čina kao čina suprotnog ciljevima i načelima UN-a” kako je navedeno, na primjer, u brojnim rezolucijama Vijeća sigurnosti UN-a o terorizmu ili u nacionalnom zakonodavstvu ne pruža sama po sebi dostatnu osnovu za isključenje bez individualizirane procjene svih bitnih aspekata.

Kao i u svim slučajevima koji uključuju članak 1.F, procjena isključenja s obzirom na ponašanje koje upućuje na „terorističke” čine morala bi uključivati odluku o pojedinačnoj odgovornosti podnositelja zahtjeva. To se također odnosi na slučajeve u kojima se ime osobe nalazi na popisu osumnjičenih terorista ili kada je ta osoba član grupe koju je međunarodna zajednica, regionalno tijelo ili država članica<sup>xlv</sup> označila kao „terorističku“ organizaciju. Takva oznaka redovito će potaknuti razmatranje o isključenju.

### 3.6.6 Pojedinac povezan s kaznenim djelima ili podložan kaznenom postupku

Međunarodna zaštita izbjeglica i kazneno pravo međusobno se ne isključuju. Konvencija iz 1951. ne štiti izbjeglice i tražitelje azila koji su sudjelovali u kriminalnim radnjama od sudskog progona za njihove čine. Slično tomu, status izbjeglice, ili činjenica da je zatražen azil, ne znači da se pojedinca koji je uključen u kriminalne radnje ne može sudski goniti u

državi<sup>xlvi</sup> domaćinu.

Razmatranja o isključenju mogu se pokrenuti ako je za tražiteljem azila izdan zahtjev za izručenje na temelju kaznene prijave ili osude u njegovoj zemlji podrijetla ili u trećoj zemlji. To se treba uzeti u obzir tijekom postupaka za utvrđivanje statusa izbjeglica<sup>xlvii</sup> jer može značiti da pojedinac bježi od pravosuđa, a ne od proganjanja<sup>xlviii</sup>. Ako se utvrdi da je osoba u bijegu od legalnog sudskog progona ili kažnjavanja za kaznena djela, njezin status ne bi bio u skladu s definicijom izbjeglice iz članka 1.A stavka 2. Konvencije iz 1951. i zahtjev se treba odbiti.

Međutim, donositelji odluka trebali bi razmotriti mogućnost da se vlasti zemlje podrijetla koriste sudskim progonom kao sredstvom proganjanja i da je izručenje zatraženo kao sredstvo predaje „tražene osobe” s namjerom proganjanja. U slučajevima kada postupak izručenja otvara mogućnost za *prisilnim udaljenjem ili vraćanjem* dotične osobe time se povećava potreba za preseljenjem.

Ako dotični pojedinac osjeća osnovani strah od proganjanja u zemlji podrijetla – bilo u kontekstu sudskog progona ili nepovezanih razloga – on ispunjava uvjete za status izbjeglice iz Konvencije iz 1951. pod uvjetom da postoji poveznica između straha od proganjanja i jednog od razloga za proganjanje navedenih u članku 1.A stavku 2. Konvencije iz 1951. Međutim, u tim je okolnostima potreban temeljit pregled mogućih razloga za isključenje pri utvrđivanju podobnosti podnositelja zahtjeva za međunarodnu zaštitu izbjeglica.

U vezi s kaznenim djelima koji su obuhvaćenim područjem primjene članka 1.F točke (a) i članka 1.F točke (c) Konvencije iz 1951., ove se odredbe primjenjuju u bilo kojem trenutku, neovisno o tome je li čin za isključenje počinjen u zemlji podrijetla, u zemlji domaćinu, ili u trećoj zemlji, prije ili poslije priznavanja statusa izbjeglice tražitelju azila. Nasuprot tome, da bi se primijenila točka (b) iz članka 1.F, bitna su samo ozbiljna nepolitička kaznena djela koja je počinio tražitelj azila u zemlji podrijetla, ili u nekoj drugoj zemlji isključujući zemlju domaćina prije njegovog prihvaćanja u nju.

U svim takvim slučajevima – naročito ako je zemlja podrijetla te osobe izdala zahtjev za izručenjem – pouzdanost dostupnih podataka mora se procijeniti s obzirom na sve okolnosti koje se odnose na pojedini slučaj.

Kako je prethodno navedeno, činjenica da je osoba sa statusom izbjeglice koji joj je dodijelio UNHCR povezana s kriminalnim radnjama ili je predmet kaznene istrage u zemlji podrijetla ili u zemlji domaćinu, ne uzrokuje samim time ukidanje ili opoziv statusa izbjeglice. To se

također odnosi na slučajeve kada se pokrene razmatranje o isključenju nakon uhićenja tražitelja azila ili izbjeglice u zemlji azila ili u trećoj zemlji na temelju Interpolove „crvene tjeralice”. Informacije koje su postale dostupne putem Interpolovih kanala treba proučiti na isti način kao da su ih izravno podnijele vlasti zemlje u čije su se ime informacije proširile putem Interpolova sustava.

### **3.7 ISKLJUČENJE I PRESELJENJE**

Da bi se zaštitio integritet UNHCR-ovih postupaka za preseljenjem, od ključne je važnosti da se moguća pitanja isključenja detaljno pregledaju i da se potvrdi podobnost za međunarodnu zaštitu pod mandatom Ureda prije nego što je podnesen zahtjev za preseljenje za pojedini slučaj.

Pitanja isključenja u načelu treba pregledati prije nego što je slučaj prosljeđen na postupak za preseljenje. Međutim, osoblje zaduženo za preseljenje mora biti svjesno mogućih problema kod isključenja koja nisu bila prisutna u fazi utvrđivanja statusa izbjeglice. To se osobito odnosi na slučajeve kada su predani zahtjevi za preseljenje osoba koje su dobile status izbjeglica *prima facie*<sup>xlix</sup> i stoga nisu prolazili kroz cijeli individualizirani proces utvrđivanja statusa izbjeglica.

Ako se pojave bilo kakve činjenice ili naznake tijekom razgovora o preseljenju koje upućuju na to da je pojedinac sudjelovao u činovima koji uzrokuju isključenje, slučaj će se odmah proslijediti jedinici za zaštitu na procjenu o isključenju.

Zbog posebnih ozbiljnih posljedica za dotičnog pojedinca i složenih kriterija presudnih za odluku, razmatranje primjene odredbi za isključenje iz članka 1.F treba provoditi samo UNHCR-ovo osoblje zaduženo za zaštitu koje posjeduje potrebno znanje i prošlo je potrebnu obuku. Iz istih je razloga *Postupovnim normama za određivanje statusa izbjeglice pod mandatom UNHCR-a* propisano da Sjedište pregleda sve odluke donesene na terenu u vezi s isključenjem, oduzimanjem, ukidanjem, i prekidanjem.

#### **3.7.1 Standardni operativni postupci povezani sa zahtjevima za preseljenje**

## u slučajevima kada je potaknuto isključenje

Sljedeći se Standardni operativni postupci trebaju primjenjivati kako bi se rizik previda pitanja isključenja u kontekstu preseljenja sveo na minimum.

1. Odluku o utvrđivanju statusa izbjeglice treba pregledati visoki službenik za zaštitu odgovoran za utvrđivanje statusa izbjeglice ili voditelj Ureda u slučaju kada:
  - postoji sumnja tijekom obrade zahtjeva za preseljenjem jesu li povodi za isključenjem ispravno provjereni tijekom pojedinačnog postupka utvrđivanja statusa izbjeglice;
  - je pokrenuto isključenje, ali nije provjereno u cijelom individualiziranom postupku utvrđivanja statusa izbjeglice za izbjeglicu kojemu je dodijeljen status *prima facie*;
  - se pojave nova razmatranja o isključenju vezana uz izbjeglicu tijekom obrade zahtjeva za preseljenje.
2. Obrada zahtjeva za preseljenje treba se nastaviti tek kada je provedena provjera za isključenjem i kada je potvrđen status izbjeglice.
3. Terenski ured treba, kod osjetljivih i graničnih slučajeva, podnijeti svoju konačnu odluku zajedno s detaljnom analizom i preporukom službenika visokom pravnom savjetniku u nadležnom uredu kao smjernice. Odjel za međunarodnu zaštitu može pružiti savjet Uredu o složenim doktrinskim pitanjima povezanim s tumačenjem članka 1.F.

Ovi se koraci moraju poduzeti prije nego slučaj dođe do Službe za preseljenje u Sjedištu ili Središta za preseljenje/područnih<sup>1</sup> ureda, prema potrebi. Ako ovi standardni operativni postupci nisu primijenjeni, Služba za preseljenje, Središte ili regionalni ured vratit će slučaj dotičnom terenskom uredu.

4. Alternativne se postupke pregleda slučajeva za isključenje može uvesti za određene radnje utvrđivanja statusa izbjeglice kada nadležni ured i Odjel za međunarodnu zaštitu utvrde da Sjedište treba pregledati samo slučajeve određene vrste ili izvanredne slučajeve prije nego što preseljenje postane rješenje.

U svakom slučaju u kojemu su razmatranja za isključenjem provjerena, obrazac za registraciju preseljenja mora sadržavati bitne podatke kao i pravnu procjenu koja je rezultirala UNHCR-ovom odlukom da isključenje *nije* primjenjivo.



## 6. Resources

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<sup>i</sup> The translation of the term *indulge* was problematic because in Croatian there is no one term that encompasses all the semantic fields as does the term in English. I thought of several different ways of translating the verb: *razmaziti*, *udovoljavati*, *tetošiti*. However, each of these translations has an additional connotative meaning that could possibly confuse the reader. The verb *razmaziti* is usually associated with children and how adults are fulfilling all of their desires without any specific reason. *Udovoljavati* seemed like a good solution until I tried to find a source that would confirm its use in such way. It seems that in Croatian the verb *udovoljavati/udovoljiti* is used when one is talking about meeting certain conditions, and not when one is talking about allowing yourself to have or do something that you like, especially if it is considered bad for you. With the verb *tetošiti*, I felt as if the style and the register did not allow the use of a word that is mostly used in informal speech. Despite all of this, I checked *Psihologijski rječnik* by Boris Petz to see if some of those terms are indeed used in psychology. However, I did not find those terms in the dictionary, but I did find the term *ugoda* which was defined as “the state of being satisfied”. That was not exactly what I was looking for, but then I remembered the verb *ugadati* whose definition (“to fulfil desires”) was the closest to the English verb *indulge*.

<sup>ii</sup> The author’s style of writing was also one of the problems. The author used a semi-formal style and register in order to make the reader feel a connection with the book and the author. This connection is supposed to help the reader understand the psychological aspect of a certain problem, as well as to help them realise they are not the only ones with that problem. In such way, the reader is most likely to respond positively. Part of her writing style are the I-sentences which make the readers feel as if she, the author, is there with them and helping them get through their issues even though it is a self-help book. In my opinion, Croatian books similar to this one are written more formally and, at first, I started translating it more formally. However, when I delved more into the text, I realised what the author was trying to accomplish by using such semi-formal style. This is not a scientific text; therefore, there is no need for a formal style and register. The main goal of the book is to form that connection between the author and the reader, and to make the reader feel more comfortable when reading about certain psychological issues. Due to all of this, I decided to keep the semi-formal style and translate the I-sentences in the first person singular.

<sup>iii</sup> In the original text, the author used the phrase “shove up your asinine assumptions”. It is a modified version of a very colloquial and vulgar English idiom. I needed to find an idiom or a phrase in Croatian that would be subtle and not vulgar, but one which everyone would understand for what it really is. I tried many vulgar expressions and I believe I achieved the desired effect with the expression “što možete napraviti s vašom anketom”.

<sup>iv</sup> The word *credentials* had two meanings in English according to the Oxford Learner’s Dictionary. One is “the qualities, training or experience that make you suitable to do something”, and the other is “documents such as letters that prove that you are who you claim to be, and can therefore be trusted”. I quickly realised that in this case, *credentials* means both of these things. In the text, it does not refer to any document that can confirm you are can be trusted, but it speaks of your qualities and your background which can confirm you can be trusted. In every dictionary I checked, they all offered translations such as *vjerodajnice*, *kvalifikacije*, *akreditivi*, and *isprave*. They all focused on the second definition of the word, that *credentials* are documents, and ignored the less physical aspect of the word. Therefore, I had to find another solution. The word *vjerodajnice* helped me find the solution. I needed a word that would show I was talking about moral credibility, and the word *vjerodajnice* reminded me of *vjerodostojnost*, a trait of a trustworthy person. I believe that *vjerodostojnost* with the premodifier *moralna* carries across the meaning of a person being morally trustworthy.

<sup>v</sup> The term *moral licensing* is one of the key terms in my part of the text; therefore, it was crucial that I find good Croatian sources. However, that proved to be difficult. I thought of several different ways of translating it: *moralna licenca*, *moralno dopuštenje*, *moralna dozvola*, *moralno licenciranje*, but I could not find any valid sources in Croatian. After realising that I will have problems with finding the sources, I contacted several former students of psychology who now work in the field of psychology and asked for their opinion and help. I got an answer from all of them that this term belongs to a new field in psychology and that there is no official translation in Croatian yet because the research regarding moral licensing haven not yet started being conducted in Croatia. They recommended that I use *moralno licenciranje* or *moralno baždarenje*. After discussing it with my colleagues, we decided on using *moralno licenciranje* because it is more transparent than *baždarenje* and easier to understand.

<sup>vi</sup> In most cases, English is an economic language. We can express more meaning; emphasize nuances in fewer words than in some other languages. The use of adverbs in English enables us to use shorter structures which, for example in Croatian, would be full clauses. In this case, the author was able to express the behaviour of people

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using only one adverb, and that is *ethically*. According to the Oxford Learner's Dictionary, the definition of *ethically* is "in the correct way according to your beliefs and principles". In Croatian, it is not possible to express such behaviour with just one word, *etički*. I had to use the procedure of addition so the sentence would be clear to the reader. First, I thought of *etički kodeksi*, but that term is used in a business environment as a set of formal and informal rules and regulations. Next, I tried to think of the word that would collocate well with *postupati etički* and the word that stood out to me was *ispravno*.

<sup>vii</sup> Most of the times in Croatian, commas are used to indicate small breaks between words or sentences. However, in this case, I felt that there is a need to indicate a bigger break, as well as to somehow emphasize the list of people with moral credentials; therefore, I kept the dash that was also in the original text.

<sup>viii</sup> This text is about the psychological phenomena of *moral licensing*; however, that does not free it from culture-specific items (CSI). The CSI I came across in this text is *televangelist*. A televangelist is an evangelical preacher who appears regularly on television to promote beliefs and appeal for funds. In Croatia, a concept like this does not exist and therefore we do not have an equivalent word in Croatian. That left me with two options. One was to translate it literally, and the other was to paraphrase it. I quickly gave up on translating it literally because the average Croatian reader would not understand the concept of a televangelist even though both words from which the compound is made exist in Croatian, the prefix *tele-* and the word *evangelist*. There is always the option of putting a footnote and explaining the new word, but to me it felt that it would disrupt the reading flow. Therefore, I decided on paraphrasing the word and explaining in a few words who that person is.

<sup>ix</sup> *Procrastination* has long been a problem when translating into Croatian because there is not just one word which could serve as an equivalent, but a whole range of words depending on the context and I find that all of them are missing that subtle meaning of the word *procrastination*, delaying to do something you should do because you do not want to do it. Several Croatian words came to mind, for example *odugovlačenje*, *oklijevanje*, and *odgađanje*. I checked the definitions of each of those words, and I dismissed *odugovlačenje* because it implies that we are doing something but we are just dragging it out, being slow to do it. The word *oklijevanje* does imply the unwillingness to do something, but it does not mean delaying. The last option I had was *odgađanje*. I managed to find a valid source for it (<http://bib.irb.hr/prikazi-rad?rad=758949>) and therefore decided to use that word.

<sup>x</sup> In this title, the word I had most trouble with was *fuzzy*. In English, the phrase *warm and fuzzy* refers to the warm, pleasant sensations people feel when they, for example, do something good. The first words that came to mind were *mucasta*, *meka*, *nejasna*. I was researching each of these words when I realised that none of them would fit because of the first sentence of the second paragraph after the title "Anything that makes us feel warm and fuzzy about our virtue..." In English, the collocation *to feel warm and fuzzy* is possible, but in Croatian it is not possible with the words I previously thought of. That meant I had to find a collocation that is used in Croatian and will be understood. I checked *Rječnik sinonima hrvatskoga jezika* by Ljiljana Šarić and there I found the word *ugodan* which collocates in Croatian with *osjećati se*. It seemed like a good solution and it has the desired effect.

<sup>xi</sup> In the contemporary world, the word *hipster* permeated all levels of society, almost all cultures, countries, and languages. It entered into dictionaries of many languages and is known worldwide. It can also be found in the dictionary of the Croatian language (<http://hjp.znanje.hr/index.php?show=search>); therefore, I left it in its original form which also became a Croatian word the moment it was put in the dictionary. I also believe that there was no need for additional explanations because of the very fact that the word is so widespread.

<sup>xii</sup> The phrase *guilty pleasure* in English refers to something, such as a film, television programme, or piece of music, which one enjoys despite feeling that it is not generally held in high regard. It is also quite often regarded as embarrassing. I did a lot of research and two phrases kept appearing, *zabranjeni užitak* and *slatki grijeh*. I checked the contexts they had appeared in and I realised that *zabranjeni užitak* is used more in regard to people's sexual lives and habits. Moreover, the adjective *zabranjen* takes the phrase a step further from *guilty pleasure* which does not forbid anything; it just implies that something is embarrassing. For those reasons, I decided to translate it with *slatki grijeh* which implies that we enjoy doing something that could be considered embarrassing at the same time.

<sup>xiii</sup> The words that Paul used are peculiar because he took the verb *dissipate* from physics. A dissipative process is a process in which energy (internal, bulk flow kinetic or system potential) is transformed from some initial form to some final form; the capacity of the final form to do mechanical work is less than that of the initial form.

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In Croatian the same term exists, *disipacija* (<http://hjp.znanje.hr/index.php?show=search>); however, it cannot be used to express the levels of energy one has left in the body like it can be used in English. I could not retain the term from physics, so I tried to compensate for that by using a collocation which contains the word *energy* and means that one is so tired that s/he has no energy left. I came across the expression *nemam ni trunke energije* and thought it fits well in the text and with the phrase before it *mrtav umoran*. The reason I used *mrtav umoran* instead of *iscrpljen* is because it is Paul who said it, and not the author. Moreover, he used the colloquial expression *knackered* which allowed me to break away a bit from the formality and also use a colloquial expression.

<sup>xiv</sup> The sports reference *time-out* is commonly used in Croatian in the same form so I did not see the need to translate it into Croatian. There exists the form *tajm-aut* (<http://hjp.znanje.hr/index.php?show=search>) but after a detailed search in the Croatian Language Corpus, I found out that it is not in use while the expression *time-out* is. The other possibility was to translate it with *pauza* but then we would lose the obvious sports reference and there would be a need for extra clarification on what kind of break we were taking.

<sup>xv</sup> I did not translate the title of the TV series because there is no official translation and I believe that the title of the series holds no significant importance for this text and understanding it. The important part is the connection Jane has with one of the characters from the series. For readers who might not recognise that it is one of Britain's most famous, and longest-running, series, I added the premodifier *serija*.

<sup>xvi</sup> The term *cultural knowledge* was difficult to translate because if translated directly it would be *znanje o kulturi*. The problem emerged when translating the word *knowledge*. Its Croatian equivalent is *znanje* but here it did not quite fit in the context. *Znanje* implies knowing facts about something, but here the *knowledge* changed Tina, she gained something from it and craved more. In my opinion, the word *spoznaja* is the better solution because it has that note of engaging knowledge to reach new insights.

<sup>xvii</sup> When describing someone's past, the one of the common collocations in English is *s/he is from a xy background*. The structures in English allow us to express it in that manner. However, in Croatian such structure is linguistically not possible; therefore, I had to paraphrase the whole sentence using Croatian collocations. In Croatian, one of the most common phrases used to describe someone's past is *rodio/la se u xy obitelji*. Moreover, in Croatia, social classes were important, but perhaps less than in the United Kingdom. That can be seen in the difference between these two expressions in the text. In English, he is described solely by his class, while family is more emphasized than class in Croatian.

<sup>xviii</sup> *Laissez-faire* is a French phrase that means not trying to control somebody and allowing them to do what they want. It appears often in English, and even Croatian. Firstly, I thought about translating it, but then I realised it is also used in Croatian; moreover, it a part of the author's style. It gives an impression of a higher style which is in direct contrast with the context and makes it more ironic.

<sup>xix</sup> *Reality shows* and *talent shows* are present in almost every country in some shape or form, and with the shows, the names for them became part of the language. There is no official Croatian translation; moreover, even HRT uses the name *reality televizija* (<http://objetnica.hrt.hr/leksikon/r/reality-televizija/>) and that is why I decided to leave the English names. They are known worldwide and everyone who watches TV programmes in Croatia knows about these shows.

<sup>xx</sup> The usual translation for *branding* into Croatian is *branding*; however, I decided to use the word *markiranje* because, in the next sentence, *branded clothes* are mentioned and that is translated as *markirana roba*. I wanted to make a connection between those two sentences and I decided to use the Croatian equivalent of the word *branding*.

<sup>xxi</sup> Throughout the text, the author used three periods instead of just one. In some cases, the three periods were necessary because they represented ellipsis, but in most cases they were redundant. At first, I thought they were one of the features of the author's style, but he was not consistent with the usage and they did not bring any value to the text in most cases. Due to these reasons, I replaced the three periods with one in most cases, or sometimes with a colon or a semicolon.

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<sup>xxii</sup> The author of the original text used em dashes instead of quotation marks and that caused a lot of problems because he did not only use them instead of the quotations marks, but also for longer breaks in the quotes themselves. He was not consistent with the use of the dashes; therefore, in agreement with my colleagues, I have decided to use quotation marks for direct speech and the dash if I felt it necessary to have a longer break in a sentence.

<sup>xxiii</sup> This book was published in 1902 and that posed a challenge when it came to translating it. There were two options on how to translate it; we could modernize it or we could try to retain the older version of the language and archaic expressions. In my opinion, the translation would have lost a lot of the book's character if we had modernized it. However, retaining the older language proved to be an even more difficult task because we are not as familiar with the language of that period as we are with contemporary English. In order to give an impression of the language of that period, I used inversion, some expressions that belong to a high register of English and, when possible, some archaic expression.

<sup>xxiv</sup> When I first came upon the name *Jedina*, I left the Croatian version in the translation because she is only mentioned once in my part and does not have an important role. However, after a discussion about nicknames with my colleagues, I realized that *Jedina* is a nickname, and while she is not of great importance in my part, she is important in other parts of the book. Having discussed the options with my colleagues, we decided to translate her nickname as the *Only One*.

<sup>xxv</sup> Nicknames are often used in this book, and it is no wonder that one of the main characters, Evka, also has one. Her mother often calls her *rano moja* which is a term of endearment, but it also indicates that the very love she bears for her child could wound her. I wanted to translate the term of endearment as *my sweetheart* or *my love* which are common nicknames mothers give to their children. However, I realized that *rano moja* is not a common nickname and that it also has an additional sad note to it. I wanted to translate that very sad note and I thought of a couple of options: *my poor child* and *my sorrow*. The nickname *my poor child* sounded as if she pitied her daughter and that was not the case, so I decided to use the nickname *my sorrow* because I believe it evokes the same feelings of love and pain as *rano moja*.

<sup>xxvi</sup> *Sokak* is a culture specific item not in terms of what it represents, but because it bears a unique name. *Sokak* is a word widely used in Slavonia and it describes a narrow street, especially in the rural area. My colleagues and I could not find an exact equivalent in English, and we had two solutions: *street* and *alley*. We quickly agreed that the word *street* has the connotation of a street in a city and not a rural area, so we decided to translate *sokak* as *an alley*.

<sup>xxvii</sup> The verb *divaniti* means to talk, to have a conversation and it has strong regional markers. It is mostly used in the continental part of Croatia, especially Slavonia. However, here it has an additional meaning. It still implies talking, but it also means spending time with a person of the opposite sex whom you might want to marry. It was difficult to find a verb in English that would have the same meaning. I chose the verb *to converse* even though it does not have the additional meaning of flirting. I chose it because it is marked as very formal and it would indicate to the contemporary reader that there is something more happening other than a normal conversation.

<sup>xxviii</sup> There was a lot of discussion on whether we should keep Croatian letters such as *č/ć*. In the beginning, I agreed with my colleagues that we should change *č/ć* into *ch*. However, after further consideration, I decided to keep *č/ć* because the plot is set in Slavonia and all the names would be with *č/ć* and not *ch*. Moreover, I decided to keep the Croatian letters as to compensate for translating other culture specific items (see endnotes vi and ix).

<sup>xxix</sup> *Otarak* or *peškir* is another culture specific item that is typical for Slavonia. *Otarki* are linens that were used in everyday life, but also for baptisms, weddings, and funerals. I decided to translate the word into English, but I also decided to add a footnote explaining the custom of gifting the linens to the groom and his family because I believe it is important for the reader to understand the custom. I also added the Croatian names for the linens in the footnote for the readers who want to know more.

<sup>xxx</sup> The saying which the author mentions in the text, "U majstora soba ladna, majstorića gladna", was difficult to translate because I needed to retain the occupation, the meaning and the rhyme. I believe that I managed to do that with my translation: "Craftsman's room holds no heat, finding food is a feat." I retained the occupation by using the shorter form of the phrase *master craftsman*, and the expression rhymes. The only thing that slightly changed is the meaning. In the Croatian version, it is explicitly said that the craftsman's wife is hungry, and in

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the translation it is implied that they both have no food. However, I think that such slight change in meaning does not impact the translation negatively in any way.

<sup>xxx</sup> The Croatian slang word *stara*, meaning mother is, I believe, unique because it does not derive from the same root as the word *mother* as most nicknames. That very reason could lead to a possible mistranslation of the word as *the old lady*. The expression *the old lady* has a completely different meaning in informal English, and it means a girlfriend or a wife. I consulted the Online Slang Dictionary (<http://onlineslangdictionary.com>) to check which slang words are used in English for *mother*. I found many slang words; however, most of them did not fit into the context of this text. I had several options in mind: *mom*, *ma*, *mum*, but after discussing it with my colleagues, we came to the conclusion that the word *ma* is the best solution.

<sup>xxxii</sup> One of the most noticeable features of the author's style is the absence of quotation marks when it comes to direct speech. At first, I found it odd and considered putting the quotation marks in my translation. However, I realized that the absence of the quotation marks is just another stylistic device which the author used to engage the reader. Without quotes, the distinction between dialogue and the narration is blurred, but if the reader pays attention to the language, what is spoken and what is written becomes clear. The words spoken by the characters become equal to the surrounding narration; however, that does not push the dialogues into the background, but, in a way, emphasizes them. Therefore, I decided not to use the quotation marks in my translation.

<sup>xxxiii</sup> Informal language is characterized by many features, and the most common are contracted verb forms, especially in writing. Considering that the original is written in informal Croatian, it was necessary to retain the informality and the most obvious choice was to use contractions whenever possible, especially in direct speech.

<sup>xxxiv</sup> In the original, the author used the verb *ispariti* as a metaphor for the character's sudden disappearance without leaving a trace. In English, one cannot say that someone *evaporated*; therefore I needed to find a suitable metaphor or idiom. The first thing that came to mind was the phrase *to disappear without a trace* which matches metaphorical meaning of the verb *ispariti*. However, I wanted to retain the metaphorical expression. I did some research and I found the idiom *to vanish into thin air*. Its meaning matches exactly with the meaning of the original metaphor, "to disappear without leaving a trace", and it has the slight connotation that something evaporated into the air.

<sup>xxxv</sup> The phrase *zadnje namjere* confused me because I have never heard someone use it. At first, I thought it meant *bad intentions*, but it did not completely fit into the context. From the context, I concluded that the author merely wanted to say that there were no hidden intentions, i.e. that the salesperson was not trying to trick the main character.

<sup>xxxvi</sup> Here, the author yet again uses a metaphor, but in this case it is to depict the absence of the Sun during the winter. The author used the verb *raspasti* to indicate that there is no Sun and that it does not look like it will be back again. The word *svemir* which the author used immediately made me think of the collocation which is very common in English, and that is *to be lost in space*. I found it fitting because it also means that something is not there where it should be and it is not known if it will be found or returned.

<sup>xxxvii</sup> In this paragraph, the main character seems to react a bit childishly to his problem with doctor Galin and I wanted to show that in my translation. That is why I decided to use the phrase *I'm-so-much-smarter-than-you face* to create the impression of his childish mocking.

<sup>xxxviii</sup> Culture-specific items (CSI) always pose problems for translators, especially if they translate from a less dominant culture into a more dominant culture. The translator has to decide whether (s)he will foreignize or domesticate the translation, i.e. to which will (s)he make a text conform to the target culture. In Croatia, everyone knows about *cedevita*; however, it is not so widely known outside the borders of Croatia, and possibly the neighboring countries. In this text, *cedevita* has no significant meaning to the characters or the plot. Therefore, I decided to make it more understandable to the target audience. I translated *cedevita* as *Kool-Aid*, a widely known and popular flavoured powdered drink in the US. In my opinion, that was the best solution. Paraphrasing and explaining what *cedevita* is would be too much because the character is merely listing what he wants to buy to the saleswoman, and a footnote would distract the reader and disrupt the reading flow. The average American reader will know what *Kool-Aid* is due to its popularity and what the character is trying to buy, and it will not disrupt the reading flow. It was easy for me to decide to find an American equivalent and use it in my translation because it is of no importance in the whole book. However, that is not always the case and translators should look at each culture-specific item on its own and decide which procedure to use.

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<sup>xxxix</sup> In Croatian, it is common to use the term *Amerika* to refer to the United States of America. However, it is not common in English to refer to the country as just *America*, but as the United States or the U.S. As this text is written informally, I decided to use the abbreviation *the U.S.* which is, I believe, used more often in informal speech.

<sup>xl</sup> In English, it is not possible to indicate the gender of a person just by stating their nationality like it is possible in Croatian; therefore, it was necessary to add the pronoun *he*. In my opinion, the use of the pronoun emphasizes even more his declaration that he fell in love with a man and not a woman.

<sup>xli</sup> I had difficulties translating the word “act” because there are several possibilities for it in Croatian, and the ones which fit the best are “čin” and “djelo”. Throughout the text I had several syntagms which had the word “act” in them, such as “act of violence”, “act of terrorism”, and “criminal act”. The collocations in Croatian for these syntagms mostly use the word “čin”, except for “criminal act” which is translated as “kazneno djelo”; therefore, I decided to translate the word “act” as “čin” in order to be consistent with the majority of the collocations.

<sup>xlii</sup> In the source text, there was a need to use the phrase “he/she” in several places due to the lack of grammatical genders in English. However, Croatian language has grammatical genders and there was no need to use a phrase “on/ona” when we can use the grammatical gender of the nouns such as “osoba”, “pojedinaac”, “izbjeglica” and indicate it in the verb, use a pronoun, or even repeat the noun.

<sup>xliii</sup> In my part of the text, only the short name the “1951 Convention” is used. There is a Croatian translation of the Convention ([http://www.unhcr.hr/images/stories/pdf/konvencija\\_1951.pdf](http://www.unhcr.hr/images/stories/pdf/konvencija_1951.pdf)) which I used in my translation. After discussing it with my colleagues, we decided to use the short version of the name, but that the person who had the part when it is first mentioned would use the full name of the Convention. Moreover, we opted out of adding “godina” to the title because it is mostly not used in UNHCR’s publications and is even not necessary.

<sup>xliv</sup> At first glance, I thought I would not have problems translating the word “qualification” and I translated it as “kvalifikacija”. However, I realised that the word “kvalifikacija” has different connotations in Croatian and it means “stručna sprema” or just any degree of education, and it is something one writes in their CV. And this sentence tries to define what is an “act of terrorism” so I decided to use the word “definicija” to further emphasize the meaning of the sentence.

<sup>xlv</sup> I first translated the word “State” just as “država” but then I realised that it is capitalised which means it is not just any state. The word is capitalised because it refers to UNHCR Member States; therefore, I translated it as “država članica”.

<sup>xlvi</sup> The words “country” and “state” are used throughout the source text but always in certain phrases such as “country of origin”, “host country”, “third country”, and “State”. The words “country” and “state” can be used as synonyms but I do not believe this is the case here because they appear in a specific pattern. In my opinion, the use of both words was meant to show the difference between the phrases so I decided to use “zemlja” for “country” and “država” for “state” to show that they mean different things.

<sup>xlvii</sup> The source text is brimming with abbreviations such as “RSD”, “RRF”, “DIP”. First, I had to translate the full names of institutions, form, etc. in order to understand the text and be able to create Croatian abbreviations or add the English ones next to the translation. However, I realised that most of the abbreviations are not for institutions so I decided not to use the abbreviations (both Croatian and English) because it would only confuse the reader. I made only two exceptions and those were leaving the abbreviation UNHCR and INTERPOL because I believe that those institutions are better known by their abbreviations than their full name.

<sup>xlviii</sup> “Persecution” and “prosecution” are the words which appeared often in the text and which have meaning similar enough to be translated into Croatian with the same word “progon”. I needed to find a way to indicate difference in meaning and after looking into the *English-Croatian Dictionary of Law* by Milica Gačić, I decided to translate “prosecution” as “sudski progon”. In order to even more emphasize the difference in meaning, and after discussing it with my colleagues, I decided to use the translation for “persecution” from the 1951 Convention which is “proganjanje”.

<sup>xlix</sup> In texts like this which offer management and policy guidance, it is not strange to find expressions in Latin no matter in which language the text is so I decided not to translate the expression. Moreover, I believe it is widely known and easily understandable.

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<sup>1</sup> The source text mentions several types of offices in the UNHCR office hierarchy which gave us all problems. At first, I translated “Field Office” as “područni ured” and “Regional Office” as “regionalni ured”. However, during the discussion with my colleagues, we discovered that a “Regional Bureau” is also mentioned in other parts of the source text. We needed to find other solutions which would differentiate “Regional Office” and “Regional Bureau”. After looking through UNHCR’s publications, we realised that they translated “Field Office” as “terenski ured” which meant that we could use “područni ured” for “Regional Office” to indicate that it is not the same office as the “Regional Bureau” (which we then decided to translate as “regionalni ured”).