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CONTENTS

About the journal	2
Editor's message	3
<i>Stan Bogdanov</i>	
Articles	
The gravity of academic plagiarism in the perception of scholars, students, and science policy makers in Bulgaria	5
<i>Irena Vassileva, Diana Yankova, Mariya Chankova</i>	
Turkish-to-English short story translation by DeepL: Human evaluation by trainees and translation professionals vs. automatic evaluation	17
<i>Halise Gülmüş Sırkıntı</i>	
Self-repair and motivation in legal and medical simultaneous interpreting: reflections from student Interpreters	43
<i>Olçay Şener Erkirtay</i>	
Who dropped the sword of Stalingrad?	69
<i>Boris Naimushin</i>	
Metafiction and representation of gendered identity in Gillian Flynn's 'Gone Girl'	83
<i>Soheila Farhani Nejad</i>	
Rethinking genetic borders in 'The Hunger Games'	95
<i>Kevser Ateş</i>	
Doctoral Section	
Henry James and <i>The Aspern Papers</i>: Archive, memory, and the failure of biography	109
<i>Domeniko Kvartuč</i>	
Emotional void and identity fragmentation: madness and narcissism in "Lady Audley's Secret" by Mary Elizabeth Braddon (1862)	123
<i>Paolo Lantieri</i>	
Extraction of anglicisms from a corpus of Macedonian magazine texts	141
<i>Lina Miloshevska</i>	
Book Reviews	
Risk management in translation – Book review	161
<i>Antony Hoyte-West</i>	
New insights into interpreting studies. Technology, society and access – Book review	165
<i>Alina Pelea</i>	
Volume 11, Issue 1 metrics	172

About the journal

Aims & scope

English Studies at NBU (ESNBU) is an entirely open access, double-blind peer reviewed academic journal published by the Department of Foreign Languages and Cultures, New Bulgarian University in two issues per year, June and December, in print and online.

ESNBU welcomes original research articles, book reviews, discussion contributions and other forms of analysis and comment encompassing all aspects of English Studies and English for professional communication and the creative professions. Manuscripts are accepted in English. Translations of published articles are generally not accepted.

Submission and fees

Submissions are accepted from all researchers; authors do not need to have a connection to New Bulgarian University to publish in ESNBU.

There are **no submission fees** or **publication charges** for authors.

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Abstracting and Indexing

[CEEOL](#) - Central and Eastern European Online Library

[ERIH PLUS](#) - European Reference Index for the Humanities and the Social Sciences

[MLA](#) - Directory of Periodicals and MLA International Bibliography

[ROAD](#) - Directory of Open Access Scholarly Resources

[OpenAIRE](#)

[WoS Core Collection](#) (ESCI) - Web of Science Emerging Sources Citation Index

[DOAJ](#) - Directory of Open Access Journals (DOAJ Seal)

[Crossref](#) member

[NSD](#) - Norwegian Register for Scientific Journals, Series and Publishers

Brill [Linguistic Bibliography](#)

[CEEAS](#) - Central & Eastern European Academic Source (EBSCOhost)

ICI Index Copernicus - [Journals Master list database](#)

[RSCI](#) Core - Russian Science Citation Index (РИИЦ)

[CNKI SCHOLAR](#) (CNKI) China Knowledge Resource Integrated Database

[ZDB](#) - Zeitschriften Datenbank

[EZB](#) - Elektronische Zeitschriftenbibliothek

[BASE](#) (Bielefeld Academic Search Engine)

[iDiscover](#), the University of Cambridge's search and discovery system

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EDITOR'S MESSAGE



Stan Bogdanov,

Managing Editor

englishstudies@nbu.bg

English Studies at NBU is now bringing out Volume 11!

In this issue:

Irena Vassileva, Diana Yankova, and Mariya Chankova investigate how plagiarism is perceived in Bulgarian academia and explores strategies to address it. It aims to establish a practical and theoretical framework for defining and combating plagiarism, examining linguistic, technological, and sociocultural dimensions. The findings are expected to highlight perception gaps, influence policy, and encourage better enforcement and awareness to preserve academic integrity.

Halise Gülmüş Sırkıntı examines the quality of literary machine translation (MT) by DeepL for two Turkish short stories. It uses both human and automated evaluation (BLEU metric) to assess translations and involves both translation trainees and professionals. The study suggests that exposure to evaluation frameworks improves trainees' analytical skills and highlights DeepL's promising performance in translating short literary texts from Turkish to English.

Olcay Şener Erkırtay investigates how senior student interpreters manage self-repairs—real-time corrections during speech—while interpreting medical and legal texts from English to Turkish. The findings emphasize the importance of integrating reflective practice and cognitive training (like dual-task exercises and chunking) in interpreter education.

Boris Naimushin investigates a persistent historical legend from the 1943 Tehran Conference during World War II: Did Stalin or Marshal Voroshilov drop the ceremonial Sword of Stalingrad? Drawing on archival videos, memoirs, and historical records, he critically examines conflicting eyewitness accounts and concludes with compelling evidence about the real event.

Soheila Farhani Nejad analyses Gillian Flynn's novel *Gone Girl* through the lens of metafiction and gender representation. It argues that the novel subverts traditional portrayals of women in crime fiction by presenting Amy as a manipulative anti-heroine who crafts her identity through performance, deception, and media manipulation. Using metafictional techniques, the novel critiques gender roles, the cultural obsession with female victimhood, and the influence of post-feminist and neoliberal ideologies on identity. Ultimately, it explores how gendered identity is socially constructed and performed within power structures.

Kevser Ateş analyses *The Hunger Games* by Suzanne Collins through the lens of biotechnology, posthumanism, and ecological ethics. The article argues that the Capitol's use of genetic engineering — creating hybrid animals, mutated humans, and reanimated tributes — turns both people and nature into commodities for entertainment and control. Drawing on postmodern and ecological theory the paper critiques how advanced technology, under capitalist and authoritarian agendas, erodes the boundary between real and artificial, ultimately dehumanizing individuals and undermining ecological balance. The novel is seen as a warning against the unchecked power of biopolitics and genetic manipulation.

In the **Doctoral Section**, we feature 3 articles. The article, "Henry James and The Aspern Papers: Archive, Memory, and the Failure of Biography" by **Domeniko Kvartuč**, critically analyses Henry James's novella *The Aspern Papers* through the lens of archive theory, biography ethics, and memory preservation. It explores how the protagonist's obsessive attempt to access the late poet Aspern's personal documents reflects a broader human desire to recover a Romantic past, often at the cost of ethical boundaries and personal agency.

Paolo Lantieri's article analyses *Lady Audley's Secret* through a psychoanalytic lens, viewing the protagonist's narcissism and fragmented identity as rooted in childhood trauma and emotional neglect. It links her madness and manipulative behaviour to Victorian gender constraints and the pressure on women to conform to domestic ideals. Braddon's portrayal anticipates modern understandings of female psychology, showing Lady Audley's madness as both a defence and a rebellion against restrictive norms.

Lina Miloshevska investigates the presence and evolution of English loanwords (anglicisms) in Macedonian magazine texts by analysing a custom-built corpus from the business magazine *Kapital* for the years 2000 and 2020. Using a mix of software tools (AntConc, TagAnt, MATLAB) and manual inspection, the author identifies 4,436 anglicisms, with 220 of them being new in 2020 — mostly related to technology and COVID-19. It shows how such anglicisms evolve, adapt to the Macedonian language, and reveal social and linguistic trends. The study highlights the limitations of automatic tools and emphasizes the need for expert linguistic validation in such research.

Finally, we offer two book reviews. **Anthony Hoyte-West** takes a close look at **Anthony Pym's** book *"Risk Management in Translation"* and recommends this short volume as equally valuable for both academics and practicing translators and interpreters, as well as those in the language services industries seeking to adapt to the present era of change.

We are thankful to **Anthony Pym, Professor of Translation and Intercultural Studies, Universitat Rovira i Virgili, Tarragona, Spain** for providing his book for review!

Alina Pelea reviews *"New Insights into Interpreting Studies. Technology, Society and Access,"* a book edited by Agnieszka Biernacka and Wojciech Figiel with contributions from leading figures in interpreting studies and interpreter training, honouring Professor Małgorzata Tryuk. The book addresses topics such as conference interpreting, public service interpreting, technology in interpreting, accessibility, and ethics.

I wish you all good reading.

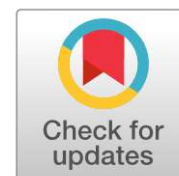
Be well!

THE GRAVITY OF ACADEMIC PLAGIARISM IN THE PERCEPTION OF SCHOLARS, STUDENTS, AND SCIENCE POLICY MAKERS IN BULGARIA

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Abstract

The ever-increasing spread of plagiarism in academia requires development of strategies to combat it so as to increase the prestige of Bulgarian scholars at the international and local level. Therefore, the main goals of the project are to analyze the concept of plagiarism in academia, arriving at a clear and detailed definition, applicable in practice to create efficient methods to combat it, and to investigate its understanding by students, scholars and science managers to establish the discrepancies between the nature of plagiarism and its perception in the Bulgarian academic community. Expected results: (1) Theoretical – elicitation of a definition of plagiarism; drafting of comprehensive legal and administrative approaches to combat plagiarism; design of a sociological methodology for a study of the problem. (2) Applied - transfer of knowledge; creating guidelines for combating plagiarism; raising the awareness of Bulgarian academe about the severity of plagiarism as a violation of academic ethics.

Keywords: plagiarism, academic integrity, perception of plagiarism, codes of ethics

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Overview

The problem of plagiarism in academia is exacerbated by the ever-increasing development and spread of new technologies and the vast amount of available information, posing an extremely serious challenge to society and research institutions related to copyright on intellectual products, which is also directly related to career and financial benefits. This is substantiated by the fact that many developed countries constantly update their legislation on plagiarism, universities and other research organizations adopt stringent regulations, train students in good academic practices and impose strict penalties.

The issue remained neglected in Bulgaria but has become topical recently due to the proliferation of plagiarism cases. Attempts to introduce centralized measures encountered fierce opposition from university rectors who treated this as interference in academic autonomy. Eventually, an independent *Commission for academic ethics* was established at the Ministry of Education, whose task is to evaluate reported cases of plagiarism and advise university administrations on appropriate measures. Although the creation of the *Commission* is undoubtedly a step in the right direction, its power is limited to cases of plagiarism only detected in promotion procedures and it does not change the general attitude of scholars and society towards such breaches of academic ethics.

Therefore, it is essential to reinforce the efforts to combat plagiarism with in-depth research in order to raise both scholars' and public awareness and thus – create intolerance towards unethical practices. This article reports on the initial stages of a project whose aim is to study the perception and attitudes towards plagiarism of all stakeholders in the academic process.

Objectives and hypotheses

The study has several objectives. From a general theoretical perspective, the focus is on the evaluation of definitions of plagiarism in terms of their variation, relevance in the digital age, ethical and legal aspects. It is of extreme importance to delineate its forms, its surface linguistic expression, and, especially in the Bulgarian context, instances of translated plagiarism. Another topical objective of the study is to establish the extent to which plagiarism detection software can be a reliable tool in recognizing academic dishonesty and to consider other means of plagiarism detection, for instance knowledge

of the plagiarised publication, abrupt changes in the writing style and fonts, incorrect referencing, grammatical, lexical and discoursal constructions untypical for the language or genre.

The study will also examine whether there is any change in scholars' attitudes after the establishment of the *Commission for academic ethics* at the Ministry of Education, as well as the Codes of Ethics and respective commissions at individual universities, and to what extent the work of these commissions has had a deterrent function.

The dissemination of the results aims at raising the awareness amongst the Bulgarian academic community and the public of the gravity of plagiarism as a breach of academic ethics and at creating intolerance towards its forms. The outcomes of the project will be used to produce guidelines for all groups concerned with the issue of plagiarism.

Methodology and procedures

This first stage of the interdisciplinary research involves a comprehensive review of relevant publications on the topic of plagiarism in order to elicit the main concepts that will be used. An encompassing definition of 'plagiarism' will be provided based on a critical analysis of existing research. Using sociolinguistic tools for analysis, the most controversial issues connected to what constitutes plagiarism, what forms it takes, the reasons for resorting to academic dishonesty, the reticence on the part of academics in revealing instances of plagiarism, among others will be pinpointed. Special attention will be paid to Internet plagiarism where the Internet will be envisaged as a source of material to be plagiarized and as a space for e-publications. Collaborative multiple-authored web-based texts (such as Wikis) are considered to be particularly susceptible to plagiarism since they are frequently treated as free sources of ready-made information. Therefore, these types of plagiarism will be focused on from a linguistic perspective. A major challenge here is not only the widely-spread copy-paste practice but, much more importantly, the treatment of unsolicited and unacknowledged 'borrowings' across languages and semiotic modes – an issue that has hardly received any scholarly attention so far. The results will materialize in the design of the questionnaires and semi-structured interviews, which will be the second stage of the research.

The next stage of the interdisciplinary research employs sociological methodology whereby the main research method is comparative-historical, supplemented and enriched with the method of discourse analysis: in their conceptual unity they aim to construct and verify a sociological diagnosis of sustainable practices, basic attitudes and key factors (degree, intensity and forms) for dissemination of plagiarism in the Bulgarian academic community with an analytical focus on three reference groups: university lecturers, science managers and students from different educational levels. Such a methodology is not only paradigmatically accepted, validated and tested in the theory of modern humanities and social sciences, but is also an extremely effective scientific tool for achieving reliable and valid results.

The research methodology comprises three stages: desk-research; field collection of empirical data; their processing, analysis, and interpretation. The desk-research has two fundamental aspects. It seeks to investigate current views of what constitutes plagiarism and what its manifestations are and ultimately to arrive at a clearer definition of the concept. In addition, it aims to explore, describe and summarize current policies to counter academic plagiarism at the levels of state legislation and university regulations.

Field empirical data collection aims to explore, describe and summarize the practices, attitudes, and factors of academic plagiarism among reference groups regarding its definition, identification, intensity, response and prevention. The reflexive focus will be on its internet forms. and the empirical techniques used are: (1) Quantitative – surveys; (2) Qualitative - semi-structured interviews and focus groups. The three reference groups will be accessed through a specific combination of quantitative and qualitative empirical techniques.

Qualitative techniques allow respondents to give free replies, statements and interpretations, and share personal experiences, observations and findings on academic plagiarism. The individual opinions thus collected will be reformulated into a homogeneous system of empirical indicators suitable for quantitative research through sociological questionnaires among the three reference groups. This specific combination of qualitative and quantitative techniques will ensure sufficient density, distinctiveness and comparability of the data, ensuring that the research will cover the widest possible range of hypotheses, positions and actors in Bulgarian academia and higher education.

Theoretical background

Plagiarism is the most common type of research misconduct along with results *falsification* and *fabrication*. Although, according to van Harten, it “is the least impactful in terms of perceptions from the outside [...], it clutters the research record and it’s effectively an act of stealing credit” (Mayer 2016). Besides, since plagiarism is (almost exclusively) the most common crime in the social sciences, as they deal much less with experiments and rely mainly on language for justifying claims, the present study is confined to this form of misconduct only.

Over the last several decades, scholars have turned their attention to a wide plethora of issues concerning plagiarism. One of the most prominent areas of research is the question of student plagiarism, especially in the digital age, with studies concentrating on Internet-plagiarism (c.f. Blum 2011; Sutherland-Smith, 2005). Some of the reasons for students adopting the practice are identified to be cultural-conditioning (Sowden 2005; Pennycook 1996), unsatisfactory language skills (Liu, 2005), the influence of the Internet over the students’ understanding of notions such as authorship, attribution of credit, originality (Breuer, Chankova & Vassileva, 2020).

Considering plagiarism from a more general socio-cultural perspective and starting from the assumption that it is advisable to discard the notion of plagiarism in order to avoid its negative and moral implications, Chandrasoma et al. (2004) suggest employing Borg’s (2002) notions of ‘transgressive and nontransgressive intertextuality’. Focusing on student academic production, they argue “that transgressive intertextuality is best understood as one aspect of textual construction deeply embedded in a wide variety of social, textual, and academic practices” (p.172), and that the ascription of transgressive or nontransgressive intertextuality is highly context-dependent.

There seems to be no consensus among academics on the different aspects of plagiarism. Some efforts are to be noted on classifying the offences (Hexham 2013), but the wide variety of malpractices that may be identified as plagiarism are seldom encompassed in a comprehensive definition. Most notably, despite the growing interest in plagiarism, very little research focuses on *academic plagiarism*. In the public domain, discussions are usually limited to a few cases regarding high-profile, usually political figures (as evidenced by recent cases in Germany and Central Europe). Martin (1984)

speaks of academic plagiarism as a taboo topic across academia, which stems first from the unfortunate fact that academic plagiarism is a much more common occurrence than might be expected and second, from a preoccupation of not tarnishing the image of academia. There is a growing concern that both scholars and institutions refuse to take responsibility when allegations of plagiarism are levelled against a member of academia, by either ignoring the issue or by taking refuge behind existing convenient procedure flaws, such as the anonymity requirement, avoiding undertaking proper investigations to either prove or disprove the allegations (Martin 1984, Kock 1999, Bartlett & Smallwood 2004, Lewis, Duchac & Beets 2011, Luke & Kearins 2012).

Even a cursory overview of honour codes (see also the extensive discussion in McCabe et al. 2002) of leading universities in English-speaking countries demonstrates the extreme importance attributed to combating academic misconduct in general and plagiarism in particular, and the detailed descriptions of what is considered plagiarism **regardless of the presence or absence of intent to deceive.**

The latter claim has been explicitly emphasized as following from the Roman law postulating: „*Ignorantia legis non excusat*“, since involuntary plagiarism, especially in Bulgaria, is often used as an excuse for using someone else's work without proper acknowledgement. On the other hand, the existing official documents in Bulgaria are quite vague on this issue and the solutions are left in the hands of the individual universities which cannot be viewed as impartial parties. Therefore, the study will also consider in detail the existing legal practices and university policies and their application in Bulgaria as compared to other countries and will suggest solutions for improving the implementation mechanisms.

The Internet as the main source of plagiarism

The Internet is not only a virtually unlimited source of information; with two decades under the participative Web 2.0, users can easily produce, exploit and disseminate ideas and information, and create communities. The multimedia environment also has a strong impact on the *interpersonal level of scientific exchange* – issues such as authorship in the more or less anonymous world of Web 2.0, production and reception strategies as well as changes in the structure and interrelationships within the scientific discourse community all represent compelling areas for research.

It is true that the notion of textual ownership has been challenged for the past two decades (e.g., Bloch, 2001; Lunsford & West, 1996), including the postmodernist idea of “the death of author” and “the decentring of the authority of a single, unitary self over a text” (Belcher, 2001, p.142). The latter belief has been strengthened by the participative Web 2.0 where it is sometimes hard to distinguish between authored and freely co-authored texts.

Therefore, as a reflection on the rise of the “remix culture” of the Web (the term is taken from Manovich, 2007), which influences the formation of the notions of originality and authorship in young Internet users, we turn our attention to the attitude of scholars and students towards plagiarism. Studies show that the notion of plagiarism is not uniformly perceived by scholars and students, and scholars have difficulties in applying the criteria to particular cases in order to decide whether plagiarism has occurred (Pecorari, 2013). Academic staff report mixed attitudes towards plagiarism among students, ranging from negative perceptions of the institutional regulatory mechanisms or the lack thereof, to unwillingness to invest time and effort into pursuing plagiarism investigations (Sutherland-Smith, 2005). The spread of (mostly) Internet-based plagiarism among students worldwide is symptomatic of the different perceptions about proper information exploitation (Breuer, Chankova & Vassileva], 2020; Blum, 2011). Remarkably, the bulk of research in this area is directed at student plagiarism, its origins and reasons (e.g., Sowden, 2005; Liu, 2005) and different preventive measures, such as assignment design (Zobel & Hamilton, 2002; Wiedemeier, 2002; Heckler, Forde & Bryan, 2013), paraphrasing training (Walker, 2008) or “revised institutional plagiarism policies combined with authentic pedagogy” (Howard, 2007, p.3). There is precious little research directed at academics’ plagiarism (for example, Clarke, 2006), the assumption being that academics do not plagiarize. This unwillingness to engage in a discussion seems to persist to this day (Luke & Kearins, 2012). Review articles of the issue implicitly restrict their focus on student academic misconduct (Awasti, 2019) and lately, on the emerging AI-aided production, whose status is being discussed (Cotton et al., 2024).

Since search engines and reference databases normally provide the latest reference to a particular concept, both students and scholars often do not bother to go deeper and search for the original source. Especially in cases when translated sources are concerned, this may lead to such distortions and misattributions that the original

becomes almost invisible, which results in a text that stands somewhere between plagiarism and falsification (for a detailed analysis of authorship and responsibility in discourse see Scollon 1994).

Expected results and conclusions

The study will have three fundamental results. The first will be directed at clarifying the definition of plagiarism. More specifically, after the successful completion of the project the following **theoretical results from a linguistic viewpoint** are expected:

- to contribute to the clarification of the much-debated issue of what constitutes plagiarism;
- to elicit which forms it may materialise in;
- to describe how it is linguistically realized;
- to illustrate how, whether and to what extent plagiarism detection software is applicable and reliable in revealing instances of plagiarism;
- to consider other means of plagiarism detection, such as familiarity with publications, change of style, typography, problematic referencing, unusual grammatical and lexical structures that may indicate the presence of translated plagiarism.

Stemming from the comprehensive analysis of questionnaires, focus groups and informal interview-based surveys, the second main group of **theoretical results from a sociological viewpoint** will be a fresh insight of the attitudes toward plagiarism in Bulgaria of all parties concerned: students, academics and science managers. The study will thus elicit the existing knowledge gaps and grey areas that should be filled in order to achieve full understanding of the issue of plagiarism. The differences in the attitudes towards intellectual and textual ownership and the reasons for resorting to plagiarism in Bulgaria will be foregrounded. The ultimate aim is to establish the inconsistencies in the perception of plagiarism. The study will also highlight changes in attitudes in academia after the establishment of the Commission for Academic Ethics in 2018.

Following the new knowledge gained from the first two groups of theoretical results, the third result is **practically oriented** – the aim is to provide much-needed guidelines for recognizing and eliminating plagiarism in academia. It is assumed that a good familiarity with the issue would lead to the establishment of strict and unambiguous

norms aimed at combatting plagiarism at all levels. The popularisation of the results is expected to deepen the understanding of the magnitude and importance of plagiarism amongst academia and the society in general, thus providing solutions to a serious academic, ethical, moral and socially significant problem.

The study will contribute to a proper understanding of the concept of plagiarism and develop an attitude of intolerance towards its practice. Once the inconsistencies in the perception of plagiarism are established then the phenomenon can be more easily eradicated. The introduction of clear-cut regulations is expected to minimize attempts at plagiarising. Besides, the solution of this problem should improve the quality of the research production by Bulgarian scholars and thus increase their competitiveness at international level. As a result, the prestige of Bulgarian scholars among the general public will increase and more trust will be generated in their achievements and trustworthiness which mirrors the crucial importance of researchers' social credibility.

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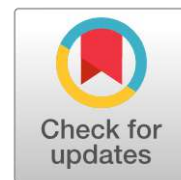
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TURKISH-TO-ENGLISH SHORT STORY TRANSLATION BY DEEPL: HUMAN EVALUATION BY TRAINEES AND TRANSLATION PROFESSIONALS VS. AUTOMATIC EVALUATION

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Abstract



This mixed-methods study aims to evaluate the quality of Turkish-to-English literary machine translation by DeepL, incorporating both human and automatic evaluation metrics while engaging translation trainees and professional translators. Raw MT output of two short stories, Mendil Altında and Kabak Çekirdekçi, evaluated by both groups via TAUS DQF tool and evaluators wrote reports on the detected errors. Additionally, BLEU was employed for automatic evaluation. The results indicate a consensus between trainees and professionals in assessing MT accuracy and fluency. Accuracy rates were 80.59% and 80.50% for Mendil Altında, and 73.08% and 82.35% for Kabak Çekirdekçi. Fluency rates were similarly close, 71.96% and 72.32% for Mendil Altında, and 66.81% and 62.09% for Kabak Çekirdekçi. Bleu scores, particularly 1-gram results, align with the human evaluators' results. Furthermore, reports show that trainees provided more detailed analysis, frequently using meta-language, suggesting that increased exposure to metrics enhances trainees' ability to identify fine-grained MT errors.

Keywords: literary translation, machine translation evaluation, human evaluation, automatic evaluation, BLEU

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Translating Literary Texts via Machine Translation

The idea of using mechanical dictionaries for translation dates back to the seventeenth century, but concrete plans for machine translation (MT) emerged only in the twentieth century (Hutchins, 1995, p. 431). Between 1956 and 1966, MT saw high expectations, but the 1966 ALPAC report highlighted its limitations, temporarily curbing research interest (Hutchins, 1995, p. 434). Following its publication, research in English-speaking regions declined, as “MT became the victim of its own unrealistic expectations” (Quah, 2006, p. 61). However, research teams in other countries persisted in getting financing for MT projects (Poibeau, 2017). The EUROTRA (European Translation) project led to a revival of MT research in Europe from the 1970s to 1992, and advances in computational linguistics in the 1980s further facilitated progress in MT research (Quah, 2006, p. 62-63). From 1984 to 1992, MT underwent a phase of steady growth that was characterized by gradual advancement and improvement (Sin Wai, 2015, p. 5). In the early 1990s, technological advances in communication and computing technology reshaped the translation field, fostering the swift growth and widespread adoption of MT and computer-aided translation tools (Quah, 2006, p. 65). This transformative period also witnessed the shift from the dominance of rule-based machine translation (RBMT) in the 1950s to the 1980s, to the rise of statistical machine translation (SMT) in the 1990s. (Melby, 2020, p. 684; Yang and Min, p. 2015, p. 201). Nevertheless, MT wasn't completely revolutionized until the development of neural machine translation (NMT) in the twenty-first century. Unlike previous MT solutions, neural networks have the capability to generate words in the correct context, making the translation output more accurate and contextually appropriate (Taivalkoski-Shilov, 2019, p. 690). Typically, an NMT model has two parts: A decoder network generates the translation from a real-valued vector that an encoder network converts from the source text (Wang et al., 2022, p. 144). The promising results of NMT from the studies conducted (Bahdanau et al., 2015; Bentivogli et al., 2016; Junczys-Dowmunt et al., 2016; Wu et al., 2016; Klubička et al., 2017; Shterionov et al., 2018) have sparked interest in post-editing as a human-machine collaboration, both among Translation Studies scholars and industry practitioners (O'Brien et al., 2014, p. vii; O'Hagan, 2020, p. 27). The increasing need for effective and cost-effective translation processes has also elevated the significance of MT and post-editing (Dillinger, 2014, p. ix).

Building on these progresses in machine translation, the focus shifted to exploring the feasibility and potential challenges of literary machine translation in the field. Literary texts, in contrast to technical texts, contain literary devices, cultural references, and aesthetic characteristics (Birkan Baydan, 2016) which pose significant problems for MT systems. As Maria Tymoczko (2014, p. 14-15) asserts “literary language is rich and complex” and literary works constitute the largest, most complex, and most representative collection of texts in terms of cross-cultural textual practices. Furthermore, according to Taivalkoski-Shilov (2019, p. 696) “the omnipresence and complexity of voice in literary text creates a great challenge for MT in literary translation”. Translating literature necessitates a deep understanding of the context, emotions, and literary techniques, which poses challenges for MT systems. However, with the advances in MT, the field of literary MT has been the subject of some research in a variety of languages, including Chinese (Jiang & Niu, 2022), Dutch (Webster, 2020), Japanese (Gu, 2022), Korean (Mah, 2020), and Turkish (Şahin & Gürses, 2021; Ayık Akça, 2022; Aslan, 2024; Dallı et al., 2024; Gürses et al., 2024). While some studies focused primarily on the creative aspects of literary MT (Guerberof-Arenas & Toral, 2022), others have examined the ethical aspects of this activity (Taivalkoski-Shilov, 2019). Additionally, research on translation training and MT has also increased in recent years (Öner Bulut & Alimen, 2023; Trojszczak, 2022; Guerberof Arenas & Moorkens, 2019; Öner Bulut, 2019; Kenny & Doherty, 2014).

Machine Translation Evaluation

Evaluation techniques are not static components; rather, they develop similarly to the MT systems (Giménez & Márquez, 2010, p. 77). In the same way that MT systems are constantly being developed and improved, evaluation methodologies also vary and advance with time. Throughout history, alongside the development of MT, there have been endeavors to assess its quality. In addition to introducing non-numerical programming on a computer for the first time, Georgetown University and IBM's initial MT demonstration in 1954 also marked the beginning of the first MT evaluation (Chunyu & Tak-ming, 2015, p. 214). Early studies like those by Miller and Beebe-Center (1956), which evaluated Russian-English systems based on human evaluations of elements like comprehensibility and fluency, are at the foundation of the history of MT evaluations. The European Commission thoroughly assessed Systran systems throughout the 1970s and

the 1990s, and the 1990s saw specialized conferences addressing MT evaluation-related issues.

In global literature, assessment methods are categorized as either automated or human (manual) metrics (Chatzikoumi, 2019, p. 3). The human evaluation is concerned with how a human would rate or annotate the MT output. Although human evaluations initially were dominant, more recent efforts have concentrated on creating automatic or semi-automatic evaluation systems since they need less time and effort than human evaluations do (Hutchins, 2015, p. 130). The use of statistical analysis to evaluate MT systems automatically has been a significant result of the development of SMT models. The IBM group's BLEU (Papineni et al., 2002) was the first metric, and it was followed by the NIST (Hutchins, 2015, p. 130). By counting co-occurring n-grams in the MT output and reference sentences, BLEU quantifies the idea that greater similarity between machine and human translations signals higher quality (Chunyu & Tak-ming, 2015, p. 226). Assessing how closely the candidate translation adheres to the reference translations is the goal of BLEU, which “counts the number of matching n-grams (typically $n \in \{1, \dots, 4\}$) and computes a weighted average” (Shterionov et al., 2018, p. 222). With the use of these metrics, extensive analyses of numerous systems and language pair combinations can be carried out quickly and affordably (Chunyu & Tak-ming, 2015, p. 216). Unquestionably, automatic evaluation is also useful for tracking whether a given MT system has improved or not over time (Hutchins, 2015, p. 131). Although manual assessment takes much longer than automatic assessment, automatic assessment has frequently been criticized as having downsides (Webster et al., 2020, p. 2). It shouldn't be forgotten that automatic metrics only measure how closely a MT resembles a human-translated source text rather than evaluating the translation's quality; so, they are insufficient to fully check their reliability and consistency (Chunyu & Tak-ming, 2015, p. 232). As an example, BLEU, being the mostly preferred automatic MT evaluation metric (Shterionov et al., 2018, p. 222), has been criticized as having shortcomings in comparison to human evaluation (Callison-Burch et al., 2006; Smith et al., 2016). So, it can be said that despite improvements in automatic metrics, human evaluation continues to be essential for collecting nuanced details and contextual relevance. Within this regard, this study used both automatic and human MT evaluation metrics to have a comprehensive approach to translation evaluation.

Objectives and Methodology

This study employs a mixed-methods approach (Creswell, 2010) to comprehensively assess the quality of machine-translated Turkish stories into English through DeepL, integrating both human and automatic evaluation methods. Ethical approval for this study was obtained. For the automated evaluation, the study uses the BLEU metric, and human evaluation is conducted by both Gen Z translation trainees' and professional translators and the TAUS DQF served as the framework for human evaluation in this study. The DQF tools aim to standardize and enhance the evaluation process, promoting objectivity and transparency, making it the chosen framework for this study (Görög, 2014, p. 449). Projects were created for both of the MT outputs of literary narratives on TAUS DQF tools for the evaluators. The project type was chosen as "quality evaluation" and the evaluation types marked are adequacy and fluency. TAUS DQF tool provides numerical percentages that aid in the assessment of translation quality. In addition to utilizing TAUS DQF tool for manual evaluation, both trainees and professionals were requested to write reports on the detected errors and the key areas requiring more post-editing. A thematic analysis was conducted on the reports (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The linguistic similarity between the MT outputs and the human reference translations is measured using the BLEU metric. Trainees' and professionals' analyses using the DQF tool, together with their reports, were carefully examined and they were compared with the numeric BLEU results. Within this regard, this study aims to address the following research questions:

1. How effectively does the free version of DeepL handle the translation of Turkish short stories into English, and is it genuinely applicable?
2. How do Generation Z translation trainees and translation professionals evaluate the quality of machine translated literary texts using TAUS's evaluation metrics, and what are the similarities and differences in their evaluation results and reports?
3. Does the automatic evaluation of Turkish-English MT of literary texts align with the human evaluation of translation quality?

Participant Profiles

Gaining insights from both professional translators and Generation Z translation trainees, who have a natural inclination toward translation technologies, is valuable, especially as translation companies actively seek candidates with post-editing skills, prompting translator training institutions to integrate these competencies into their curriculum (Çetiner, 2021, p. 583). In line with this, seven undergraduate students were selected based on their successful completion of Information Technology for Translation I and II, taught by the author, demonstrating their foundational knowledge in MT and post-editing. While few had prior professional translation experience, they performed post-editing tasks on various texts during these courses. Over two semesters, they became familiar with TAUS's post-editing guidelines and error typology, applying them to their assignments. Additionally, three professional translators were selected based on their minimum of eight years of experience, all of whom graduated from a Translation Studies department. However, as NMT was not yet developed during their studies, they did not receive formal post-editing training. Before starting this project, they were briefed in a virtual meeting by the author on TAUS's guidelines and error annotation metrics. Prior to the experiment, both the students and the translators provided consent for participation. Participants received the raw translations and were given five days to complete their tasks at their own pace, with the flexibility to use external resources if needed. Ethical approval for this study was obtained from the Scientific Research and Publication Ethics Committee of Fatih Sultan Mehmet Vakıf University (Decision No. 314, dated July 6, 2023).

Materials Selected

To ensure a comprehensive evaluation process, short stories were intentionally selected so that they could be machine translated and post-edited completely, not partially. The short stories selected to be translated by free version of DeepL were *Mendil Altında* (Under the handkerchief) by Memduh Şevket Esendal and *Kabak Çekirdekçi* (Pumpkin seed seller) by Halide Edip Adıvar. These short stories were selected from *An Anthology of Turkish Short Stories*, a collection of Turkish short stories translated into English by Talat Sait Halman, who served as Turkey's Minister of Culture and translated several Turkish literary works into English. It is worth mentioning that to utilize the BLEU automatic metric, a reference translation was required, which is why these two stories

were selected from Talat Sait Halman's collection, as his translations would be the reference ones for the automatic evaluation of MT.

Findings and Discussion

Trainees and professional translators' adequacy and fluency analyses on the DQF tool, as well as their reports, are comparatively examined in this section of the study. Subsequently, the automatic MT evaluation results, BLEU scores for each story translation, are presented and interpreted.

Adequacy and fluency analysis by trainees and professionals

While adequacy is defined as "how much of the meaning expressed in the gold-standard translation or the source is also expressed in the target translation", fluency is defined as to what extent the translation is "one that is well-formed grammatically, contains correct spellings, adheres to common use of terms, titles and names, is intuitively acceptable and can be sensibly interpreted by a native speaker" (Görög, 2014, p. 161). The adequacy analysis categories, which encompass Everything, Most, Little, and None, evaluate the accuracy and suitability of translated content, while the fluency analysis, including Flawless, Good, Disfluent, and Incomprehensible, assess the naturalness and clarity of the translations.

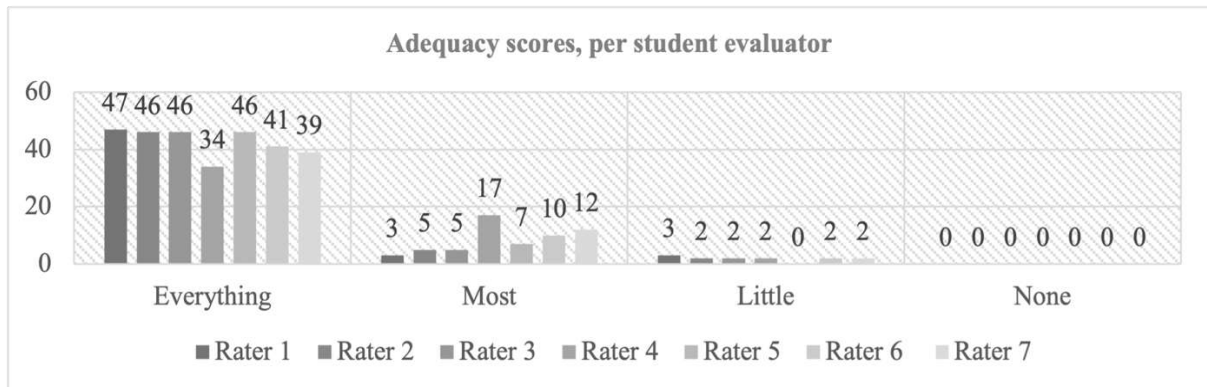
Adequacy analysis of Mendil Altında by trainees

Seven trainees examined a total of 371 segments, with each trainee assessing 53 segments, to determine how closely the target translations reflected the meaning. The outcomes (Figure 1) showed that a total of 299 segments for all 7 students taken together had target translations that accurately captured every detail in the source text, highlighting that 80.59% of the segments were adequate. Additionally, 15.89% of the raw MT output conveyed the majority of the intended meaning from the source text, although not always perfectly. In a smaller subset of 3.51%, the target translations only conveyed a portion of the intended meaning, sometimes displaying notable omissions or alterations. Notably, 0 segments were discovered in which the target translations

completely failed to convey any of the intended meaning, indicating an overall successful outcome.

Figure 1

Categorization of segments based on adequacy in the MT output of Mendil Altında by trainees



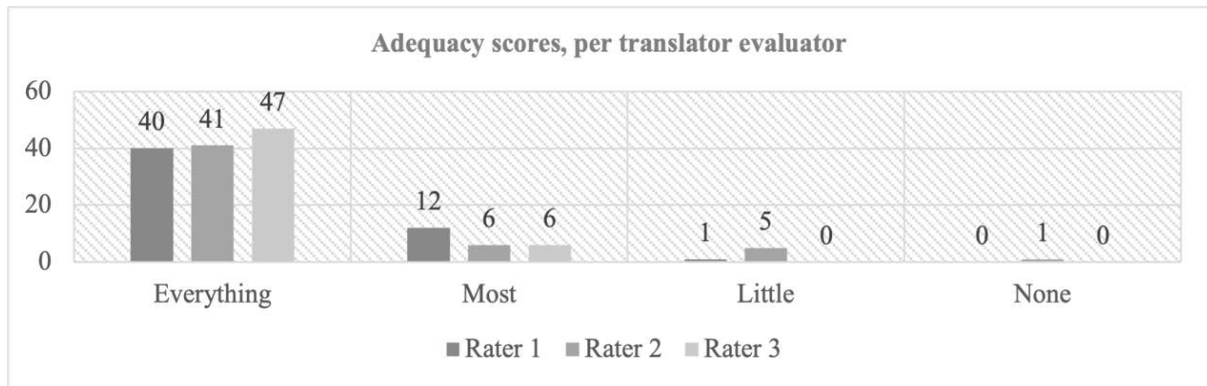
In the Everything category, a significant portion of the segments, ranging from 34 to 47, was assessed as fully preserving the meaning of the source text. Most evaluators were generally in agreement on this point. Evaluator ratings range from 3 to 17 segments in the Most category, indicating a high degree of interpretation variability. On the other hand, all these findings collectively demonstrate the strong adequacy of the MT output. The findings show that the categories of Little and None collectively represent a minority of the assessments. In the Little category, the counts vary slightly among the evaluators, with only 3, 2, 2, 2, 0, 2, and 2 segments falling into this category. Similarly, in the None category, no segments were rated as such by any of the seven evaluators.

Adequacy analysis of Mendil Altında by professionals

The findings of three translators' adequacy analysis of (Figure 2) demonstrate the machine translation's overall success in accurately conveying the source text's meaning. Out of the total 159 evaluated segments, a significant 128 segments (80.50%) received the Everything rating, suggesting that the translations were highly adequate. Furthermore, 15.09% of the segments were ranked in the Most category, indicating that although some segments were not flawless, they still represented a majority that was adequately translated with only minor issues. Furthermore, the Little and None categories, comprising 3.77% and 0.63% of the segments, respectively, collectively represent a minority, underscoring the overall effectiveness of the system in producing predominantly accurate translations.

Figure 2

Categorization of segments based on adequacy in the MT output of Mendil Altında by professionals



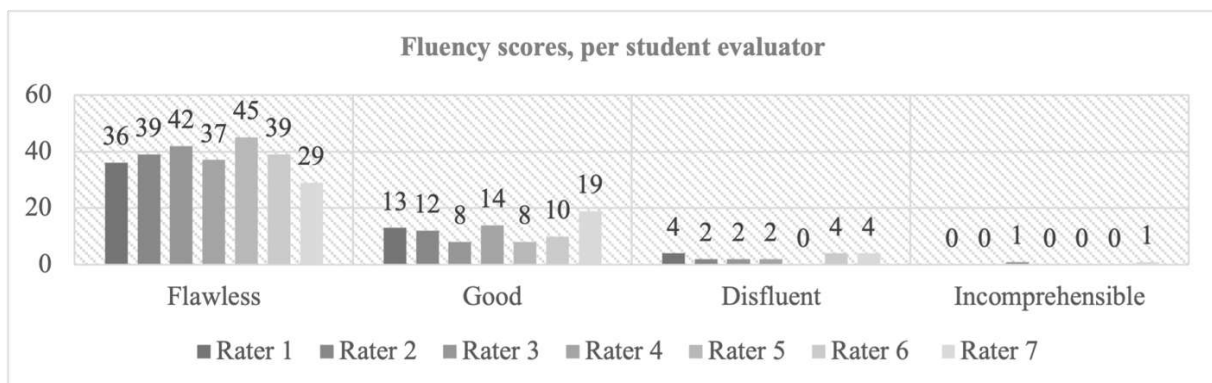
The number of segments in the Most category range from 6 to 12, meaning that although most translations were adequate, some small problems were noted. While the number of segments in the Little category range from 0 to 5, showing a variety of viewpoints on adequacy, the None category had very little representation, with only one segment, which suggest that segments completely lacking adequacy were quite rare.

Fluency analysis of Mendil Altında by trainees

371 segments in all were evaluated by seven raters (Figure 3) and 71.96% of the segments were classified as Flawless, indicating that a significant amount of the content had excellent fluency. With 22.61%, the Good category indicates that a considerable proportion of the passages maintained an acceptable level of fluency, despite not being flawless. A smaller subset of 4.85% fell into the Disfluent category. Reassuringly, only two segments were classified as Incomprehensible, indicating that the translations generally retained a high degree of fluency.

Figure 3

Categorization of segments based on fluency in the MT output of Mendil Altında by trainees



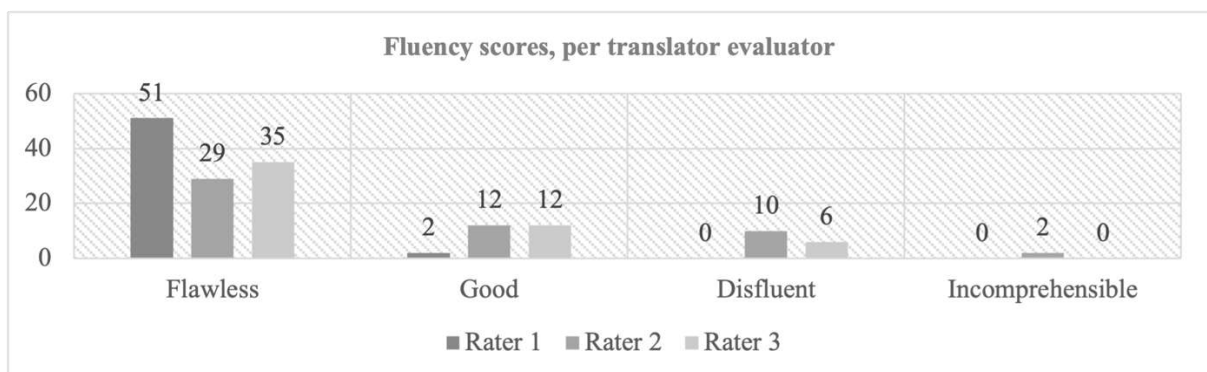
The number of segments classified under the Flawless category varied significantly, ranging from 29 to 45. This indicates that certain passages demonstrated particularly high fluency. This suggests that there were some very fluent passages in the text that satisfied the fluency requirements. The number of segments classified under the Good category ranged from 8 to 19, indicating that while the texts were generally fluent, some minor issues remained. On the other hand, the Disfluent and Incomprehensible categories had limited representation, with only a small percentage of segments classified as having fluency issues.

Fluency analysis of Mendil Altında by professionals

The analysis results (Figure 4) of the three professional translators showed that most of the segments, representing 72.32%, were rated as Flawless, indicating agreement on high fluency and natural language usage. An additional 16.35% of the segments were classified as Good, meaning that even though they weren't flawless, they still made up a sizable portion that were translated fluently with only a few minor problems. 10.06% of the segments fell into the Disfluent category, indicating a subset of translations that had obvious fluency problems. Just 1.26% of the segments fell into the Incomprehensible category, indicating an extremely small percentage of segments with particularly severe fluency problems.

Figure 4

Categorization of segments based on fluency in the MT output of Mendil Altında by professionals



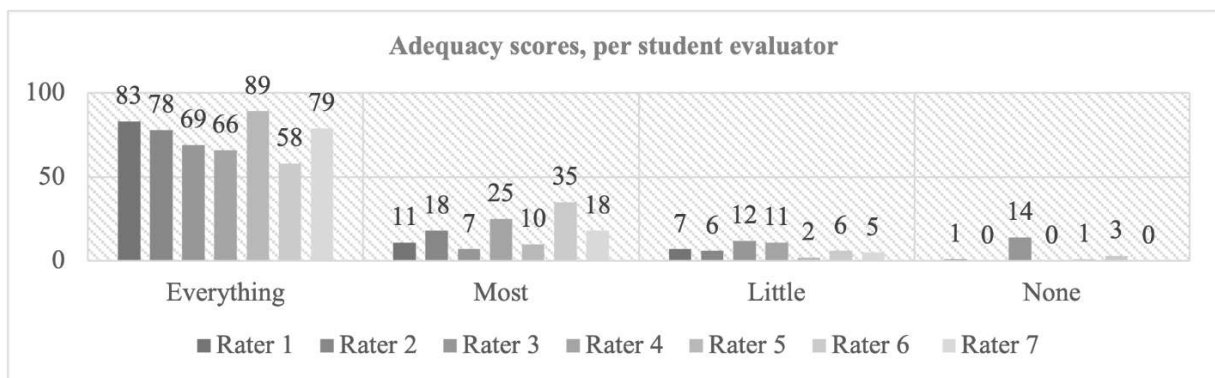
In the fluency analysis conducted by three different evaluators, a significant majority of the segments were classified as Flawless. Specifically, 51, 29, and 35 segments were identified as meeting the highest fluency standards. In the Good category, where segments were judged as reasonably fluent with minor issues, there were differing assessments, with 2, 12, and 12 segments. The Disfluent category received limited representation, with 10 segments rated as Disfluent by Rater 2 and 6 by Rater 3. In contrast, the Incomprehensible category had minimal representation, with only Rater 2 rating 2 segments.

Adequacy analysis of Kabak Çekirdekçi by trainees

Out of 714 segments, with each trainee assessing 102 segments (Figure 5), a substantial 73.08% were categorized as Everything, indicating their completeness in terms of adequacy, and highlighting that a sizeable amount of the machine-translated content was recognized for its high level of adequacy. Additionally, 17.36% of the segments were mostly accurate, indicating commendable adequacy. However, 6.86% of the segments were marked as having little adequacy and only 2.66% of the segments received a designation of no adequacy.

Figure 5

Categorization of segments based on adequacy in the MT output of Kabak Çekirdekçi by trainees



The evaluation results for the machine-translated story reveal varying degrees of adequacy as assessed by seven different raters. The number of segments classified in the Everything category ranges from 58 to 89, with Rater 5 identifying 89 segments in this category, the highest among all raters. This suggests that some translations were considered highly adequate. The Most category includes between 7 and 35 segments.

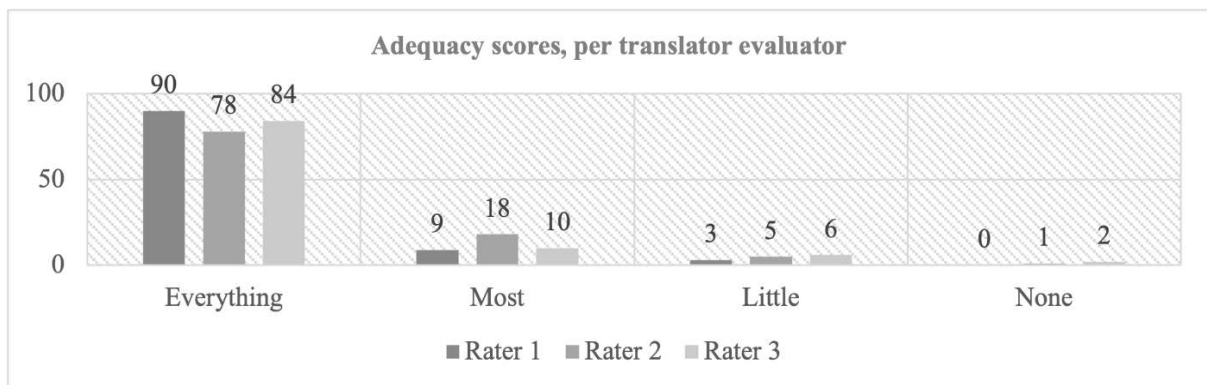
With the majority of the segments falling into the Everything category and receiving noticeably high ratings, it indicates that a sizable portion of the machine-translated content was considered to be highly adequate, with few to no errors in terms of adequacy, which is further supported by the lower rates in the 'little' and 'none' categories.

Adequacy analysis of Kabak Çekirdekçi by professionals

Three professional translators' examination of 306 segments in total (Figure 6) revealed that 82.35% of the machine translated segments translated the meaning of the source text, demonstrating the high adequacy of the MT output. Furthermore, 12.09% of the translations were classified as mostly adequate, implying that minimal post-editing is necessary to achieve a high degree of accuracy. Only 4.58% of the segments had limited adequacy, and 0.98% indicated no adequacy at all, necessitating extensive post-editing to increase accuracy, which are relatively small in comparison to the overall success of the MT system.

Figure 6

Categorization of segments based on adequacy in the MT output of Kabak Çekirdekçi by professionals



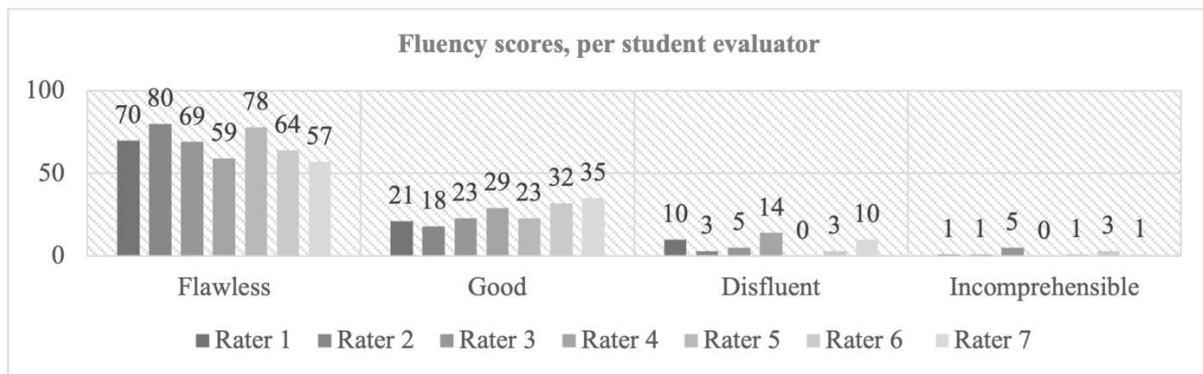
The three evaluators' adequacy scores indicate how well the evaluated MT translation performed. The translated segments were judged to be completely accurate in the Everything category, with 90, 78, and 84 segments classified under this category. This predominance in the Everything category demonstrate that a significant number of those segments were rendered accurately. Conversely, very few segments were scored in the Little category, which indicates only moderate accuracy, and even fewer in the None category.

Fluency analysis of Kabak Çekirdekçi by trainees

In the extensive evaluation of 714 segments (Figure 7) by seven different evaluators, notable patterns emerged in relation to fluency. Notably, 477 segments, representing 66.81% of the total, were designated as Flawless. This shows that a significant amount of the automatically translated content displayed a high level of fluency, characterized by seamless and coherent language flow. 25.35% of the segments, on the other hand, received a Good rating, indicating that many of them maintained a commendable level of fluency, despite a few minor hiccups. Additionally, 6.31% were labeled as Disfluent, indicating the existence of some segments with obvious fluency difficulties. Finally, only 1.54% of the segments were classified as Incomprehensible, showing that a small number of segments had serious problems with language comprehension.

Figure 7

Categorization of segments based on fluency in the MT output of Kabak Çekirdekçi by trainees



The number of segments classified under the Flawless category varied significantly, with Rater 2 identifying the highest count of 80 segments. This suggests that certain passages were considered particularly fluent. The average percentage for the Flawless category is 66.81% when all the provided ratings are considered, which highlights that a substantial portion of the text was deemed highly adequate by the raters.

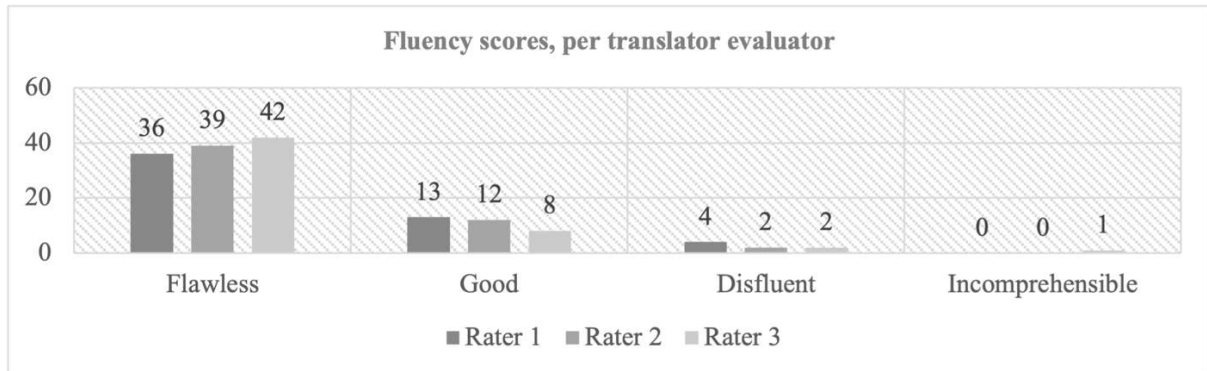
Fluency analysis of Kabak Çekirdekçi by professionals

In the analysis of 306 segments focused on fluency by professional translators (Figure 8), 62.09% were marked as Flawless, demonstrating the effectiveness of MT in

producing fluent language. 27.45% of the responses were rated as Good, suggesting fluency with only minor problems. Furthermore, 9.15% of the segments were classified as disfluent, and 1.31% were considered incomprehensible.

Figure 8

Categorization of segments based on fluency in the MT output of Kabak Çekirdekçi by professionals



The results of the fluency analysis, conducted by three different evaluators has shown that notably, the evaluators rated 36, 39, and 42 of the segments as Flawless, which represents the majority of the segments. The evaluators' agreement suggests that the translations achieved a natural language quality, demonstrating a high degree of fluency. The segments received lower counts in the Good category, with 13, 12, and 8, indicating a still-remarkable fluency with a few minor problems. On the contrary, a small percentage of the segments were classified as Disfluent or Incomprehensible, indicating that there may be problems with fluency that need to be addressed. The relatively lower percentages of disfluent and incomprehensible segments may indicate the effectiveness of the MT system in producing fluent translations, with only a small fraction exhibiting fluency issues.

Analysis of trainees' and professionals' reports on the MT output

After finishing the project utilizing TAUS DQF tool, the evaluators, both trainees and professional translators, were assigned to post-edit the machine-translated literary output. Their assignment not only included post-editing but also creating comprehensive reports documenting errors of the MT output and their individual post-editing process. A thematic analysis was conducted on the reports using the methodology described by

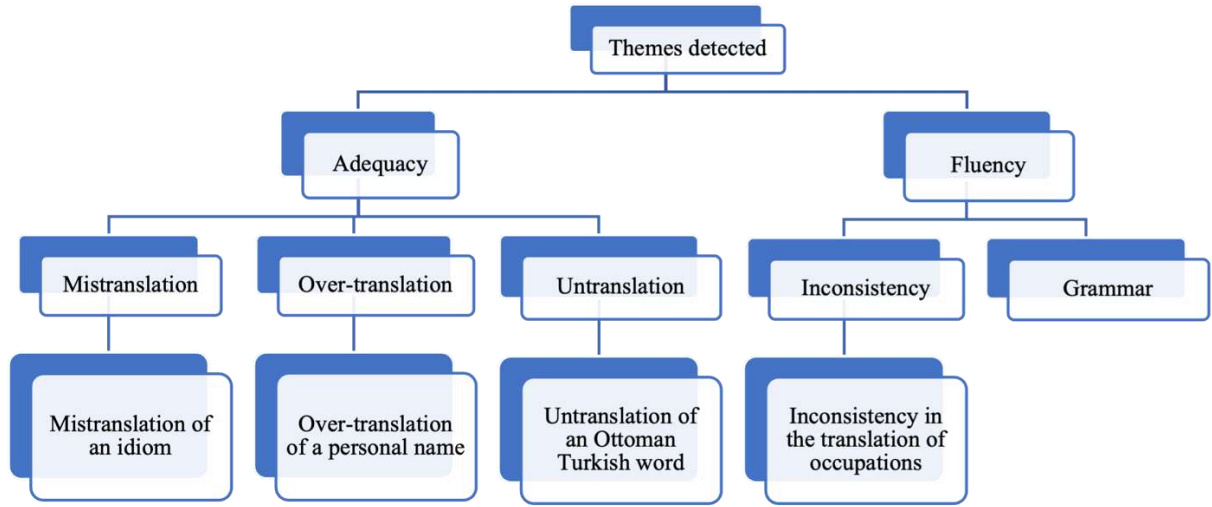
Braun and Clarke (2006). Initial codes were generated and then codes with similar content were combined. This led to the emergence of broad themes specific to each participant's post-editing process, especially the problems they detected. The next stage involved a detailed examination and improvement of these main themes along with the identification of subthemes. It is important to note that the themes detected from the reports highlight the problematic parts requiring post-editing and provide additional insights into the machine-translated text.

Analysis of trainees' reports on the MT output of Mendil Altında

Two major themes emerged from the analysis of the post-editing reports on Mendil Altında. It's important to note that the major themes, namely adequacy and fluency, correspond to the first two error categories in TAUS DQF error typology. However, the sub-themes of mistranslation, over-translation, undertranslation, inconsistency were independently formulated by the trainees through their analysis and post-editing of the MT output (Figure 9). Their analysis identified some specific examples, which have highlighted challenges within each subtheme. They mentioned that the MT rendered idioms literally. For instance, in the case of the idiom “para yetiştirmek” which conveys the meaning “to ensure having enough money to live on” MT translated it literally as “raising money”. Additionally, the subtheme of over-translation, particularly concerning personal names, unveiled examples where the translation exceeded the boundaries of necessity. As an illustration of overtranslation of a proper name, they mentioned that MT translated the Turkish name Meryem as Marry. Moreover, The Arabic word “mazbata” historically used, especially during the Ottoman Empire, to refer to “minutes,” remained untranslated by the MT, serving as an example of the untranslation of an Ottoman Turkish word. On the other hand, in terms of fluency issues inconsistency and grammatical problems were detected. As an example of inconsistency in the translation of occupations, the term “sicil memuru” which refers to the person responsible for ensuring the accuracy and proper maintenance of trade registry records, was translated by the MT as both “director” and “manager” interchangeably throughout the story.

Figure 9

Themes detected in the trainees' reports on the MT output of Mendil Altında



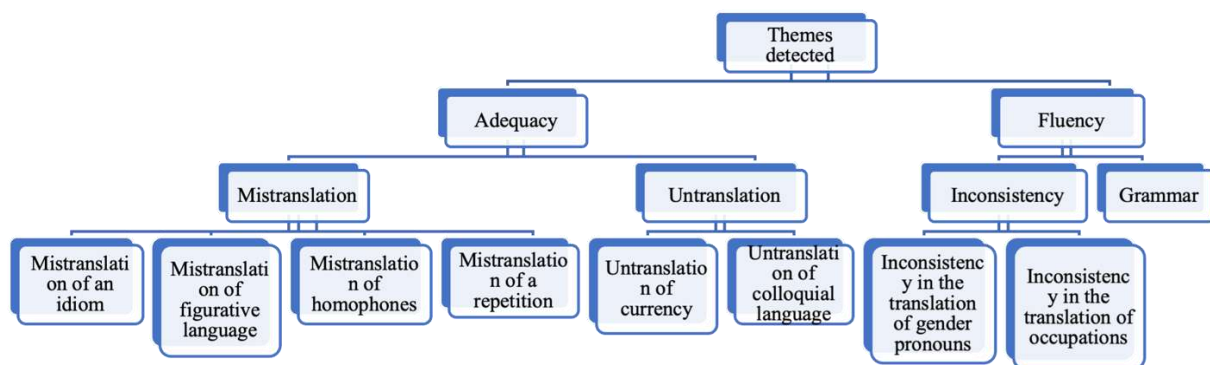
Analysis of trainees' reports on the MT output of Kabak Çekirdekçi

More themes were identified for the reports on the MT output of Kabak Çekirdekçi (Figure 10), highlighting that in this MT output there were more problematic parts necessitating post-editing. The theme mistranslation involves the trainees' examining occurrences of mistranslated metaphors, figurative language, homophones, slang, and repetitions in detail. As an example to mistranslation of a metaphor, the sentence of "gazeteye dayanamıyor", which aims to convey the pumpkin seed seller's strong attraction to reading newspapers, was given by the trainees. DeepL did not comprehend the metaphorical meaning of this sentence and translated it as "he can't stand newspapers". However, "can't stand" indicates a strong negative emotion or lack of patience with a particular thing or situation. It was reported that the machine's failure to grasp the metaphorical meaning resulted in a literal translation. Moreover, an instance of mistranslation in figurative language was detected in this sentence "Siyah gözleri eğlenip eğlenmediğimi anlak için yüzüme batıp çıkıyordu". In this sentence, the aunt explains that her nephew tried to understand whether she was having fun or not by examining her face. "yüzüne batıp çıkmak" was used figuratively to indicate that her nephew is closely observing her face. DeepL translated this sentence literally as "His black eyes darted in and out of my face to see if I was having fun" and couldn't render the figurative meaning in the source text. For the mistranslation of homophones, the trainees pointed the sentence of "altı olmayan kocaman düğmesiz iki potin", which emphasizes the poverty of

the salesman by depicting the disintegrated shoe soles. However, In Turkish, “altı” is a homophone, encompassing both the meaning of the “number six” and indicating “being underneath” of something and in this context the narrator is talking about the underneath of the salesman’s shoes. Although “altı” is used in the sense of “underneath,” in the source text, the MT rendered it as a number; “two huge, unbuttoned boots, maybe not six”, misinterpreting its intended meaning. Moreover, mistranslation of a repetition was also detected by the trainees, and an illustrative case was found in the phrase “siyah siyah gölgeleriyle”, which uses repetition for stress, a stylistic technique called epizeuxis, to vividly depict darkness of the shadows. However, DeepL translated this phrase as “black black shadows”, which is neither natural nor idiomatic in English. Two subthemes of untranslation were deduced from trainees’ reports: untranslation of currency and untranslation of colloquial language. They mentioned that “kuruş” referring to the Turkish currency worth one per cent of the lira, the official currency of Turkey, was not translated by the MT. As an instance of colloquial language left untranslated “kaabaak tazze tazze” can be given. In the story, the pumpkin seed seller calls out in the streets saying “kaabaak tazze tazze” to attract the attention of passers-by and advertise his pumpkin seeds on the streets. However, this phrase was not translated by the MT. Within the theme of fluency two significant sub-themes emerged, centered on inconsistency and grammar. Specifically, the subtheme of inconsistency explored the problems arising from gender pronouns and translating occupations. The characters in the story, Kabak Çekirdekçi, are an aunt and her niece. However, as the machine translation’s handling of pronouns is inconsistent, it accidentally used “he” instead of “she”, which led to the MT mistranslating the girl as a “nephew”. Throughout the text, MT occasionally rendered the Arabic word “müsteşar” as “manager,” while at other times, it left the term untranslated.

Figure 10

Themes detected in the trainees’ reports on the MT output of Kabak Çekirdekçi

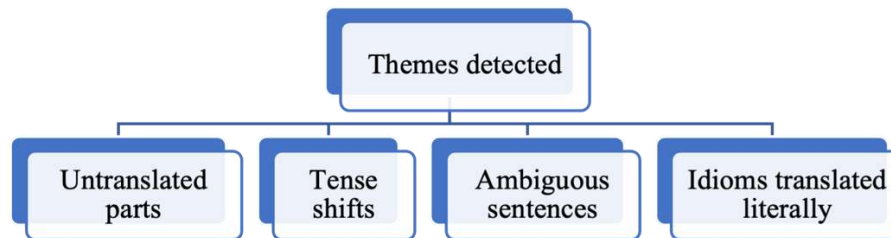


Analysis of professionals' reports on the MT output of Mendil Altında

Different recurring themes emerged from the professional translators' post-editing reports (Figure 11). An apparent theme in the reports is the presence of untranslated parts. It was detected by the evaluators that some words such as “mazbata” and “bey” were not translated into English by the MT. Inconsistent use of tenses was mentioned as another critical concern, highlighting temporal inconsistencies in the translated material. However, tense differences were important for the plot of the story as it alternates between dream and real life, which is demonstrated by tense changes. Ambiguous sentences were also reported as problematic as they may lead to a lack of clarity or misinterpretation. Moreover, the literal translation of idiomatic expressions was recognized as a common issue, which may lead to the omission of cultural nuances and connotations and may even result in meaningless sentences. An example of this situation was explained as follow: “For instance, the Turkish idiom “ayaklarına kapanmak” which means “begging”, was translated as “falls at the feet of the manager”, losing its idiomatic meaning.”.

Figure 11

Themes detected in the professionals' reports on the MT output of Mendil Altında

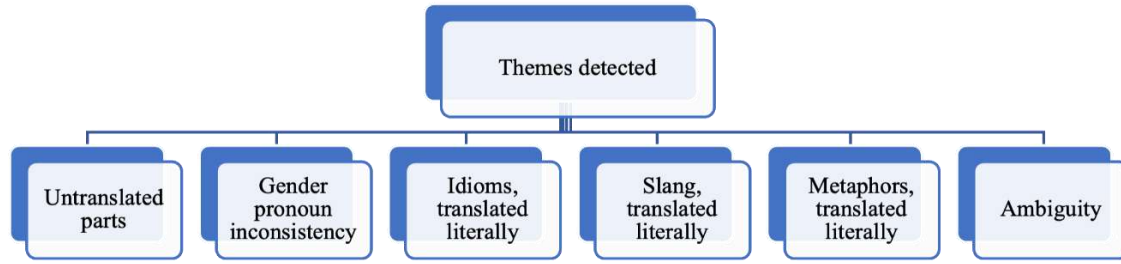


Analysis of professionals' reports on the MT output of Kabak Çekirdekçi

More themes detected in the reports (Figure 12) of Kabak Çekirdekçi, indicating that the MT output presented more challenges for post-editors than the story Mendil Altında. Untranslated parts posed a persistent issue in the MT output of Kabak Çekirdekçi as well. “Müsteşar”, “yokuş” and “kuruş” were given as examples of untranslated words by the evaluators. Gender pronoun inconsistency emerged as another concern detected in the MT output. Moreover, the literal translation of idioms, slang, and metaphors was also reported to create significant problems, often resulting in the loss of cultural items and idiomatic expressions. Moreover, it was reported that “inconsistent translations of terms such as “kuruş” and “cent” introduced ambiguity in currency units, necessitating post-editing for a consistent approach to ensure clarity”.

Figure 12

Themes detected in the professionals' reports on the MT output of Kabak Çekirdekçi



Automatic MT Evaluation by BLEU

While adequacy is defined as “how much of the meaning expressed in the gold-standard translation or the source... BLEU score was assessed through the Tilde platform's interactive BLEU score evaluator. As a reference point, translations with BLEU scores between 30 and 40 are considered “understandable to good”, while scores between 40 and 50 indicate “high quality” translation. BLEU may face challenges when dealing with agglutinative languages such as Turkish, as even a small suffix added to a word, as opposed to the reference word, may result in a penalty within the BLEU score (Doğru, 2022). Thus, the analysis of the 1-gram segment of the BLEU outcome may provide a more comprehensive evaluation, especially when working with agglutinative languages such as Turkish (Ekinici, 2022). The cumulative BLEU score for the literary text, Mendil Altında, is 27.24 (Table 1). However, the cumulative score of 1-gram, which amounts to 69.47%, indicates a considerable level of precision when it comes to matching individual words between the machine-generated version and the reference translation.

Table 1

Results of automatic BLEU evaluation for Mendil Altında

Type	1-gram	2-gram	3-gram	4-gram
Individual	75.58	40.38	20.96	12.07
Cumulative	69.47	50.78	36.76	27.24

On the other hand, the cumulative BLEU score of 4-gram for Kabak Çekirdekçi is 37.56 (Table 2), which is under the category of “understandable to good”, which falls into the “comprehensible to good” category. Moreover, the 1-gram cumulative match score for Kabak Çekirdekçi is 76.82, indicating a substantial match between individual words in the machine-generated output and the reference translation.

Table 2

Results of automatic BLEU evaluation for Kabak Çekirdekçi

Type	1-gram	2-gram	3-gram	4-gram
Individual	79.77	48.36	29.99	19.99
Cumulative	76.82	59.82	46.93	37.56

Discussion and Conclusion

In line with Chatzikoumi's (2020) suggestion that new studies should focus on specific linguistic phenomena within particular language pairs and challenging domains, this research employs a mixed-methods approach to comprehensively evaluate the quality of Turkish-to-English machine-translated short stories, integrating both human and automatic evaluation metrics. The evaluation of Mendil Altında using the TAUS DQF tool reveals a strong alignment in adequacy assessments between trainees and professionals, with accuracy rates of 80.59% and 80.50%, respectively. Similarly, fluency ratings were closely aligned, with trainees assessing 71.96% of segments as entirely fluent and professionals rating 72.32% as such. For Kabak Çekirdekçi, while trainees recorded a lower accuracy rate (73.08%) compared to professionals (82.35%), fluency ratings were more comparable, at 66.81% and 62.09%, respectively. This suggests that trainees may adopt a more selective approach when assessing accuracy. However, both groups demonstrated similar perspectives on fluency.

Thematic and document analysis of the reports indicated that trainees utilized meta-language, as reflected in the main themes identified - adequacy and fluency - which correspond to the main error categories of the TAUS's error typology. The second-level sub-themes identified in their reports also corresponded to the TAUS's error typology; however, the trainees themselves constituted the third-level sub-categories in terms of the issues identified in the MT output of the relevant story. In contrast, the professionals, despite receiving briefings on TAUS's error typology and using TAUS DQF tool for error annotation in the first part of this study, mostly refrained from using meta-language, including TAUS's error typology terminology, in their reports. Both trainees and professionals agreed that the MT of the narrative Kabak Çekirdekçi contained a higher number of errors, as the narrative was enriched with various literary devices such as colloquial language, repetitions, homophones, and metaphorical expressions.

Nevertheless, both groups were satisfied with the overall quality of the MT output for both texts.

Furthermore, the analysis indicates consistency between human and automatic MT evaluation, particularly in the 1-gram BLEU results with *Under the Handkerchief* scoring 69.47 and *Kabak Çekirdekçi* scoring 76.82. However, it is important to note that although the accuracy and fluency rates were rated higher for *Mendil Altında* by both trainees and professionals, there is a slight reverse difference in the BLEU scores, with *Kabak Çekirdekçi* performing better.

In conclusion, all the findings, both from trainees and professionals and BLEU, may be interpreted as indicating significant success of DeepL in the realm of literary MT between Turkish and English, especially in terms of short story translation. As illustrated by García (2014, pp. 430-436), students who are exposed to post-editing and MT evaluation metrics during their studies will be more skilled at time management, self-evaluation, and peer revision. Expanding on this, the current study suggests a subtle link between the introduction of these metrics and the cultivation of a broader skill set. The detailed analyses provided in the trainees' reports on the raw MT output emphasize their in-depth examination of the specific types of errors and their utilization of TAUS's error typology as a framework in their reports, despite not being specifically requested to do so, displayed their attention to detail and their application of a systematic approach in evaluating raw MT output. Furthermore, consistent with the analysis of both trainee and professionals' reports the study suggests that increased exposure to evaluation metrics could enhance the trainees' ability to identify subtle issues within the machine-translated output and to adopt a more systematic approach to post-editing. While BLEU has been criticized for assessing similarity to reference translations rather than accurately measuring the quality of translations (Castilho et al., 2018; Way, 2018), further research is required on specific language pairs, in conjunction with human evaluation, to provide insight into the effectiveness of automatic metrics. Such studies would offer valuable information regarding the relative efficacy of assessments conducted by humans and automated systems.

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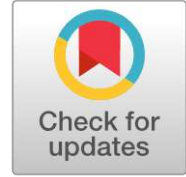
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SELF-REPAIR AND MOTIVATION IN LEGAL AND MEDICAL SIMULTANEOUS INTERPRETING: REFLECTIONS FROM STUDENT INTERPRETERS

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Abstract

The present study examines the similarities and differences in the use of self-repairs by student interpreters during simultaneous interpreting of two different speech types, medical and legal, as well as the underlying motivations behind these repairs. With this aim in mind, this case study involves an English-to-Turkish simultaneous interpreting experiment with 7 senior student interpreters enrolled in Simultaneous Interpreting course at a major university in İzmir, Türkiye, and corroborated with a post-experiment questionnaire and student reflective reports within the scope of Schön's concept of "reflection". Shen and Liang's taxonomy of self-repair strategies was used for data analysis, and findings were then discussed in line with Daniel Gile's Effort Model. The findings revealed that challenges arising from syntactic asymmetries, cognitive load, and short-term memory triggered student interpreters' self-repairs during the interpreting process. As for the self-repair strategies, repetition comes forward as the most commonly used type in both speech types, yet there is a statistical difference between the total number used in the legal and the medical speech. Furthermore, the students' statements showed no correlation between the number of self-repairs, speech difficulty, and perceived interpreting performance. This finding suggests that self-repair is not always an indicator of poor interpreting performance and error correction; instead, it can serve as a cognitive strategy to manage time, achieve semantic clarity, and enhance the comprehensibility of renditions.

Keywords: simultaneous interpreting, self-repair, student interpreters, case study, Effort Model

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Simultaneous interpreting is a complex task in which interpreters need to develop certain coping skills to effectively exploit their cognitive strengths and manage their weaknesses. Despite their expertise, even the most professional simultaneous interpreters may face barriers which affect their competencies to sustain high-quality performance (Moser-Mercer, 2000, p.90). Even though translation and interpreting share common phenomenological research grounds, such as “the sociology of translation and interpreting; cultural issues pertaining to translating and interpreting; perspectives of identity or (in)visibility; didactics and methodology (descriptive or explanatory)” (Grbić & Wolf, 2012, p. 7), there is a clear-cut difference between the two activities. According to Baker (2001), the key difference lies in the processing conditions and time allocated for the target text.

Along the same line, even though the phenomenon of correction has been extensively studied in translation, this process works differently for conference interpreters. Unlike translators, interpreters had long been perceived as not having the luxury of revisiting and refining their output. Therefore, for a long time, the notion of “correctability” has operated under different constraints in simultaneous interpreting (Mirek, 2023, p. 28), referring to interpreters’ need to make real-time decisions and adapt quickly to ensure accuracy and coherence. Nevertheless, as Mirek (2022, p. 4) noted, this perception was challenged by Lederer (1981, p.137), indicating that simultaneous interpreters are, in fact, able to assess their outputs and make adjustments to control their accuracy and coherence. In this sense, applying self-repairs in simultaneous interpreting can be understood as a strategy to maintain control over their performance (Mirek, 2022, p. 4).

The term “repair” was initially introduced by Schegloff, Jefferson, and Sacks (1977) and mainly described as an error correction. However, Schegloff et al. (1977, p. 363) further indicate that repairs can also be found even “where there is no hearable error, mistake, or fault”. Repairs can be initiated by the speakers themselves as a “self-initiated repair” or by another conversation participant as an “other-initiated repair” (Schegloff et al., 1977). Schegloff et al. (1977) distinguish 4 types of repairs based on the initiator: self-initiated self-repair, self-initiated other repair, other-initiated self-repair, and other-initiated other repair.

Levelt (1983, p.45), on the other hand, relates repair to speakers' language control mechanisms in which he states that:

In order to make a repair, the speaker must, firstly, notice some trouble and interrupt his or her flow of speech, and, secondly, create a new utterance, which takes care of the trouble and its potential consequences for the listener. (Levelt, 1983, p.45)

According to Levelt (1983, p. 2), self-repair occurs in three phases. The first phase entails the self-monitoring process of the speaker in which "a speaker is continuously parsing his own inner or overt speech" (Levelt, 1983, p.42). The speech is interrupted when the speaker detects a problem in this phase. The second phase involves hesitation, pause, and editing terms. It is the final phase where repair and a new utterance take place. In this sense, self-repair comes into play as an important strategy in a conversation to prevent misunderstanding and maintain a mutual understanding between the parties, in the case of any disruption (Liddicoat, 2007). Self-repair, according to Gilabert (2013, p.575), both in first and second language production, is a "widespread phenomenon" since it encompasses detecting problems that lead to interruption of the flow of a speech, and then provides an opportunity to repair it.

Self-repair can also be found in interpreting, and it was first introduced as an interpreting strategy by Kohn and Kalina in 1996 (Shen & Liang, 2021, p. 763). Since then, self-repair has been researched from angles such as directionality (Dailidenaite, 2009), content and form (Zhang & Song, 2019), norms (Magnifico & Defrancq, 2019), gender (Paice, 2022), and in remote interpreting (Vranjes & Defranq, 2024), both in conference and community interpreting settings, focusing on professional and/or trainee interpreters. Yet, self-repairs across different speech types in simultaneous interpreting are still under-researched. To bridge this gap in the literature, this study will attempt to scrutinize the self-repairs initiated by 7 senior student interpreters during English-to-Turkish simultaneous interpreting in two speech types, i.e., medical and legal, and their motivations behind these repairs. For the purpose of the study, the focus will be on the "self-initiated self-repairs" (Schegloff et al., 1977), and the term "self-repair" refers not only to an error correction but also to a self-initiated repair sequence addressing a "trouble" by student interpreters. The reason for this is that "repairing an utterance will be seen as matching the output against fitness for purpose rather than simply as the

correction of errors” (Petite, 2005, p. 30). To this end, this study set out to answer the following research questions:

1. What are the most common forms of self-repair in English-Turkish simultaneous interpreting in legal and medical speeches?
2. Is there a difference in the number of self-repairs produced by student interpreters across different speech types?
3. What are the main motivations behind these self-repairs?

Analyzing student interpreters’ self-repairs in simultaneous interpreting of these two types of speeches might provide practical contributions, since repairs “denote students’ awareness of form and can be interpreted as learners’ attempts of being accurate” (Kormos, 1999, as cited in Gilabert, 2013, p. 577). As simultaneous interpreting entails a great cognitive load, analyzing students’ self-repairs might provide both theoretical and practical implications regarding their monitoring mechanisms and progress. Analysis of the type and frequency of self-repairs in these two main speech types might further reveal students’ incompetencies in different speech types, and provide an opportunity for improvement. Researching the student interpreters’ motivations for self-repairs might also be an effective training tool to test their awareness regarding their deficiencies.

Moreover, this study contributes to our methodological understanding of self-repair mechanisms in simultaneous interpreting since it integrates both product- and process-oriented approaches. This experimental research provides a broader perspective on the issue because it “allows to control variables impossible to eliminate in observational studies” (Gumul, 2017, p. 14). The transcriptions of recordings during the experiment are corroborated with the post-experiment questionnaire and reflective reports to allow an in-depth analysis of self-repairs and the underlying motivations. Thus, the product-oriented comparative analysis of source text (ST) and target text (TT) (students’ outputs) is triangulated with a process-oriented reflective analysis of student reports.

(Self)-Repair Strategies in Interpreting Studies

The issue of (self) repairs in interpreting process has sparked academic debates over the years. Several studies investigate the phenomenon of repair mechanisms in different interpreting modes in both community (Zhao & Huang, 2025) and conference interpreting

settings (Zhang & Song, 2019; Tang, 2020). However, it was first introduced as an interpreting strategy by Kohn and Kalina (1996), who described self-repair as an emergency strategy for failed comprehension and production strategies (Shen & Liang, 2021, p. 763; Dailidenaite, 2009, p. 11). As indicated by Dailidenaite (2009, p.12), Kalina (1998) proposed different repair strategies such as replacement, completion, approximation, and relativation. Completion strategy is adopted for an incomplete sentence by starting a new sentence, while replacement refers to “replacing an already-produced segment with another” (Dailidenaite, 2009, p. 11). The other two strategies- approximation and relativation- bring the interpreters closer to the ST without disrupting the fluency of the speech (ibid). After examining authentic data from the corpus of eight professional interpreters’ recordings at four international conferences from English into German and French, Petite (2004, 2005) presented another taxonomy of repair strategies, slightly amending Levelt’s (1983) nomenclature of repairs in spontaneous speech. She divided repairs into two, namely “input-generated repairs” in which the interpreter “might realize that s/he departed from the source text and wishes to repair his/her output because of the input”, and “output- generated repairs” in which the interpreter clarifies his/her rendition for the audience (Petite, 2004, p. 45). The former is source-text oriented repairs, while the latter refers to target-text oriented repairs. Dailidenaite (2009, p. 17), on the other hand, further broadened the typology of self-repair by including “no repair” (the interpreter’s choice of not repairing anything) and “delayed repair” (delaying the repair in order to balance the processing capacity “at a certain distance from the original output”). In a more recent analysis of similarities and differences between professional and student interpreters’ self-repairs and their motivations, Shen and Liang (2021) developed a new taxonomy which consists of five major self-repairs: repetition, restart, replacement, rephrasing, and delayed repair. “Repetition” occurs when “the interpreter repeats one or more lexical items” (Shen & Liang, 2021, p. 768). The interpreter might also opt for “restart” strategy by “restarting a new statement before the completion of the previous one” (ibid). “Replacement” strategy occurs when “the interpreter corrects phonological, lexical, grammatical and syntactic errors with immediate replacement” (ibid). The final two strategies, “rephrasing” and “delayed repair” refer to making the meaning of the original input more explicit and improving a word or a phrase “said again by the original speaker”, respectively (ibid). This research adopts Shen and Liang’s (2021) self-repair strategies in the analysis part due to their broad scope and recency. Existing

literature provides in-depth and valuable insights into self-repair in interpreting studies, though there remains a gap in the literature as to how self-repair manifests itself in different speech types. According to a recent industry report, medical and legal are the two most common translation specialisms (ELIA et al., 2023, p. 27), which encapsulate distinct challenges ranging from specialised terminology to context (Chereji, 2024, pp. 41-42). Given the distinct challenges in these speech types, it seems timely to explore the points of convergence and divergence in medical and legal simultaneous interpreting regarding self-repair strategies, along with the underlying motivations.

Gile's Effort Model in Simultaneous Interpreting

At the beginning of the 1970s, it became clear that simultaneous interpreting is not merely about a direct transfer of words and sentence structures between languages, instead, it is an act which is “mediated by some form of cognitive representation in memory” (Pöchhacker, 2004, p. 59). As Giles (1999) noted, a number of scholars such as Gerver (1976), Moser (1978), Setton (1997), Paradis (1994), and Mizuno (1994, 1995), have developed their own models based on the theoretical constructs in cognitive psychology, neurolinguistics, and linguistics, for example.

According to Gile (1999, 2009), simultaneous interpreting can be conceived as a process containing three core efforts, namely Listening and Analysis Effort (L), Memory Effort (M), Production Effort (P), and an additional Coordination Effort (C). Namely, the Effort Model for simultaneous interpreting (SI) is outlined as follows:

$$SI = L + M + P + C$$

The results of this study are to be discussed in relation to these different types of effort. It seems a suitable approach since the model was originally designed for educational purposes and is central to Gile's teaching of interpreting (Gile, 2009, p. 158), and the participants in this study are trainees.

Method

Research Design

In this study, a mixed-method approach was adopted to thoroughly explore the self-repairs made by student interpreters as well as their motivations, and to shed light on the ‘why’s of their experiences. The aim is not to reach generalizable results, but rather, to scrutinize “a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context” (Yin,

2009, p.18). Taking into consideration the definition of a case as “a unit of human activity embedded in the real world; which can only be studied or understood in context; which exists in the here and now” (Gillham, 2000, p.1), self-repairs in simultaneous interpreting can also be regarded as a suitable focus for a case study since this phenomenon can be observed in real-life and real-time conditions (Saldanha & O’Brien, 2014). To enhance validity and gather comprehensive insights into self-repairing in two different speech types, multiple data collection methods were used, including an experiment, a questionnaire, and student reports. In what follows, each of these methods will be explained in detail.

Experiment

Participants

The sample consisted of 7 subjects at the same level of university training in Türkiye. All were senior translation and interpreting studies students at a major university in Izmir who enrolled in the Simultaneous Interpreting course during the 2023-2024 Spring semester. In terms of their interpreting competence, they all completed compulsory interpreting courses such as Introduction to Interpreting, Sight Interpreting, and Consecutive Interpreting in the same T & I program. Of the 7 student interpreters, 2 were male and 5 were female, all aged between 21 and 23. They were all native Turkish speakers and spoke English as their second language. The researcher explained the aim of the study to all participants and obtained informed consent for their participation. Anonymity was guaranteed by using pseudonyms such as INT1, INT2.

Material

The legal speech for the simultaneous interpreting task was excerpted from the website of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, and the medical speech was taken from the European Commission’s speech repository. Both speeches were delivered in English by the researcher. The main selection criterion for speech texts was a similar frequency of terms to ensure the comparability of medical and legal speeches. To rule out the probable effects of factors such as accent and speed in the main predictor topic, both speech texts were read at the same speed. More detailed information on the interpreting materials used in the experiment can be found in the Tables 1 and 2 below:

Table 1*Description of the medical speech input*

Topic	Genre	Speaker	Intonation/ Accent	Length (characters)
A healthy diet	Medical speech	Female	Neutral	757 words

Table 2*Description of the legal speech input*

Topic	Genre	Speaker	Intonation/ Accent	Length (characters)
Human rights and solidarity in Europe	Legal speech	Female	Neutral	797 words

The speaking rate for both speeches of the speaker was similar. Both speeches addressed relatively general topics, with which the student interpreters were expected to have been familiar. The speeches focused on the invasion of Ukraine and healthy eating, respectively, which required no in-depth preparation for interpretation.

Procedure

Before the task, the students were given an overview of the experimental procedure, and to ensure the ecological validity, they were asked to imagine themselves in a real conference setting. First, the students were given Turkish equivalents for the possible unfamiliar terms from the legal and medical speech texts to eliminate the terminology and difficulty variables, which they were allowed to use during the task. Next, the experiment was held at soundproof booths at the simultaneous interpreting laboratory, where regular interpreting classes are held. The experiment was divided into two sections; first, the students rendered the medical speech, and then the legal speech, both were interpreted simultaneously. Their interpreting performances were recorded and then transcribed manually. The students were given a questionnaire immediately after, asking them to listen to and evaluate their performance in both speeches. All experimental procedures, including the questionnaires, obtained Ethics Committee approval from the university and were conducted in line with the approved guidelines.

Questionnaire

To compare and contrast their insights into their performances in both speech types, both multiple-choice and yes/no questions were included.

The questionnaire was divided into two main sections. The first consisted of demographic, educational, and experience background questions to obtain contextual information. In the second section, students were asked to rate their own performances in both speech types, providing insights into how they evaluated their strengths and weaknesses. Then, the students were asked to identify the strategies they applied during the simultaneous interpreting task from the strategy list provided in the questionnaire. However, the responses for this final section were excluded from the analysis since they are not within the scope of this article.

By incorporating closed-ended questions and performance ratings, the questionnaire set out to obtain both quantitative and qualitative data, providing a comprehensive view of the students' reflections on their performances.

Reflection-on-Action: Student Reports

Experiential learning suggests that learning is “the process whereby knowledge is created through the transformation of experiences” (Kolb, 1984, p. 49). Taking this as a departure point, several scholars (such as Boud et.al., 1985; Kolb, 1984; Schön, 1983) agreed that experience alone is not sufficient for learning; rather, reflection on one's experience is essential (Cattaneo & Motta, 2021, p. 186). The concept of reflection on practices or actions to foster professional development was first introduced by John Dewey in the 1920s. In the 1980s, the term “reflective practice” was coined by educational theorist Donald Schön in his book, *The Reflective Practitioner* (Schön, 1983, as cited in Dean, 2021, p. 250). He used different terms to define the concept of reflective practices, i.e., “reflection-in-action” and “reflection-on-action” (Schön, 1987). The former refers to “thinking while doing”, while the latter describes “after-the-event-thinking” (Moghaddam et al., 2019, p. 278). In other words, reflection-on-action is “carried out after the action is performed” (Manrique & Sánchez Abchi, 2015, p. 14).

This study adopts Schön's (1983/1987) concept of “reflection-on-action”. Based on this approach, students listened to and wrote an evaluation report on their interpreting performances. Source text transcriptions were shared with the students to help them recall their performance. This teaching method can be considered as a means of providing students with access to insights into their practices since “it allows to make explicit what otherwise would be left in the dark” (Manrique & Sánchez Abchi, 2015, p. 14). By reflecting on their performances, they could gain awareness regarding their strengths and weaknesses, which may contribute to their future professional development.

Data Analysis

The data obtained in this research were analyzed through a three-step process. In the first stage, a statistical analysis was conducted, which involved listening to the students' recordings and identifying and classifying self-repair strategies according to Shen and Liang's (2021) categorization. Each identified self-repair form- namely, repetition, restart, replacement, rephrase, and delayed repair- was manually counted, and their frequencies were calculated as percentages for each of the two speech types. The data were also analyzed qualitatively by assessing the students' recorded output. In the subsequent phase, the results gathered from the post-experiment questionnaire were examined quantitatively. In the final step, results from the quantitative data analysis were complemented by a thematic analysis of students' reflections on their recordings to explore the motivations behind their self-repair strategies. Themes were determined based on the principles of recurrence and repetition (Owen, 1984). For instance, if a concept or idea was expressed by two or more interpreters, it was categorized as a theme. By including qualitative and quantitative data, the study intended to establish validity and credibility through triangulation.

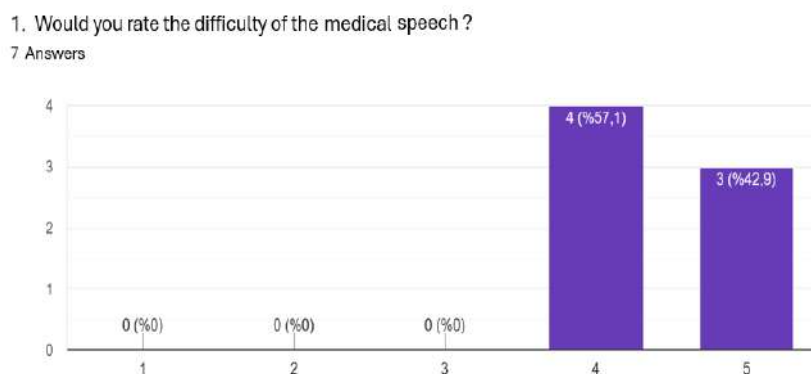
Results

Post-Experiment Questionnaire

In order to identify any correlation between the students' self-perceptions of text difficulty and their performance, they were asked to rate the texts from 1 (not difficult) to 5 (very difficult). The questionnaire showed that the medical speech text was considered more difficult, with an average rating of 4.43, and the legal text, easier, with an average rating of 3.29 (see Figures 1 and 2):

Figure 1

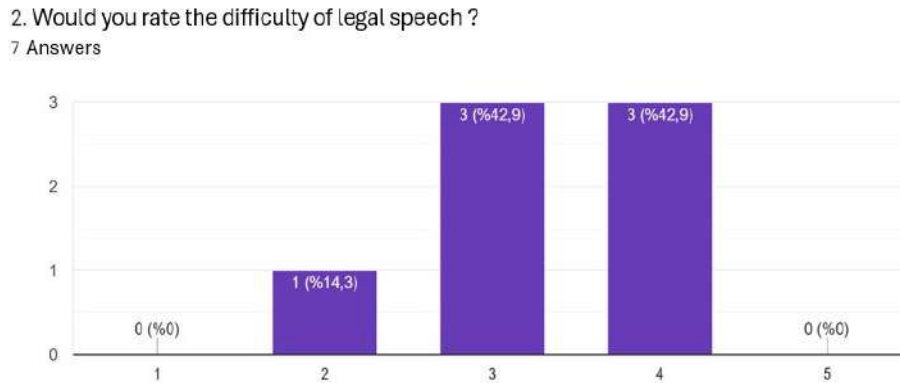
Students' perceived difficulty of the medical speech



As can be inferred from Figure 1 above, four students rated the difficulty of the medical speech as 4, while three students rated it as 5. These points dropped off in the legal speech text (see Figure 2):

Figure 2

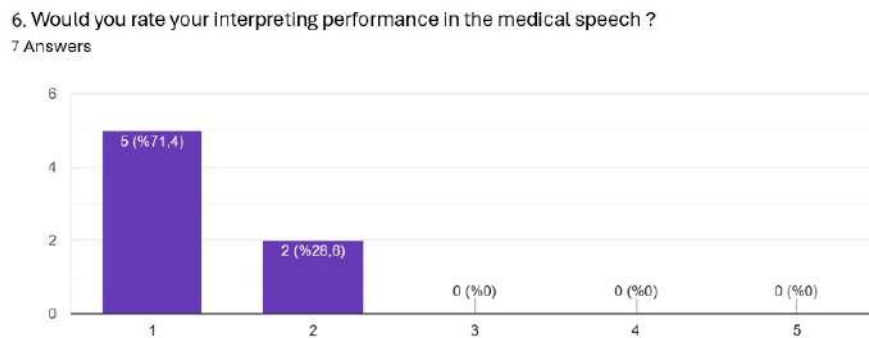
Students' perceived difficulty of the legal speech



The students' self-evaluation of their performances revealed similar results for both speeches. The students were asked to rate their performance from 1 to 5, where 1 means "no satisfaction" and 5 means "complete satisfaction". The results of which are given below in Figures 3 and 4:

Figure 3

Students' performance ratings for the interpretation of the medical speech

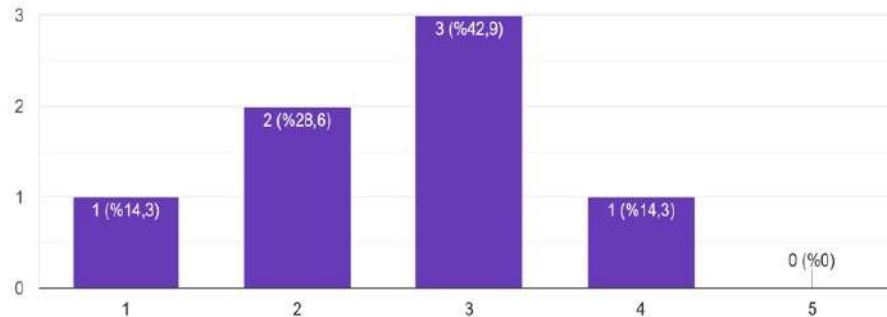


It can be seen that the majority of the students ($n=5$) were not satisfied with their interpreting performance in the medical speech, where all rated it as 1, except for two students, who rated it as 2. However, the ratings of the legal speech performances revealed a divergence. Even though there is variation in ratings, the average rating is higher than that of the medical speech. Specifically, three students rated their performance as 3, two students as 2, one student as 1, and one student as 4 (see Figure 4):

Figure 4*Students' performance ratings for the interpretation of the legal speech*

7. Would you rate your interpreting performance in the legal speech ?

7 Answers



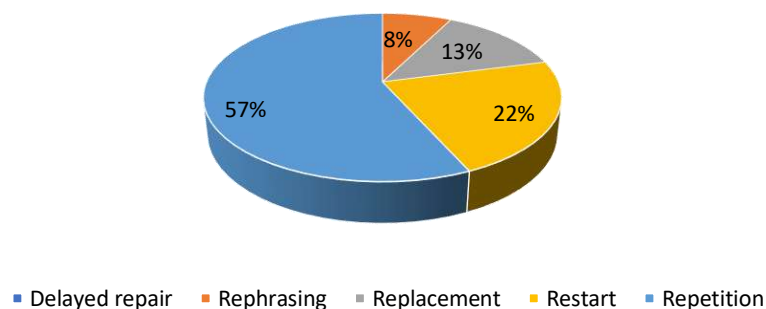
As can be seen above, none were completely satisfied in either case. However, they believed that their interpreting performance was better in the legal speech when compared to the medical speech. Regarding the effect of distance, three students were “not sure”, three responded “yes”, while only a single student responded “no”. When further asked the reasons, those who responded “yes” pointed out the technical challenges of distance. Thus, distance was not found to be an important factor impacting self-repairs in this research.

Distribution of self-repair forms in legal and medical speech

Statistical analysis was conducted for each type of repair form within the corpus. In this study, a total of 216 self-repair forms (134 in legal and 82 in medical speech) were identified. As shown in Figures 5 and 6 below, a statistical difference was found between the speech types, with more self-repairs made in the legal than the medical speech.

Figure 5*Distribution of self-repair forms in the legal speech*

Self-repair forms in legal speech

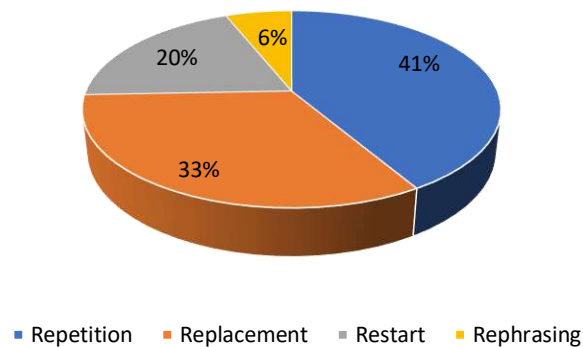


In the legal speech, the most frequently used type of self-repair was repetition (57%, n= 76), followed by restart (22%, n=30), replacement (13%, n= 18), and rephrasing (8%, n=10). In the medical speech, a significantly different distribution of repairs was found (see Figure 6):

Figure 6

Distribution of self-repair forms in the medical speech

Self-repair forms in medical speech



In the medical speech, similarly, repetition (41%, n=34) was the most frequent type of self-repair, followed by replacement (33%, n=27), restart (20%, n=16), and rephrasing (6%, n=5). No delayed repair technique was observed in either speech.

A comparative analysis clearly shows that repetition is the most frequently employed self-repair form in both speech types. Nevertheless, the total number of self-repairs is much higher in the legal speech than in the medical one. More specifically, the use of repetition strategy alone in the legal speech is nearly twice as frequent as in the medical speech, providing potentially valuable insights into these students' competencies and shortcomings in different speech types.

Motivations for Self-repairs in Legal and Medical Speech

The thematic analysis of the reflective reports revealed that common motivations were found for both types. The results showed that challenges stemming from syntactic asymmetries, cognitive load, and lack of short-term memory (STM) triggered student interpreters to self-repair their renderings to achieve semantic coherence in both legal and medical speeches, to be discussed in more detail below. Due to space limitations, each theme is illustrated by a few representative examples from one or both speeches. Excerpts from the student interpreters' recordings are compared with their statements in the

reports to consolidate the discussion. In these excerpts below, abbreviations will be used for the participants. The letter “S” stands for a speaker and “INT” stands for an interpreter.

Syntactic Challenges

The majority of the students ($n = 4$) indicated that syntactic challenges led to self-repairing. The main triggers were identified as complex sentence structures, differing word orders between ST and TT, conjunctions, and relative clauses. These challenges often led to self-repair strategies such as **repetition**, **restart**, and **replacement**. For example, INT1 reported having difficulties connecting the beginning and the end of the sentence after starting to render the speaker, without waiting for the complete meaningful unit. This prompted them to repeat or restart to ensure the interpretation’s clarity and semantic coherence.

[E]specially when it comes to complex or compound complex sentences where lots of elements are linked with conjunctions or relative clauses. Because I’m afraid I will fall behind, I generally start rendering the speech without waiting for a meaningful unit to be uttered by the speaker, causing me to forget my line of thought when other linked elements are presented later on. Therefore, I not only cannot remember the sentence itself while dealing with the reformulation process in my mind, but I also forget how I’ve started rendering in the first place, since my mind is too focused on reformulating than actually listening and remembering.
(INT1)

The same challenge was highlighted by INT3, indicating that they had to split the sentence because of switching to a different sentence structure, thus repeating the same word. Example 1 illustrates a typical scenario where INT3 made **repetition** in the medical speech:

EX1: S: *I’m delighted to have the honour of opening this international conference on the Joint Programming Initiative “A Healthy Diet for a Healthy Life”.*

INT1: *Bugün bu uluslararası konferansı açmaktan onur duyuyorum. Daha “Sağlıklı Bir Beslenme ve Hayat Biçimi” için Ortak Program Girişimi’dir bu konferans.*

Back Translation¹: *I am honoured to open this international conference today. This conference is a Joint Program Initiative for a “Healthier Diet and Lifestyle”.*

¹ Unless otherwise noted, all translations to English are my own.

Syntactic challenges not only triggered repetition but also restart strategy. For example, INT7 admitted that they both **restarted** and **repeated** their rendition because of the differences in English and Turkish sentence structures, exemplifying their interpretation of the word “wonderfood” in the medical speech:

I interpreted “wonderfood” as “mucize yiyecek”, and since the sentence structure of the source text and the order of the words did not make sense in Turkish, I compensated that sentence by explaining and repeating it. (INT7)

The excerpt regarding the interpretation of the statement is given in EX2 below:

EX2: S: *It's a topic that's never out of the media, with endless variations on whether carbs, fat, sugar or protein are good or bad, or reports on the latest 'wonderfood' that will stop cancer in its tracks or help us live longer.*

INT7: *Ama bu, medyadan hiç eksik olmayan bir şey. Ve karbonhidratların, yağların, şekerlerin ve proteinlerin iyi olup kötü olduğu veya olmadığı ve yeni “mucize yiyeceğin”, kanseri bile durdurabilecek ve bizi daha uzun süre yaşatacak “mucize yiyeceğin” medyadan eksik olmadığını görüyoruz.*

Back Translation: *But it is something that is never missing from the media. Whether carbohydrates, fats, sugars, and proteins are good or bad, and the new 'miracle food', we see that the new 'miracle food' that can even stop cancer and make us live longer is lacking in the media.*

The complex sentence structure and the use of relative clauses in this example led the interpreter to similarly split the sentences, initiating **repetition**. Moreover, the interpreter realized that the Turkish rendition was not semantically accurate even though technically correct. To improve comprehensibility for the target audience, the sentences were repeated and restarted.

Cognitive Load

Cognitive load in interpreting is defined as “the portion of an interpreter’s limited cognitive capacity devoted to performing an interpreting task in a certain environment” (Chen, 2017, p. 643). Limited cognitive capacity might be due to a number of factors, such as “speed of delivery, information density, quality of the speaker’s voice, prosody, accent, the number of technical terms, the number of names” etc. (Gile, 2008, p. 63). Four interpreters also reported that, in both speech types, the cognitive load caused hesitations, pauses, and confusions, which, in turn, induced self-repairs, mainly **repetition**, **restart**, and **replacement** strategies. For instance, INT7 directly underlined the complex multi-tasking nature of SI and admitted that the demands of listening and speaking at the same time increase their cognitive load:

As I am interpreting, I always think about and make an effort to determine whether my interpretation is completely accurate as it should be. Because I have to actively listen to the speech while interpreting, focusing on my interpretation performance adds a lot of extra cognitive load, which can lead to hesitations and confusion. (INT7)

The excerpt below exemplifies INT7's statements where both **restart** and **replacement** strategies were adopted to achieve semantic coherence in the medical speech by "increasing understandability of [...] interpretations and decreasing interpretation mistakes":

EX3: S: *When Healthy Diet for a Healthy Life was launched, the Council of the European Union noted that in the last three decades the levels of overweight and obesity in the EU have risen dramatically, particularly among children, and that the trend of poor diet and low physical activity is getting even worse.*

INT7: *Sağlıklı Yaşam İçin Sağlıklı Diyet ihmm yapıldığında ihmm başlatıldığında, otuz yıl boyunca, Avrupa Birliği Konseyi'nin araştırmalarına göre otuz yıl boyunca, ihmm obezite ve fazla kiloluk özellikle çocuklarda çok fazla artmıştır ve sağlıksız beslenme fiziksel aktivitelerin azalması da artmıştır.*

Back Translation: *When Healthy Diet for a Healthy Life ihmm was done-launched ihmm, over the last three decades, according to the research of the European Council, ihmm obesity and overweight, especially in children, have significantly increased over the last three decades, and unhealthy eating and reduced physical activity have also increased.*

In the excerpt above, the interpreter encountered information density which made the process more complex. Here, the frequent use of the filler "ihmm" after words might signify a cognitive load challenge, leading to hesitation to find the exact counterpart. Soon after, realizing that "done" was incorrect in this context, they used the verb "launched". Moreover, another self-repair occurred in this sentence in the form of a restart strategy. INT7 decided that it was not in line with the ST, and thus, corrected it by restarting. In brief, they seemed to be overwhelmed by the complexity of processing information density given in the ST and transferring it accurately in the TT, and this difficulty triggered restart and replacement repair strategies.

It is along the same line that INT2 reported focusing on their interpreting performances during the task put additional cognitive load:

Since I have to put significant amount of effort on listening the speech actively along with interpreting, focusing on my interpretation performance puts

additional cognitive load and sometimes it leads to hesitations and confusion. (INT2)

Therefore, cognitive load also triggered **repetition** and **replacement** strategies while interpreting the medical speech, as in the example below:

EX4: S: *Let's not forget that developing these new treatments and technologies could provide huge opportunities for competitive European businesses, large and small.*

INT2: *Ve şunu unutmamak lazım ki, bu yeni ha- tedavilerin ve teknolojilerin birçok Avrupa işletmesi için, küçük veya büyük, çok fazla fırsat oluşturacağını unutmamak gerekiyor.*

Back Translation: *And it must not be forgotten. That these new dis- treatments and technologies will create many opportunities for many European businesses, both small and large, must not be forgotten.*

In this example, “ha” (“dis” in English) seems to be a clear sign of hesitation. Here, confusion led to a pause to find the accurate counterpart of the original word, which signals the interruption in the cognitive process. Then they replaced this first attempt at forming a word with the word “treatments”. The repetition strategy, on the other hand, can be comprehended as a control mechanism to ensure clarity and accuracy. The repetition of the phrase “şunu unutmamak lazım ki” (“it must not be forgotten”) can be seen as an attempt to reduce the cognitive stress and underline the focal point of the sentence.

Moreover, **repetition** and **replacement** strategies for “providing a better comprehension for the audience” were also found in the legal speech by INT5:

EX5: S: *Since then, almost all States in Europe have joined the organization, including former authoritarian States like Spain and Portugal and, since the end of the Cold War, the former communist States, including Russia and Ukraine.*

INT5: *O yıllardan beri ... Avrupa'daki yak... Neredeyse bütün devletler bu örgüte katıldı. Eski otoriter devletler, İspanya ve İtalya gibi bunlar da katıldılar. Aynı zamanda Rusya ve Ukrayna gibi komünist devletler de katıldı.*

Back translation: *For years, ... nearly all the states in Europe have joined this organization. Former authoritarian states, such as Spain and Italy, also joined. At the same time, communist states like Russia and Ukraine also joined.*

It seems that the phrase “almost all States in Europe” caused an additional cognitive load since the INT5 hesitated when interpreting the word “almost” (“yak...”). Even though the interpreter was confused about the names of the countries involved in the excerpt above, they strived to convey the core meaning of the sentence, instead of focusing on every word in the ST. Thus, they divided the sentence into three parts and

repeated the verb “katıldılar” (“joined”). Thus, this strategy can be seen as an attempt to balance their cognitive burden.

Short-term Memory Challenges

Short-term memory (STM) is one of the three-phase procedures included in Atkinson and Shiffrin’s (1968) memory classification. STM retains information for about 30 seconds, which is considered sufficient for later recall. In this phase, the information is processed (Atkinson & Shiffrin, 1968, p. 90- 91; Rasouli, 2022, p. 64- 65). The failure of STM might result in “forgetting qualifiers through speech, forgetting the subordinate clause, and losing sentences in transmitting message from SL to TL” (Gile, 1995, p.179, as cited in Rasouli, 2022, p. 65). It can pose challenges in simultaneous interpreting, and it comes as no surprise that, in this study, two interpreters reported STM-related challenges, leading to self-repairing themselves. Thus, the interpreters applied **repetition**, **replacement**, and **rephrasing** strategies to cope with the memory-related problems. Below is the statement in which INT1 highlighted this difficulty in their STM and reformulation process, thus repeating certain words to gain time:

Because I still have problems regarding my short-term memory and formulation capabilities, and I still do not know when to start rendering, I sometimes hurry and start translating even though there is no meaningful unit. Thus, I feel the need to repeat certain words to not only gain some time but also to reformulate the sentence. (INT1)

The below excerpt illustrates the interpreter’s **repetition** strategy multiple times within the same sentence in the legal speech:

EX6: S: *Due to this devastating destruction, tens of thousands have been killed, injured, maltreated millions of citizens were forced to leave their homes and over 5 million – half of them children – had even to leave their country, seeking shelter in one the 45 other member States of the Council of Europe.*

INT1: *Bu- bu sebepten dolayı on binlerce insan hayatını kaybetti, yaralandı, kötü muamele gördü ve milyonlarca vatandaş kendi vatanlarını terk etmek zorunda kaldı ve beş milyondan fazla insan ve bunların yarısı da çocuk ülkelerini tamamen kaybetmek zorunda kaldı. Ve kırk beş başka Üye Devlet’te kendilerine yuva aramak zorunda kaldı.*

Back Translation: *For- for this reason, tens of thousands of people lost their lives, were injured, mistreated, and millions of citizens had to to leave their homelands. Over five million people, half of whom were children, had to completely lose their countries. And they had to seek refuge in forty-five other Member States.*

This example might be the indicator of the STM challenge because immediately at the beginning, the interpreter started with a repetition of the word “bu” (“this”). As stated in the excerpt above, the interpreter was uncertain about when to start. The repetition of the phrase “zorunda kaldı” (“had to”) seems to reinforce the impact of emotionally sensitive nature of the facts in the sentence. Furthermore, omission of the prepositional phrase “*Due to this devastating destruction*” might be the indicator of the STM challenge encountered (Rasouli, 2022).

By the same token, this interpreter further admitted having applied the **rephrase** strategy in the medical speech to correct an error stemming from STM challenges.

[I] couldn’t render the sentence in an appropriate manner in the first place by not providing why the word “aç” – hungry – has been used. Having realized this later on, I paraphrased and explained the reason by adding another additional sentence and tried to compensate for my error. (INT1)

The interpreter’s performance below supports this statement, demonstrated by the addition of explanation to their rendition of the word “aç” (“hungry”):

EX7: S: *And the public is hungry - if I may use this expression – for information and guidance that is backed up by solid research.*

INT1: *Ve toplum aç. Ve aslında toplum arkasında bilimsel kaynaklar olan araştırmalara aç.*

Back Translation: *And society is hungry. In fact, society is hungry for research that is backed by scientific sources.*

Moreover, it can be further observed that, in this excerpt, the INT1 forgot the qualifier “*if I may use this expression*”, an omission which might be interpreted as a failure in STM, as put forth by Rasouli (2022).

The final example for this category is the **replacement** of the word “armed aggression” in the legal speech:

EX8: S: *International solidarity is needed now and will be needed in the years to come, as the humanitarian consequences of armed aggression will be immense and will last long.*

INT1: *Ve böylesine saldırı-askeri saldırıların devam etmesi sonucu hümaniteryen desteklerin daha da artm-gerekmesi ortaya çıkacak.*

Back Translation: *And as a result of such attacks—military attacks continuing, the humanitarian aid will incr- be needed even further.*

In this case, the interpreter seemed to have an STM lapse, forgetting the correct rendition of the word “armed aggression”, and then using a replacement strategy to correct the word. Likewise, the phrase “artması gerekecek” (“need to be increased”) was rendered more complex as “art-gerekecek” (“incr- be needed”). This type of error might arise from the interpreter’s memory-based challenges to recall the accurate phrases at that moment.

Discussion

A total of 216 self-repair forms were found, 134 in the legal speech, and 82 in the medical speech. Despite this statistical difference, the motivations to self-repair the interpretations are similar. According to the student report results, challenges arising from syntactic differences between the two languages, cognitive load during the task, and short-term memory (STM) seemed to have hindered their communication and interpreting skills.

Gile (2005, p. 11) explains that “production requires more attention, if only because it often involves a deliberate effort to avoid linguistic interference from the source language, both in retrieving lexical items and in constructing syntactically acceptable target-language sentences”. In this regard, it can be said that the syntactic asymmetries challenged the students’ production capacity. The effort needed to follow the speech and find accurate words seemed to interfere with their Memory and Listening and Analysis Efforts, which in turn caused them to forget certain words and phrases and lose track of the speech. Therefore, the students were observed to have employed **repetition**, **restart**, and **replacement** strategies to address challenges stemming from syntactic asymmetries.

Upon close scrutiny, it also turned out that the simultaneous effort of listening to both the speaker and their own interpretations increased the cognitive load during the task, which led to hesitations, pauses, and confusion. As a result, they struggled with processing information, and they applied **repetition**, **restart**, and **replacement** strategies in both speeches to enhance the understandability of their renditions and reduce interpretation mistakes.

The results also revealed that the students at times focused more on the Memory Effort to retain the words and sentences, which arose as a result of their STM-related problems and directly affected their production. They forgot some words and fell behind the ST, which in turn induced **repetition**, **replacement**, and **rephrasing** strategies.

Overall, the students were observed to have difficulties in finding a balance among different efforts, leading to a possible failure in their Coordination Effort, and this emerges as an issue for consideration for inclusion in the interpreting curriculum.

One of this study's most striking findings is that student reports and the statistical data showed no correlation between the difficulty of speech, the number of self-repairs, and the interpreting performance. Hong (2023, p. 284) argues that "the number of self-repairs will be small for participants with higher interpretation performance". However, this notion is not borne out in the current study. The findings of this research revealed fewer self-repairs in the medical speech (82 in total) than in the legal speech (134 in total). This was despite students finding the medical speech more difficult (4.43 average rating) than the legal speech (3.29 average rating) and showing less performance satisfaction in the medical speech (1.28 average performance rating) than in the legal speech (2.57 average performance rating). Students' more comprehensive knowledge of the legal speech topic appears to have reduced its difficulty and allowed them to focus more on their productions. This study demonstrates that topic familiarity might affect the frequency of self-repairs that function beyond "error correction", aligning with the definition of self-repair by Schegloff et al. (1977). The self-repairs triggered by syntactic asymmetries, cognitive load, and STM challenges do not seem to be merely an indicator of error correction, but they can be conceived as a broader cognitive strategy to manage time, achieve semantic coherence and clarity, and enhance comprehensibility of the renditions.

Conclusion

The current study was designed to reveal students' self-repairs in medical and legal speeches and their self-perceptions regarding the use of repairs. It is stated that:

Repair is [...] not limited to error replacement. Because repairs can also be commonly found in interpreting and can help unveil interpreters' monitoring mechanisms, they were later analyzed in the field of interpreting studies as an indicator for enriching understanding of the interpreting process. (Tissi, 2000, p. 114)

Drawing upon Tissi's (2000, p.114) statement above, it is safe to conclude that the results of this research provide a significant glimpse into the interpreting trainees' thought processes and offer didactic implications for practice.

First and foremost, resting on the results of this study, it is vital to acknowledge that self-repairs in the interpreting process act as more than just an "error replacement" (Tissi,

2000), which should be taken into consideration in interpreter training. Even though theoretical aspects of interpretation are well covered in the literature on interpreting education, there seems to be a gap in the cognitive aspects of the task in undergraduate education. To remedy this problem and bridge the gap, certain exercises aiming at reducing cognitive load and strengthening STM can be integrated into the interpreter training programs. Some of these exercises might include dual-task activities, such as listening to one speech while reading another, speaking while simultaneously listening to an unrelated speech, or writing numbers while listening to an unrelated passage. Additionally, chunking techniques (Seeber, 2011; Huang et al., 2023) can be introduced to equip students with the ability to process information more efficiently. Moreover, post-interpreting self-evaluation might also increase students' self-awareness by encouraging them to identify their specific challenges and the strategies to overcome these. This practice allows students to track their own progress in interpreting and to set personal goals for the future.

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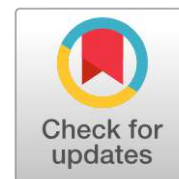
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WHO DROPPED THE SWORD OF STALINGRAD?

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Abstract



On November 29, 1943, at a ceremony at the Soviet Embassy in Tehran in the presence of President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill presented Marshal Stalin with a Sword of Honour as a gift from King George VI to the 'steel-hearted citizens of Stalingrad'. According to an 'enduring legend' (Higgins, 1993), Stalin was surprised by the sword's weight and dropped it on the floor after he took it from Churchill. This article investigates this 'legend' to see whether the sword was dropped and, if yes, who dropped it. In doing so, available memoirs, visuals, and newspaper sources are used. Autobiographical subjectivity is discussed in view of the conflicting accounts from the people who were at the center of the ceremony and close to it, i.e. Winston Churchill, the British diplomat Gladwyn Jebb, Field-Marshal Lord Alanbrooke, Chief of the Imperial General Staff, and the interpreters Arthur Birse (UK), Hugh Lunghi (UK), Charles Bohlen (USA), and Valentin Berezhevskiy (USSR). An unambiguous answer to the research question is given by two items of video footage taken during the ceremony, despite the obvious efforts to edit out the embarrassing moment.

Keywords: interpreting studies, Sword of Stalingrad, Tehran conference, autobiographical subjectivity

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In November 1993, Andrew Higgins, the then Moscow bureau chief for *The Independent*, visited Volgograd, Russia, the site of the Battle of Stalingrad (August 23, 1942– February 2, 1943). In the Battle of Stalingrad Museum, he saw the Sword of Honor on display, King George VI's gift to the 'steel-hearted citizens of Stalingrad' (Higgins, 1993). The sword was presented to Marshal Stalin by Prime Minister Churchill and in the presence of President Roosevelt, at a ceremony at the Soviet Embassy in Tehran on November 29, 1943.

Deploing the sorry state of the Battle of Stalingrad Museum, where the 'blunted-by-time' Stalingrad sword was 'gathering museum dust', Higgins remarked that the sword had inspired a series of tales in Russia. According to him, one enduring legend was that Stalin, surprised by its weight, had dropped it on the floor after he took it from Churchill. The second version of the legend insists that the sword was dropped by Marshal Voroshilov, who received the sword from Stalin's hands. This second version is supported by Michael Zimecki in *The History of My Final Illness*, a novella about the last five days in the life of Stalin told from his point of view:

I suspect the people who are filing into my room are members of the Central Committee of the Party and the Council of Ministers. Some of them – Beria, Bulganin, Malenkov and Khrushchev in particular—are my avowed enemies. Others, like **Vorishilov, who dropped the Sword of Stalingrad on my toes in front of Churchill and Roosevelt**, are completely useless. But a few of them—such as Brezhnev and Suslov—are my protégés, and perhaps may be counted upon to help (Zimecki, 2011; *bolded by me*).

This article investigates this 'legend' to see whether the sword was dropped and, if yes, by whom. In doing so, available memoirs, visuals, and newspaper sources will be used.

'Surprised by the weight of the sword'

The starting point of our investigation is **Figure 1**. In the photo, taken in 1951, a boy of around 8 to 10 years of age inspects the Sword of Stalingrad in the Battle of Stalingrad Museum, obviously not surprised by its weight.

Figure 1

A boy inspects the Sword of Stalingrad in the Battle of Stalingrad Museum, 1951.



Note: Lyudnikov, Yu. (1951). Mech Stalingrada v muzee oborony Tsaritsyna-Stalingrada [Photograph]. By Mchpv - Own work, CC BY-SA 4.0, <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=35022556>

The total length of the Stalingrad sword in the scabbard, which is a Crusader sword, is reported to be 48in (122cm), with a double-edged blade of 36in (91cm). No information about the weight of the Stalingrad sword has been found on the Internet. However, the weight of Crusader swords of similar size usually does not exceed 2 kgs. Scotland's Sword of State, which Penny Mordaunt carried for the formal coronation of King Charles III and Queen Camilla in Westminster Abbey in May 2023, weighed 3.6 kg (Duncan, 2023).

Figure 2 shows Marshal Stalin kissing the scabbard of the Sword of Stalingrad unsurprised by its weight. In other words, the part of the 'legend' concerning the weight of the sword as the reason for it to be dropped by Stalin does not seem to have any ground to stand on.

Figure 2

Stalin kisses the scabbard of the Sword on Stalingrad. First from right is Stalin's interpreter Valentin Berezhkov.



Note: PublicResourceOrg. (2010, September 1). *Global Conference – Tehran*. Stalin kisses the scabbard of the Sword on Stalingrad [Screenshot].

https://youtu.be/iH00_1S_6Q4?si=z7XhGVxKE1_zUT6z

The English-language page of the 'Sword of Stalingrad' entry in Wikipedia, rephrasing Mayle (1987, p. 90), supports the second version:

At the end of the ceremony, Stalin unexpectedly handed it off to one of his oldest and most loyal comrades, Marshal Kliment Voroshilov. He seemed to have been taken by surprise and took it the wrong way up so that the sword slipped out and fell. Observers differ on whether it struck his foot, clattered onto the floor, or was caught in time to be returned to its scabbard with a deft move. (Sword of Stalingrad, 2023)

Did you know... that after Winston Churchill handed Joseph Stalin the Sword of Stalingrad (pictured) at the Tehran Conference, a clumsy Soviet general let it slip out of its scabbard? (Talk: Sword of Stalingrad, 2024)

However, when the reader switches to the Russian-language page of the same entry, the first version is presented (Mech Stalingrada, 2024). Since the Russian text obviously is a translation of the text in WW2 History (2021), the original text is quoted below:

Stalin kissed the scabbard and thanked the British Prime Minister in an undertone. Churchill gave a friendly wave of his hand, possibly saying "Please!". At this time, Stalin, turning to Voroshilov, who was standing to his right, and wanting either to show the sword, or to hand it over, awkwardly tilted the gift with the handle down, and the heavy sword, slipping out of the scabbard, hit the head of the handle on the carpet. Voroshilov tried to grab the falling sword, but did not manage to do so. (WW2 History, 2021)

Quite understandably, official accounts of the ceremony in *Pravda* (1943, 3 December, p. 2), *Time* magazine (1943, 20 December), or the *Daily Mirror* (1943, 7 December) do not mention the incident. On the other hand, conflicting accounts of the incident can be found in the memoirs of eyewitnesses who were at the center of the ceremony or close to it. These include Winston Churchill, the British diplomat Gladwyn Jebb, Field-Marshal Lord Alanbrooke, Chief of the Imperial General Staff, and the interpreters Arthur Birse (UK), Hugh Lunghi (UK), Charles Bohlen (USA), and Valentin Berezhkov (USSR). These accounts are cited in secondary sources such as Beevor (1999), Mayle (1987), etc.

Arthur Birse was Churchill's Russian interpreter at Tehran, Yalta, and Potsdam. Churchill describes Birse as "my trusted interpreter" (Churchill, 1951, p. 376). He also mentions Charles Bohlen and Vladimir Pavlov (Churchill, 1951):

I had my admirable interpreter of the previous year, Major Birse. Pavlov again performed this service for the Soviets, and Mr. Bohlen, a new figure, for the United States. (p. 347)

The Earl of Avon, in the Foreword to Birse's memoir, points out (Birse, 1967):

Birse pays a generous tribute to Mr. Pavlov, his Soviet opposite number and that, too, has been well-earned. They were a remarkable pair and carried between them the responsibility of interpreting almost all the more important Anglo-Soviet conversations of the war years. (p.7)

Charles Bohlen was third secretary of the United States embassy in Moscow and Roosevelt's Russian language interpreter at Tehran and Yalta. Hugh Lunghi, a Captain in the Royal Artillery, was the second Russian language interpreter in the British delegation

at Tehran. In June 1943, at the age of 23, he was appointed aide-de-camp and Russian language interpreter to Lt. Gen. Sir Gifford Le Q. Martel, Head of the British Military Mission in Moscow. He also attended the conferences in Yalta and Potsdam. After the war, he served as a diplomat and interpreter. In his remarks at the Annual General Meeting of the International Churchill Society (UK) on 29 April 2006, Lunghi speaks with great respect about Birse:

Here I should explain that Churchill's principal interpreter was Major Arthur Birse, a peacetime banker, also from our Moscow Military Mission, born and educated in 19th century St. Petersburg, more than twice my age, a good friend and mentor, by far the most outstanding, the most brilliant of all the Allied interpreters. (Lunghi, 2013)

Hugh Lunghi is not mentioned in the memoirs of Churchill, Birse, Bohlen, and Berezhevskiy. There is no mention of Berezhevskiy in Churchill's and Birse's memoirs. Bohlen mentions Berezhevskiy on two occasions. First, to say that the principal interpreter at Tehran was Pavlov and that Berezhevskiy took his place occasionally (Bohlen, 1973, p. 137). Lunghi (2013) also confirms that Pavlov was "virtually always Stalin's interpreter—in English and German". Second, to refute Berezhevskiy's claim that he was the only interpreter at the first meeting between Stalin and Roosevelt at Tehran and to ascertain that there were two interpreters at that meeting, i.e. Pavlov and himself (Bohlen, 1973, p. 141).

The first meeting between Roosevelt and Stalin at the Soviet Embassy in Tehran on November 28, 1943 sparked controversy among the three interpreters. The official record of conversation was prepared by Bohlen. Berezhevskiy had his own version. The third interpreter, who claimed that it was he who introduced Roosevelt to Stalin and interpreted during the first minutes of their meeting, is Russian-born Oleg Pantuhoff (Colonel John Bates as of 1953), who was attached as interpreter to W. Averell Harriman, the U.S. Ambassador to Moscow, at Tehran (Pantuhoff, 1985, Chapter 13). There are no photos or videos of the meeting, so we can only rely on the word of each interpreter. However, in the case of the sword-dropping incident, we have unbiased video footage. So, before discussing the eyewitness accounts, let us look at the available documentary footage of the ceremony that gives an objective answer to our query. It will be much more interesting to read these conflicting eyewitness accounts when we know the right answer.

Documentary footage

There are two archive videos showing the Stalingrad Sword presentation ceremony and the sword-dropping incident from two different angles. The first is a 9-minute public domain video 'Global Conference – Teheran. Stalingrad Sword Presentation' (PublicResourceOrg, 2010) housed within the Audio/Visual collections at the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library (FDR3105-112-3). The second is a 5.04-minute video, *The Big Three in Teheran* (1943) housed at the British Pathé (1943a), film ID 1099.05. There is a different 6.23-minute video *The Big Three in Teheran* (1943) at the British Pathé (1943b), film ID 1919.09, where the awkward incident has been completely cut out.

Figure 3

The Sword of Stalingrad presentation ceremony. Winston Churchill, Anthony Eden (stands second from left, to the left of Churchill), and Arthur Birse (stands first from right in the first row) look on as the sword drops out of the scabbard in Stalin's hands. Voroshilov's hand can be seen to the left of the hilt.



Note: PublicResourceOrg. (2010). *Stalin dropping the Sword of Stalingrad* [Screenshot]. https://youtu.be/iH00_1S_6Q4?si=z7XhGVxKE1_zUT6z

Figure 4.

Stalin tilts the Sword of Stalingrad with its hilt downwards and the sword slips out of its scabbard.



Note: British Pathé (1943a). *The Big Three in Teheran (1943)*. Stalin tilts the scabbard downwards [Screenshot].
<https://www.britishpathe.com/asset/65797/>.

Figure 5.

Churchill and Eden look at the fallen sword.



Note: British Pathé (1943a). *The Big Three in Teheran (1943)*. Churchill and Eden look at the floor [Screenshot].
<https://www.britishpathe.com/asset/65797/>.

To summarize, the two archive videos unambiguously testify that the Sword of Stalingrad was dropped and that it was Marshal Stalin who dropped it. Having established this fact, let us now look at the conflicting eyewitness accounts and try to understand the underlying reasons for these conflicts.

Conflicting eyewitness accounts of the sword-dropping incident

Some of the participants in the ceremony either did not write memoirs or do not mention the incident in their published memoirs. The first volume of Marshal Voroshilov's memoir was published in 1968 with a promise of a second volume, which never came out, and events beyond the year 1907 remained untold. Anthony Eden, Britain's Foreign Secretary in 1940–45, wrote several books of memoirs, including *'The reckoning: the memoirs of Anthony Eden, Earl of Avon'* (1965), in which he only briefly talks about the Tehran Conference and makes no mention of the sword presentation ceremony. Stalin's interpreter Valentin Berezhkov, who was present at the ceremony (standing first from right in Figure 2, behind the Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov), does

not mention the incident in his memoir. He also claims that Stalin pulled the sword out of the scabbard and kissed the blade:

Stalin took the sword and pulled it out of its sheath. The blade glinted coldly. Stalin raised it to his lips and kissed it. (Berezhkov, 1983, p. 276)

In *Closing the Ring*, the fifth volume of his war memoirs, Churchill, who was right in front of Stalin accompanied by Anthony Eden and Arthur Birse and watched the sword fall from Stalin's hands, described the sword-dropping incident in the following terms (Churchill, 1951):

When, after a few sentences of explanation, I handed the splendid weapon to Marshal Stalin, he raised it in a most impressive gesture to his lips and kissed the blade. He then handed it to [Marshal Kliment] Voroshilov, who dropped it. (p. 364)

Arthur Birse authored a book of memoir. In it, he supports Churchill's account: Churchill then handed over the Sword to Stalin, who kissed the hilt and handed it to Voroshilov. At this point the ceremony almost fell into anticlimax, for Voroshilov, surprised by the weight thrust upon him, nearly dropped his burden—my heart missed one or two beats!—but by what looked like a clever conjuring trick he retrieved it in time and clasped it to his breast. (Birse, 1967, p. 158)

Again, Churchill and Birse were right in front of Marshal Stalin and must have seen who dropped the sword. However, they preferred to put the blame on Voroshilov, most probably for political reasons.

Hugh Lunghi also puts the blame for dropping the sword on Voroshilov:

When Churchill presented the Stalingrad Sword to Stalin, I was standing just behind him, just behind Churchill, and that was a magnificent occasion. They played the Internationale first, and then our national anthem, and Churchill was given the sword, which was on a cushion, and he handed it over to Stalin, who kissed the hilt, and then Stalin handed it over to Voroshilov, Marshal Voroshilov, who promptly dropped it, or he let it slide out of the scabbard, held it to his chest; it fell down on to his toes, fortunately not right out of the scabbard, and he had to pull it out. (Lunghi, 1996)

The Prime Minister proudly presented the sword. Stalin was visibly moved. After quietly uttering a few words Stalin passed the sword to Voroshilov, who promptly let it slip from the scabbard onto his toes. Stalin's face darkened, his fists clenched. (Lunghi, 2013)

Reading Lunghi's description of the incident, it is hard to believe that he really saw the scene: "promptly dropped it, or he let it slide out of the scabbard, held it to his chest; it fell down on to his toes, fortunately not right out of the scabbard, and he had to pull it out". Did Voroshilov drop the sword, or did he let it slide out of the scabbard? How can the sword slide out of the scabbard and hit Voroshilov's toe, but fortunately not right out of the scabbard?

It is also not clear what Lunghi means when he says that his own test as interpreter came before the second plenary session on November 29, at the presentation of the Sword of Honor, and that he was standing just behind Churchill (Lunghi, 2013). It was Birse who interpreted for Churchill and Stalin during the ceremony, with Berezhtkov standing behind Molotov, who stood behind Stalin. Lunghi cannot be seen in the first row of people behind the Prime Minister in the two documentary videos and the available photos of the ceremony.

Field-Marshal Lord Alanbrooke, Chief of the Imperial General Staff, who can be seen in the first row of people behind Churchill, gives the following account of the incident in his war diaries: "Stalin kissed the sword and handed it over to Voroshilov, who promptly dropped the sword out of the scabbard" (Bryant & Alanbrooke, 1959, p. 64). The same story is repeated in the eyewitness account of Gladwyn Jebb, a British civil servant, diplomat, and politician who was the acting secretary-general of the United Nations between 1945 and 1946 (cited in Nicolson, 1967, p. 334.). The official British version of the incident blaming it on Voroshilov is quoted in later research. Thus, according to the British military historian Antony James Beevor (1999):

Churchill made the ceremony memorable by his oratory. Stalin, who accepted the sword with both hands, lifted it to his lips to kiss the scabbard. He then passed it to Marshal Voroshilov, who clumsily let the sword slide out of the scabbard. It clattered loudly on the floor.

The video footage of the ceremony clearly shows that the floor of the hall was covered by a thick Persian rug, so the “loud clatter” on the floor of the sword’s crystal rock pommel falling from a height of about 1 meter (Stalin’s height is reported to be 165 cm) seems to be an exaggeration. The diplomatic historian of American Foreign Policy and International Relations Paul D. Mayle (1987) cites the available eyewitness accounts but never refers to the available video footage of the ceremony.

Charles Bohlen (1973), Roosevelt’s Russian language interpreter at Tehran and Yalta, gives the following account of the incident:

The only time I saw Stalin show anything other than a surface emotion was at a ceremony at Teheran when Churchill presented him a sword made specially for the city of Stalingrad, in commemoration of the Nazi defeat there... Stalin’s hands shook so hard that he dropped the sword. (p. 340)

The most objective account of the incident, cited in the Russian-language “Sword of Stalingrad” entry in Wikipedia, is given in WW2 History (2021):

Stalin, turning to Voroshilov, who was standing to his right, and wanting either to show the sword, or to hand it over, awkwardly tilted the gift with the handle down, and the heavy sword, slipping out of the scabbard, hit the head of the handle on the carpet. Voroshilov tried to grab the falling sword, but did not manage to do so.

That is exactly what we see in the two videos (PublicResourceOrg, 2010 and British Pathé, 1943a). Stalin, “unpractised in swordsmanship, held it hilt downwards, so the sword slipped out of its scabbard” (MacCarthy, 2005). What we do not see is that “The day was saved by Marshal Voroshilov, who caught it just before the rock crystal pommel hit the floor” (MacCarthy, 2005). The sword slipped off the scabbard so fast that Voroshilov’s hand reached the sword after it had already hit the carpeted floor.

Conclusion

On November 29, 1943, at a ceremony at the Soviet Embassy in Tehran in the presence of President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill presented Marshal Stalin with a Sword of Honor as a gift from King George VI to the ‘steel-hearted citizens of Stalingrad’. This article investigated the ‘legend’ according to which (1) Stalin dropped the sword after he took it from Churchill because he was surprised by the sword’s weight and his hands were trembling, or (2) Stalin gave the sword to Marshal Voroshilov, who dropped it.

An unambiguous answer to the research question was given by two items of video footage taken during the ceremony, despite the obvious efforts to edit out the embarrassing moment. Churchill and Birse were right in front of Marshal Stalin and must have seen who dropped the sword. However, for political reasons they preferred to put the blame on Voroshilov. The main conclusion is that when there are conflicting eyewitness accounts of the event under investigation and available video footage of the event, priority should be given to the video footage and not to the eyewitness accounts.

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METAFICTION AND REPRESENTATION OF GENDERED IDENTITY IN GILLIAN FLYNN'S GONE GIRL

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Abstract

This study examines the interplay of gender stereotypes in crime narratives through the lens of Gillian Flynn's *Gone Girl*. Flynn's novel challenges traditional portrayals of women in crime fiction, positioning them not merely as victims but as complex anti-heroines capable of orchestrating elaborate criminal plots fueled by vengeance and psychological manipulation. The paper highlights the metafictional elements in *Gone Girl*, where the author employs self-conscious storytelling to critique societal expectations surrounding gender roles. By intertwining themes of media representation, domesticity, and the neoliberal notion of choice, the paper underscores how Flynn's narrative structure critiques the commodification of female identity and the performative aspects of gender roles and identity. Ultimately, the study posits that Flynn's work serves as a thought-provoking commentary on the power dynamics inherent in the representation of gender in contemporary media culture, revealing the complexities of identity as shaped by societal constructs.

Keywords: metafiction, identity, empowerment, victimization, Gillian Flynn, *Gone Girl*

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Gillian Flynn's fiction positions women at the center of a crime committed back "home", not exclusively as the victims of domestic crimes but as masterminds of criminal acts inspired by vengeance (*Gone Girl*, 2012) or pathological attachment (*Sharp Objects*, 2006), staged or otherwise. In her interviews, Flynn often expresses her discontent with the lack of "enough layered protagonists who were antiheroes" (Edwards, 2023). Her subtle treatment of the trope of "the dead girl", a staple of the crime fiction, subverts reader's formulaic expectations of the genre. Her best-selling novel, *Gone Girl*, addresses a variety of themes in a 21st century context including mass media and public obsession with true (domestic) crime stories, money and class system, gendered identity and performance, manipulation and marital intrigue and the neo-liberal notion of choice. It has been invariably described in terms of "neoliberal Gothic" (Johansen, 2016), "chick noir" (Kennedy, 2017), "domestic noir" and "literary noir" (Sutton, 2018). Christensen (2020), for example, analyzes the novel in terms of "domestic noir", a contemporary take on "the Angel/ Monster dichotomy" of the traditional patriarchal narratives such as the genre of classic noir in which the femme fatale is eventually destroyed for her transgressions with the end result of restoring the traditional gender roles (p. 90). It is important to note that, unlike the femme fatale characters of the classical noir, Flynn's "millennial femme anti-heroine" as described by Christensen (2020), survives because she does what it takes "to be the author of her own story" (p. 100).

Philips (2021) describes *Gone Girl* in terms of a "fractured narrative" in which the events are presented not only from the alternating perspectives of Nick and Amy, but from different versions of Amy, "Diary Amy", "Amazing Amy", and "Actual Amy" (p.155). As Philips (2021) argues, what makes *Gone Girl* different from other domestic thrillers is the character of Amy who "uses her considerable cunning to undermine her husband in order to forcibly reinstate her marriage; the apparent female victim is revealed to be a murderous manipulator of men" (p.154). The novel also contains female Gothic tropes such as a victimized heroine, a pattern of flight and pursuit, the issue of money and property and an apparently happy ending. However, as Amy's reaction to her husband's flaws and her elaborate plan to frame him indicates, she is far from the passive heroines of Gothic fiction, as she constructs a Gothic narrative to exact revenge on her erratic husband. The use of Gothic tropes in the novel has been analyzed by Johansen (2016) in terms of the neo-liberal Gothic, where the Gothic castles are replaced by vacant

subdivision homes, as the aftermath of 2008 economic crash. In such an environment where the sub-division ruins have become an indispensable part of urban life, home is “hardly safe or heaven” (Johansen, 2016, p. 36).

Gone Girl contains elements of metafictional self-consciousness with alternating unreliable first-person point of view, in the form of “he said, she said”, representing the process of unravelling a crime mystery through police interrogations and the victim-suspects’ statements. The novel poses questions about the nature of reality and the way it can be constructed out of medley of alleged facts and statements in crime narratives. It reflects the way fictional narratives of domestic crime and victimization can be used to fabricate evidence during criminal investigations. On a non-diegetic level, Flynn’s novel is a self-conscious parody of the dynamics of domestic crime and its resultant mass-media frenzy. As the news of Nick’s infidelity spreads fast, the principle characters’ life is laid out in front of the public gaze, providing further evidence for the premise that when the wife disappears or is murdered, it is always the husband. As Sutton (2016) has stated, *Gone Girl*’s self-conscious application of the generic conventions of crime fiction “positions the reader as a kind of literary critic in search of hidden meanings, surface signifiers, non-existent depths” (p. 56). The use of metafictional self-consciousness in this novel not only exposes the constructed nature of reality in tales of domestic crime but it also serves to foreground the notion of gendered identity as performance based on power relations. In general, the issue of how reality is portrayed in fiction is the focus of metafiction. Metafiction often expresses the theoretical and ideological uncertainties regarding fiction’s ability to reflect objective reality. While realist novelists employ traditional narrative techniques to immerse readers in a seemingly authentic fictional world, metafictional writers intentionally break this illusion by adopting a self-conscious style that highlights the artificiality of storytelling conventions. Metafiction exposes the characteristic devices of classic realism such as temporal verisimilitude, narrative perspective, and the lifelike depiction of characters. By representing individuals who assume roles that they have created for themselves based on fictitious or sociocultural models, metafictional narratives investigate the notion of fictionality. As Waugh (2002) has argued “if, as individuals, we now occupy ‘roles’ rather than ‘selves’, then the study of characters in novels may provide a useful model for understanding the construction of subjectivity in the world outside novels” (p. 3). The present study discusses the way Flynn

has used elements of metafiction in the novel to highlight the link between formulaic plot patterns of popular fiction and performative nature of gender roles. Through the analysis of Amy's mode of narration, it will be further argued that the narrative self-consciousness in the novel, serves to lay bare the notion of identity in terms of role-playing constructed according to the relations of power.

Gone Girl with its complex narrative structure is a subversive text which exposes the way cultural assumptions and societal expectations regarding gender roles and identities can be used to construct reality. The division of the novel into three parts, "Boy Loses Girl", "Boy Meets Girl", and "Boy Gets Girl Back (or Vice Versa)", plays with the formulaic plot of Romantic Comedies. In the first part, Amy's narrative is written in the form of a diary in which she assumes the persona of an innocent girl falling for a charming man who changes after marriage. Amy's diary is juxtaposed with Nick's account of the day of Amy's disappearance. The second part, "Boy Meets Girl", discloses Amy's discovery of Nick's infidelity and her elaborate revenge plan. The last part, "Boy Gets Girl Back (or Vice Versa)", expresses doubts regarding the viability of the happy ending formula. Although Amy's narrative starts with a fairy-tale love story related through her diary entries that recount the story of how she met "the boy", the first part of the novel emphasizes a breach in the standard plot pattern. In this part, we are introduced to two different accounts of Nick - Amy's story; the two principle character-narrators, Nick and Amy Dunne, walk us through the major events leading to the disappearance of Amy in a linear-nonlinear fashion, constructing different narratives of an alleged crime. On their fifth marriage anniversary, Amy stages her own disappearance to frame her husband, Nick, who as it is revealed later, is cheating on her with a younger student. Amy's original plan is to kill herself after making sure Nick is properly punished. Later on she decides to return home by creating a new narrative. Her statement, "I am penniless and on the run. How fucking noir" (Flynn, 2012, p. 34) indicates her awareness of the tropes of the genre of the narratives she is creating. As a last resort, Amy turns to for help to Desi, a former suitor, after she is robbed by two drifters. Later, she frames Desi for kidnapping and rape after killing him. Eventually, she plays the role of a brave wife who had to kill her kidnapper to save her virtue.

In *Gone Girl*, narrative self-consciousness serves to foreground the socially constructed nature of gender roles on two levels. On a personal level, there is Nick-Amy's

romance-performance, from the beginning when they meet at a writers' party till the end when Amy blackmails her husband into staying married to her by secretly impregnating herself. The second level of self-conscious narration resides in Amy's role as the victim of domestic violence, a role propagated by the mass media and societal expectations. In narrating her side of the story, Amy makes use of two types of discourse with regard to gender roles: victim feminism or what Naomi Wolf (2013) has defined as the tendency to view women as "sexually pure and mystically nurturing and stresses the evil done to these 'good' women as a way to petition for their rights" (p. 3), and the post-feminist notion of choice and empowerment, epitomized by Amy's "cool girl" persona. It is important to note that Amy's use of both types of discourse in reference to her relationship with Nick is subversive as it points to the idea that gender relations are a matter of role-playing and performance rather than genuine companionship and mutual understanding.

Part of the novel's critique of prescribed gender roles resides in the discourse of women's victimization. Hoeveler (1995) uses the term "professional femininity", or what she calls the "hyperbolic staging of female suffering" (p. 4) to describe the way 18th and 19th century female Gothic novelists portray their heroines as passive recipients of socially prescribed gendered roles as wives and mothers. According to Hoeveler (1995), despite their apparent docility and outward passivity, the female characters of Gothic novels eventually manage to take control of the terms of their own captivity through "an ideology of female power through pretended and staged weakness" (p. 7). In the "Diary Amy" section, which she later describes as "a work of fiction" (Flynn, 2012, p. 219), Amy draws on this type of discourse, giving detailed account of the way her marriage to Nick changed her from an "Independent Young Feminist" (Flynn, 2012, p. 43) to a pregnant battered wife haunted by fear of an abusive husband. It is interesting to note that Amy's diary that covers seven years of her relationship with Nick, from the time they met at a writers' party to the day of her disappearance, was written after her discovery of Nick's infidelity. Amy took care to reconstruct key moments in her marriage accurately and rewrite Diary Amy's proper reaction to an abusive husband.

One hundred and fifty-two entries total, and I don't think I ever lose her voice. I wrote her very carefully, Diary Amy. She is designed to appeal to the cops, to appeal to the public should the portions be released. They have to read this diary

like it's some sort of Gothic tragedy. A wonderful, good hearted woman – *whole life ahead of her, everything going for her*, whatever else they say about women who die - chooses the wrong mate and *pays the ultimate price*. They have to like her. Me. (Flynn, 2012, pp. 236 -237)

This version of Amy proves to be appealing to the cops and the public opinion as Amy had anticipated. Her Diary entry in the first part of the novel ends with "*This man might kill me*. So if you find this and I'm dead, well...." (Flynn, 2012, p. 206). As expected, Amy's meticulously crafted narrative of her own victimhood is readily taken up by the police and released to the media championed by Ellen Abbott, "America's voice of female righteousness" (Flynn, 2012, p. 243).

Amy's use of pregnancy as an efficient tool to control her narrative works on a double edge; it suggests both vulnerability and strength. For one thing, the fake pregnancy statement in the diary is meant to evoke public sympathies with "the sweet missing pregnant lady" (Flynn, 2012, p. 258) and further incriminate her husband by implying that Amy became the target of Nick's anger due to the unwanted pregnancy. To validate her story, before her disappearance, she even makes friends with her neighbor, Noelle, a mother of triplets whom Amy scorns for her outright domesticity and her devotion to her maternal role. As in the Diary Amy, the whole idea of befriending Noelle is a calculated maneuver on Amy's part because after Amy's disappearance, Noelle steps forward as privy to Nick's abuse of his pregnant wife. In other words, Amy both creates and performs a narrative about domestic abuse. On the other hand, the real pregnancy by the end of the novel proves to be Amy's winning card. As Nick writes his own version of the story, revealing the facts behind Amy's disappearance, Amy uses the baby to blackmail Nick. While both characters go to great lengths to be the authors of their story: Nick confesses that it is Amy who wins: "I created a manuscript, and she created a life" (Flynn, 2012, p. 206). Amy proves to be the master storyteller because she knows the different implications of the role she is playing and her role is well scripted. In this sense, she is similar to the 18th and 19th century female Gothic novelists who according to Hoeveler (1995), have "constructed themselves as victims in their own literature" (p. 4). In both cases, it is possible to see the notion of gendered identity as performance. Similar

to the Gothic female novelists, Amy creates the character of Diary Amy according to the societal expectations regarding domestic disputes.

The idea of victim feminism that reflects cultural anxieties regarding gendered violence is largely indicated in the fascination with the dead female body so dominant in crime fiction. The violated female corpse signifies perfection in its passivity and submission to aggression. Amy uses the trope of the missing female body to create a socially appealing story about her own victimhood. She is well aware of the conventions of the story she is writing: a nice blood puddle poorly cleaned up, havoc in the living room, the missing wife and clues left behind to incriminate the husband. Her rage toward Nick is mainly caused by his betrayal which diminished her “Amazing Amy” persona to the type of unhappy woman she has always scorned; the mediocre pathetic wife who submits to her victimhood. Interestingly, Amy regains “perfection” in the public eye by feigning victimhood; she hides behind the missing (dead) girl trope of crime fiction because she knows that “everyone loves the Dead Girl” (Flynn, 2012, p. 233). She even leaves clues on Nick’s computer as to how to dispose of a body: the search history indicates the key words “body float Mississippi” (Flynn, 2012, p. 244). The erotic description of her own imaginary dead body, “my slim, naked, pale body, floating just beneath the current” (p. 244) mocks the cultural tendency to fetishize the dead female body. The idea of the perfect dead girl is further reiterated in Amy’s seven baby sisters who were born dead. While Amy’s life becomes the inspiration for Amazing Amy, a character created by her parents in a series of children’s book, the dead baby girls do not need to do anything to prove themselves as perfect. Named by the grieving parents as “Hope”, they are born perfect by the virtue of being dead. As Miller (2018) asserts, throughout the novel, Flynn sustains “a persistent and self-conscious referencing to the crime genre and the commercial environment that reduces women to an inert corpse” while subverting the cultural dynamics behind the genre (p. 97).

Deviation from the first account of Amy’s victimization occurs in the second part when Amy rejects the idea of having a stable personality. Her contention that she is able to change her personality according to the situation exposes the contingent nature of identity. This idea is also reflected in Nick’s assertion that mass media has turned individuals into “a collection of personality traits selected from an endless automat of

characters" (Flynn, 2012, p. 77). While the notion of role-playing according to societal expectations is highlighted in both Nick and Amy's narratives, Amy's performance is more calculated and critical, foregrounding the notion of gendered identity as performance. Nick has to be coached by his lawyer to say the right thing and act a certain way to acquit himself in the public opinion. Amy, on the other hand, is more self-conscious in exposing the dynamics of power in the discourse of identity and gender roles. She draws her power from what Luce Irigaray (1985) terms the "mimicry" of the societal definition of femininity. Irigaray's idea of mimesis, which means the deliberate acquiescence to the feminine role, is a subversive attempt on the woman's part to "recover the place of her exploitation by discourse without allowing herself to be simply reduced to it" (p. 76). In other words, mimicry allows the woman to use the masculine discourse to her benefit and in this way, "convert a form of subordination into an affirmation" (Irigaray, 1985, p. 76). In this sense, Amy is a "good mimic" in so far as she is able to create an identity which is in fact a "playful repetition" (Irigaray, 1985, p. 76) of all that is expected to happen to a woman in the domestic sphere. It should be noted that while Irigaray uses the idea of mimicry as the way to subvert the masculine discourse and regain a female voice, Flynn's application of performance in her novel represents a subtle commentary on the construction of gendered identity in the contemporary society induced by media culture. The character of Diary Amy in the first part of the novel is a good case in point which indicates her masterful ability to both construct and perform a narrative based on societal expectations. It is through reiteration of the socially prescribed roles and presumed reactions that she manages to outwit her husband.

As it was mentioned before, in Amy's narrative it is possible to identify two types of discourse with regard to feminism; namely the type of discourse that looks at women as victims of the patriarchy and the post-feminist discourse of choice and empowerment which argues that women can choose to be in control of their body. Banet-Weiser (2018) defines Post-feminism, as "a set of ideologies, strategies, and practices that marshal liberal feminist discourses such as freedom, choice, and independence, and incorporate them into a wide array of media, merchandising, and consumer participation" (p.153). Gill (2007) describes Post-Feminism in terms of "a sensibility" reflected in contemporary media products such as movies, television shows and advertisements (p. 148). It should be noted that both types of discourse, i.e. victimization and empowerment, indicate a

preoccupation with the societal preconceptions regarding the construction of feminine identity. One of the most important qualities of the post-feminist notion of female empowerment, according to Gill (2007), is “femininity as a bodily property” which allows a “shift from objectification” to active subjectivity through the dynamics of self-surveillance and meticulous self-monitoring (p. 149). In the contemporary media culture, this new perception of femininity has replaced the traditional notion of motherhood which has long been used to describe the ideal feminine identity. While in the past women were expected to find fulfillment in their maternal role, the new perspective into the question of the feminine identity promotes self-sexualization as a source of empowerment for women. Amy openly criticizes this type of discourse when she describes her body before disappearance in terms of “a beautiful perfect economy, every feature calibrated, everything in balance” which she was happy to cast off after she fakes her own death (Flynn, 2012, p. 249). The constant self-monitoring prioritizes the body both on a personal and social level in the sense that the possession of a carefully monitored body, fit and toned, becomes the main determinant of success. In the contemporary popular culture, women are duped into thinking that as successful agents, both in personal and social domain, strong women draw their strength from their feminine body.

Amy’s cool girl monologue in the second part of the novel, indicates a controversial issue in post-feminist discourse, the question of agency. As Schneider (1993) has stated, the contemporary discourse of choice and empowerment has led to the construction of a “false dichotomy” between victimization and agency as if the existence of one excludes the other (p. 387). The articulation of victimhood and agency as opposites fails to reflect the reality of women’s life for the very reason that it disregards the fact that both are “interrelated dimensions of women’s experience” (Schneider, 1993, p. 395). According to Madhok et al. (2013), in the contemporary media culture, the neo-liberal subjects are caught up in “a range of coercive practices” in which they are led to believe that as active agents they have an unparalleled degree of personal freedom, all the while forgetting that the choices offered to them are “coerced” by the consumer culture or what they call as “practices of consumption and accumulation” (p. 5). Therefore, to have a clearer idea about how subjects exercise their freedom to choose, it is important to understand the way agency works “under coercive conditions” (Madhok et al., 2013. p. 7). On the other

hand, while the traditional idea of ideal femininity induces docility, passivity and conformity to the dominant patriarchy as proper feminine traits, the end result of the post-feminism's emphasis on agency and individualism in contemporary media culture is nothing short of the internalization of the same traits masked in the discourse of empowerment. Amy's account of how she came to meet Nick and her later confession that in her early interactions with Nick she pretended to be the "cool girl" is a commentary on the unfeasibility of the whole question of agency the way it is practiced and propagated by the media culture. Amy describes "the cool girl" as the kind of persona modeled on "movies written by socially awkward men who'd like to believe that this kind of woman exists" (Flynn, 2012, p. 221). It is the media that coerces people into thinking that to be desirable they have to act and look a certain way. To be a cool girl is to be actively compliant to the male gaze, to be a "hot, brilliant, woman who adores football, poker, dirty jokes and burping", to be a reflection of the male desire and simply do and want what he wants. (Flynn, 2012, p. 221). And above all, to be a desirable woman means to be an understanding person and never complain when your man lets you down, because "Cool Girls never get angry" (Flynn, 2012, p. 221). In this type of discourse, women are patronized into being strong and when a woman refuses to conform to that ideal set up by men, she is no longer considered a "strong" woman. In other words, the discourse of agency concentrates on female empowerment disregarding the fact **that** it might be practiced under "exploitative power relations" (Madhok et al., 2013. p. 12). Amy further criticizes women's collusion in popularizing the idea of the "Cool Girl" by conformity to the prescribed role to the extent that a certain way of acting and dressing becomes the normative behavior for the "Standard Girl", while men are under no obligation to be "a Cool Guy", which means to be the man every girl wants:

I waited patiently- *years*- for the pendulum to swing the other way, for men to start reading Jane Austen, learn how to knit, pretend to love cosmos, organize scrapbook parties, and make out with each other while we leer. And then we'd say, Yeah, he's a *Cool Guy*. (Flynn, 2012, p. 222)

What Amy is complaining about is the double standard on which the idea of female empowerment is constituted; how is it that there are so many determinants for the denomination, "the Cool Girl", but when it comes to men, no one talks about a "Cool Guy".

As can be seen, in *Gone Girl*, Flynn has used the metafictional technique of self-conscious narration to critique the representation of gender roles in crime fiction and their propagation in popular culture. In a society where individuals are understood and labeled in terms of stereotyped models of behavior, Amy survives because she creates a narrative that fits the framework. She has a deft awareness of prescribed societal norms and expectations while being a nonconformist by disposition. Flynn's subtle treatment of Amy's character calls into question the way dynamics of power function in the construction of gendered identity. Her representation of gender relations and roles induces a thought-provoking exploration of identity indicating that identity both in the domestic and social context is a matter of power relations.

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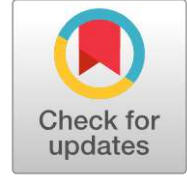
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RETHINKING GENETIC BORDERS IN *THE HUNGER GAMES*

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Abstract

Emphasizing the fading distinction between reality and artificiality due to the innovations in the fields of science and biotechnology, this paper argues that the fantasy world depicted by science fiction is no longer far from today's reality. Although technological advancements have enabled us to live more comfortably, when they are misused by those seeking to use them as a sign of power or superiority, they can have disastrous effects on both people and the environment. This study explores how an oppressive regime called Capitol in *The Hunger Games* employs science and technology to transform animals and humans into commodities within the arena, reducing them to instruments of entertainment. The Games' intentional replacement of natural beings with biotechnological mutations serves as a deliberate display of power, employing genetically engineered species as weapons and reviving the dead as monsters. This not only captivates the audience but also strengthens the regime's superiority, exemplifying how technology is weaponized to manipulate both fear and entertainment.

Keywords: Biotechnology, The Hunger Games, commodification, mutation, science fiction

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The border between real and artificial has already been blurred, facilitated by the revolutionaries in scientific and biotechnological realms in recent decades. In *The Postmodern Adventure*, American scholars Steven Best and Douglas Kellner, who work on contemporary critical theory and cultural studies, discuss the rise of technology, globalization, environmental crises, biotechnology and new media cultures in postmodern society. They contend that “boundaries are collapsing everywhere, in both the natural and the social worlds, collapsing differences among species (bacteria, plant, insect, animal, and human) and between biology and technology, transgressing the limits of what previously was declared improbable or impossible” (2001, p. 176). Owing to the biotechnological developments, what has been written in science fiction is becoming our reality. In the first book of *The Hunger Games* series, Suzanne Collins attracts readers’ attention to the link between powerful rulers subjugating weak humans and the way nature is cultivated, controlled, simulated, and destroyed to show their dominance by means of advanced technology. Hunger Games is a reality TV show in which twelve male and twelve female teenagers selected from poor twelve districts fight in the arena until one of them survives. In the book, Gamemakers construct and organize a virtual field where they control the weather and engineer new animals just to make the Games more exciting and entertaining for the audience. To heighten the show, the Games are meticulously designed to allure the audience with entertainment, expose tributes to psychological and physical torment, and eventually maximize profitability through a carefully orchestrated fusion of show, cruelty, and commercialization. Given the commodification of district inhabitants, their simulation of reality, and their use of animals as test subjects without regard for their intrinsic value, it is evident that both human and non-human communities suffer profoundly from misery and despair under the Capitol’s rule. This study delves into the mutation of animals and humans into simulacra within the arena, serving as tools of entertainment. It critiques the malevolent application of technology and science under an oppressive regime that commodifies everything. In the contemporary capitalist world, disturbingly similar to that of *The Hunger Games* in terms of the commodification of nature, natural organisms are valued solely based on their market worth.

Modification of body through genetic engineering has always been an interesting topic to explore and examine through young adult fiction. Elain Ostry argues that

literature helps young adults to get involved in and contribute to discussions on biotechnology: "What are the pros and cons of such advances as cloning? Of what value is the human versus the new, 'improved' human? Literature confronts both the hopes and fears that biotechnology inspires" (2004, p. 223). Suggesting that human body is shaped by technology, it makes adolescents interrogate what makes someone human. By exploring the stories of genetically engineered characters undergoing identity crises, young adult fiction asks what it truly means to be human. The blurry line between humans and machines generated by biotechnological advancements challenges the concept of what is natural. Elaine Graham asserts "new technologies have done more than simply introduce new patterns of work, leisure and social interaction; they have called into question the immutability of boundaries between humans, animals and machines, artificial and natural, 'born' and 'made'" (2002, pp. 1-2). She contends that by questioning the fixity of "human nature" in this way, the digital and biotechnological era brings about a renewed examination of the fundamental presumptions that underlie issues like individual identity, community structure, human uniqueness, and the connection between the body and the mind. Biotechnology that was once considered futuristic and confined to the realm of science fiction, is now an integral part of our contemporary life. It is no longer a mystery that could only happen in a non-existent society but the new and a threatening truth that could happen anytime soon. That is why novels like *The Hunger Games* are no longer depicted as impossible stories that could never happen; unfortunately, considering modern events, they do not seem far removed from today's reality.

In *Posthuman Capital and Biotechnology in Contemporary Novels*, Justin Omar Johnston asserts that economy, politics and ideology play crucial roles in shaping biotechnology and cloning, and he mentions that when Dolly was cloned, Bill Clinton wanted "to propose a legislative ban on all forms of human cloning" owing to the ethical concerns about human life (2021, p. 15). Cloning has always been controversial as it may pose a threat to human individuality, causing religious and ethical disputes. For that reason, it has captivated the interest of novelists, as exemplified in popular dystopian fiction *Brave New World* by Aldous Huxley, where cloning is a fundamental part of society, shaping and fortifying social order. Huxley examines dehumanization and social control through cloning in this dystopian world where people have become products lacking

individual thoughts and goals. Similarly, Suzanne Collins incorporates cloning into the narrative of *The Hunger Games*, which vividly exemplifies a futuristic theme park consisting of cloned animals and genetically engineered species, offering as an alternative to contemporary wild parks. Natural beings are replaced by hyperreal and biotechnological mutations. The Games even present the technological recreation of deceased individuals as monsters for entertainment using advanced technology. The physical recreation of these individuals lacks basic human traits in that they are solely programmed to attack by the Gamemakers. They produce half human and half animal hybrid species to make the show more interesting.

To follow all tributes in the arena, they insert a metal tracker device in their forearms. They are controlled and directed by the the Gamemakers who act like their owners and watch them whatever they do in the arena: "Somewhere, in a cool and spotless room, a Gamemaker sits at a set of controls, fingers on the triggers that could end my life in a second. All that is needed is a direct hit" (Collins, 2008, p. 175). The allure of simulacra in the Games, which are shaped and controlled by the Gamemakers, appears to have mesmerized the audience to such an extent that they are too distracted from reality to recognize the true suffering endured by these miserable tributes. As a reality television show everything is expected to be exaggerated and ostentatious. Tom Henthorne asserts that what Collins argues is reality shows have a profound "ideological effect" and people believe they are entitled to the benefits they have: "Like the Hunger Games, these programs accomplish this by dehumanizing people: they stage conflicts, elicit negative behaviors, and then construct narratives around those behaviors that present them as authentic, ultimately suggesting that people get what they deserve" (2012, p. 106).

In the contemporary capitalist world, which unfortunately does not look much different from the one in *The Hunger Games* in terms of commodification of nature, natural organisms are equally treasured in accordance with the value they have on the market. Scientific developments in biogenetics consequently put an end to nature with a shift in its perception: "Once we know the rules of its construction, natural organisms are transformed into objects amenable to manipulation" (Žižek, 2008, p. 435). Gamemakers unethically manipulate the genes of the animals by turning them into mutations, or shortly mutts, during the war, like jabberjays and tracker jackers, the mutations of wasps

genetically engineered in a lab by the Capitol during the dark days in order to kill people. With “the ability to memorize and repeat whole human conversations” (Collins, 2008, pp. 42-43), jabberjays are sent by the Capitol to the areas where rebels are hiding from the Capitol to spy on them. These animals serve as voice recorders to record the conversations of the enemies, to learn about their plans and bring this information to the authorities in the Capitol. After a while, the rebels in the districts have realized the way the Capitol knows their private talks and have started to make fun of them.

Then, of course, the rebels fed the Capitol endless lies, and the joke was on it. So the centres were shut down and the birds were abandoned to die off in the wild.

Only they didn’t die off. Instead, the jabberjays mated with female mockingbirds creating a whole new species that could replicate both bird whistles and human melodies. They had lost the ability to enunciate words but could still mimic a range of human vocal sounds, from a child’s high-pitched warble to a man’s deep tones. And they could re-create songs. (Collins, 2008, p. 43)

They could no longer imitate the words of people, but their sounds like whistles or melodies of the songs. If they like the songs they hear, they could sing all of them like the ones Katniss’s father has sung while hunting with her in the woods. His father liked these animals which showed respect to his songs possibly because of his beautiful voice. They are also used by District 11 as a way of communication, to let everyone know when it is the time to stop working. Rue explains her friendship with the mockingjays that carry her messages to other people. As soon as Rue sees the flag signaling the time to knock off, she “sings a little four-note run in a sweet, clear voice”, which is imitated by the mockingjays that inform other working people in the orchard (Collins, 2008, p. 212).

The American philosopher and literary critic Fredric Jameson believes that capitalism uses every opportunity to commodify anything for its market value. He states that “today the complexities of biology and the genetic, indeed bio-power itself, offer a content and a raw material far more recalcitrant to plot formation than even Einsteinian cosmology and the undecideability of atomic sub-particles” (2005, p. 67). Focusing on biopolitical themes, contemporary science fiction tends to explore the nature of the individual, how society governs the body, and the ethical dimensions of genetic engineering. *The Hunger Games*, seamlessly integrating biology, genetics and biopolitics

into its narrative, reveals how a totalitarian regime manipulates genetic engineering and commodifies human life.

Another species that are mutations are tracker jackers, which, unlike mockingjays, do not seem very friendly. These killer machines used as land mines in the districts are bigger than normal wasps and "have a distinctive solid gold body and a sting that raises a lump the size of a plum on contact. Most people can't tolerate more than a few stings. Some die at once." (Collins, 2008, p. 185). Even though you manage to live, the hallucinations it causes can drive anyone crazy. They deserve the name "tracker jackers" as they follow those who disturb them and attack them to kill. When Katniss notices a wasp nest in the tree while she is running away from Career pack in the arena, she thinks they might be ordinary, but then she changes her mind since "these are the Hunger Games, and ordinary isn't the norm" (p. 185). Ordinary is not enough to make exciting Games to captivate the audience.

The French philosopher and sociologist Jean Baudrillard, who is known for his works on simulation, consumerism and postmodernism, also believes that capitalism has commodified everything in postmodern world. He asserts that animals were once valued as holy creatures, revered and pure enough to be sacrificed for the Creator. Their lives served as a reference for humans to organize their own for centuries. However, he harshly criticizes the contemporary treatment of animals, arguing that they are now given no significance beyond their market value. We no longer punish the animals in the same way we did during the Middle Ages when they were found guilty, which "was a way of honoring them", yet we have achieved the worst by domesticating them: "we have made of them a racially inferior world, no longer even worthy of our justice, but only of our affection and social charity, no longer worthy of punishment and of death, but only of experimentation and extermination like meat from the butchery" (1994, p. 130). With the emergence of humanism, putting humans on the top, animals have been looked down on as they belong to an inferior world that gives us the right to make any experiments on them rather than accept their world in their own way. The Norwegian environmental philosopher Arne Naess, who has coined the term "deep ecology" also expresses his discomfort with animals being used as test subjects on experiments related to a possible nuclear war: "One factor often overlooked is the mishandling, even torture, of millions of

animals in experiments involving nuclear radiation. These animals live and die in a nuclear war today” (2003, p. 160). Because of the power relations between the countries, the planet is under the threat of a nuclear war, which would contaminate everything on earth and create an ecological calamity. In *The Hunger Games*, the Capitol carries out such experiments further in its labs by changing the genetics of wasps and mockingbirds in order to use them against its enemies to show its advanced technological power.

They do not adopt the land ethic suggested by Aldo Leopold, which “enlarges the boundaries of the community to include soils, waters, plants, and animals, or collectively: the land” (1989, p. 204). Though some animal species have been extinct and many plant communities have been exploited, it is necessary to alter our perception of animals, plants and soils in order to assure “their continued existence in a natural state”: “... a land ethic changes the role of Homo sapiens from conqueror of the land-community to plain member and citizen of it. It implies respect for his fellow-members, and also respect for the community as such” (p. 204). The Capitol, thinking everything and everyone around them owes their existence to them, cannot change its role as the “conqueror of the land-community” and thus shows no respect either for human communities or plant and animal communities. With the role of being the conqueror, there is nothing wrong with altering the genetics of the animals as long as they perform services in accordance with their wishes.

The Slovenian philosopher and cultural theorist Slavoj Žižek criticizes that technology has been used by capitalist systems to control people despite its promise of increasing human freedom. He claims that the mission of contemporary science and technology is no longer to understand and reproduce “natural processes”, rather, to produce “new forms of life”; “the goal is no longer just to dominate nature (the way it is), but to generate something new, greater, stronger than ordinary nature, including ourselves...” (2008, p. 436). In addition to genetically modifying animals, the Capitol callously alters the dead bodies of the tributes, treating them as mere waste products rather than once-living human beings. In the final part of *The Hunger Games* show, the last three tributes are pursued by creatures resembling large wolves that can balance on their hind legs. These terrifying mutations chase the tributes to the Cornucopia, where the survivors must climb to escape them. Katniss senses something which makes them

profoundly different from other mutts she has seen, with their colours varying from black to blond and their straight, sleek or curly shaped coat or fur and their legs that give them "human quality" (p. 332). Eventually Katniss realizes these mutations are the dead tributes:

The small one with the red coat and amber eyes . . . Foxface! And there, the ashen hair and hazel eyes of the boy from District 9 who died as we struggled for the backpack! And worst of all, the smallest mutt, with dark glossy fur, huge brown eyes and a collar that reads 11 in woven straw. Teeth bared in hatred. Rue . . . (Collins, 2008, p. 334)

While Peeta wonders whether the eyes of these mutts truly belong to the dead tributes, Katniss is troubled by the possibility that their brains might retain the disturbing memories of the real tributes, particularly those related to her and Peeta. The Gamemakers have clearly succeeded in their goal to unsettle the remaining tributes by transforming their acquaintances from the Games into these horrific mutations. Katniss is psychologically disturbed by these dehumanized and animalized beings, which blur the distinction between humans and animals. The first mutation she recognizes is Glimmer, who has died because she has been stung by a lot of tracker-jackers after Katniss's cutting their nest from a tree. The beautiful girl defined by Katniss as sexy with her emerald green eyes, blonde hair and tall body during her interview with Caesar goes through a "grotesque bodily transformation under the masculinist gaze of the viewing public" (Curry, 2013, pp. 69-70). While displaying her seductive appearance in public interviews to draw the attention of sponsors, she has turned into a grotesque and unappealing figure "reconstituted in a new posthuman form" exposed to "the violent mechanisms of Capitol control. Contained, ruptured, and contained once more, Glimmer's body becomes a graphic manifestation of the interplay of competing feminine discourses" (p. 70). With her body still a site for the Capitol control, Glimmer is one of the other creatures genetically engineered by Gamemakers to make sure that the death of the last two tributes will be more challenging and exciting.

With the animals which seem to be mutations produced in the labs, people who rather than thinking independently, behave like animals under the control of the signs of

advertisements and TV, and artificial nature which has lost its spontaneity, the Capitol is in fact a desert despite all the bright artificial colours it owns.

We will live in this world, which for us has all the disquieting strangeness of the desert and of the simulacrum, with all the veracity of living phantoms, of wandering and simulating animals that capital, that *the death of capital* has made of us—because the desert of cities is equal to the desert of sand—the jungle of signs is equal to that of the forests—the vertigo of simulacra is equal to that of nature—only the vertiginous seduction of a dying system remains, in which work buries work, in which value buries value—leaving a virgin, sacred space without pathways, continuous as Bataille wished it, where only the wind lifts the sand, where only the wind watches over the sand. (Baudrillard, 1994, p. 153)

The cities have lost the natural and turned into a desert by “the vertiginous seduction of a dying system” which assigns market value not only to material goods but also to workers, animals, and natural resources. People visit camps to immerse themselves in nature, escape the chaos of city life, and unwind in a natural setting. However, some campsites in major cities have been commercialized, turning forests into theme parks for material gain.

Katniss realizes this “desert of sand” because she knows that the city they have been brought into consists of artificiality of everything such as bioengineered animals and even humans too fascinated by the fun of the show to see the cruelty of the Games that give the teenagers unimaginable pain. She nevertheless thinks she has to participate in their Games in order to get back to her family. It is in the second book *Catching Fire* when Katniss decides to save Peeta at her own expense in the Quarter Quell, she “is no longer someone the Capitol can manipulate and victimize... Ultimately, Katniss becomes a fully autonomous individual when she stops merely responding to her circumstances and begins making choices of her own accord” (Green-Barteet, 2014, p. 42). However, Peeta appears to be more conscious of his actions, which partly distances him from the Capitol’s Games. His primary goal is to keep Katniss alive, directly opposing the Capitol’s intentions. When Peeta gazes out the window at the Capitol residents partying, he reaffirms his desire not to be a part of their Games; in other words, he wants to show the Capitol that they do not own him and that he is an autonomous individual. He

demonstrates this autonomy by prioritizing Katniss's survival in the arena, as evidenced by his efforts to convince Haymitch of Katniss's skills while downplaying his own chances of winning. Unlike the Capitol's expectations, he does not compete with Katniss but instead tries to win Haymitch's sympathy and assistance during the Games. Peeta explicitly tells Haymitch to choose whom to help, stating at the lunch table that he cannot win the Games. However, it takes some time for Katniss to be autonomous, disregarding the conditions surrounding her and being determined to do whatever it takes to save Peeta alive in Quarter Quell.

In fact, it can be claimed that Capitol, which plays with the genes of the animals disregarding their rights, does not care for the rights of the people in Panem, but desires unwavering compliance with the rules. Peeta also seems to be aware of the oppression of the Capitol on the Capitol citizens, whereas Katniss, when considering the affluent lifestyle they have, thinks they have no worries. She gets surprised after hearing Haymitch, calling the Avoxes traitors: "Against what? It could only be the Capitol. But they had everything here. No cause to rebel" (Collins, 2008, p. 83). Like Katniss, most of the Capitol residents do not realize that they are also oppressed by the government. Even the citizens in the Capitol are being suppressed, but they do not realize it. In fact, the introduction of the arenas as sites of brutality in the Games is to assure "the Capitol citizens that they are safe, to conceal the fact that violence and repression are everywhere" (Day, 2012, p. 176). When Katniss mentions Peeta that she and Gale, while hunting in the woods, saw a girl and a boy from the Capitol were caught by a flying vehicle while running in the wilderness, she says she cannot understand why someone would leave the Capitol, where there is no hunger, no poverty. Since he is also aware of the suppression of the Capitol citizens despite the bright life they have, Peeta says he would also leave the Capitol but then he changes the subject in case someone might hear them.

Scientific knowledge is a powerful mechanism that can be used for a new way of dominating natural world, leading people to adopt an arrogant and masterful approach to it: "Its vision of mastery and salvation remains the underlying project of research into space colonisation and into genetic engineering, cloning and other life-extending technologies that" may give "radiogenic harm to both human social groups and the earth's environment" (Plumwood, 2002, pp. 49-50). Capitol employs scientific and technological

power to dominate “human social groups” and the environment, manipulating innovation as a tool to strengthen its superiority and control. It treats animals and poor districts as slaves to work for and to entertain rich people. This fragmented way of governing does not lead to a peaceful country. The Capitol’s division of Panem’s people into classes—poor districts and wealthy Capitol citizens—results in widespread oppression. Bohm argues that our fragmented way of thinking only leads to chaos, suggesting that “[t]rue unity in the individual and between man and nature, as well as between man and man, can arise only in a form of action that does not attempt to fragment the whole of reality” (Bohm, 1980, p. 20). For a tranquil world, it is crucial to recognize that every living being on Earth has a significant mission in their own right, without establishing hierarchical relationships. In fact, animals and plants that can survive in the wild do not need us to continue their lives, whereas our lives depend on them, which makes it crucial for us to guarantee that the world will not run out of any species. This is the only way in order not to break the wholeness of the world, which is substantially necessary to sustain our lives. Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel turns to nature by giving the metaphor of a plant in order to exemplify the importance of the diversity of philosophical systems rather than considering them to be disagreements negating one another:

The bud disappears in the bursting-forth of the blossom, and one might say that the former is refuted by the latter; similarly, when the fruit appears, the blossom is shown up in its turn as a false manifestation of the plant, and the fruit now emerges as the truth of it instead. These forms are not just distinguished from one another, they also supplant one another as mutually incompatible. Yet at the same time their fluid nature makes them moments of an organic unity in which they not only do not conflict, but in which each is as necessary as the other; and this mutual necessity alone constitutes the life of the whole. (1998, p. 2)

All philosophical concepts are interconnected, forming a cohesive whole. In nature, everything is interdependent, growing and contributing to the universe’s completeness without any element being more important or valuable than another. With an “organic unity ... in which each is as necessary as the other,” nature offers numerous lessons for human relations and a remedy for the world’s decaying institutions. However, humans, failing to learn from nature, seek to dominate one another, leading to a society reminiscent of *The Hunger Games*, marked by undeniable class-based discrimination

against those born in the districts. In the book, the new species are genetically engineered and weaponized against districts. Even deceased tributes are used to psychologically torture Katniss and Peta to make the Games more exciting to display the power of the Capitol.

When we fail to see the world as a whole, we lose touch with one another and attempt to prove our superiority over those who are weaker than us rather than accepting the diversity of people, animals, and the natural world. This study displays the catastrophic results of the Capitol's negative affiliation with science, disregarding the rights of humans and animals.

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DOCTORAL SECTION

HENRY JAMES AND *THE ASPERN PAPERS*: ARCHIVE, MEMORY, AND THE FAILURE OF BIOGRAPHY

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Abstract

This paper examines *The Aspern Papers* by Henry James through the lens of archive theory, biographical ethics, and the complexities of memory preservation. It explores how the protagonist's obsessive pursuit of Aspern's documents represents the human desire to reconstruct the Romantic past in Gothic atmosphere of Venice, often at the expense of ethical considerations and lived experience. The analysis highlights the symbolic significance of Juliana Bordereau, not merely as a guardian of Aspern's legacy but as a living archive whose testimony remains undervalued. The paper connects James's themes to his personal decision to destroy his own letters, reflecting his scepticism toward biographical intrusions. Comparisons with *The Sense of the Past* and other Jamesian works illustrate recurring motifs of archival failure and the tension between material and immaterial memory, as well as the role of destruction – both literal, through the burning of documents, and metaphorical, through the erasure of identities – in shaping historical narrative. Finally, the discussion extends to the ethical responsibilities of archivists and biographers, questioning whether written records alone can ever truly encapsulate the essence of a life.

Keywords: Henry James, *The Aspern Papers*, biography, archive, archaeology, Gothic Space

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The Aspern Papers are repeatedly included amongst the most renowned works of Henry James – a work that, like many other by the same author, straddles the boundary between the novella and the novel. It was first published in *The Atlantic Monthly* in 1888 and later appeared in the revised “New York” edition alongside James’s other works. At first glance, the plot does not significantly diverge from other Jamesian texts that explore American-European relations: an unnamed narrator, an American, arrives in Venice with the aim of obtaining personal documents, specifically the papers and letters of the great poet Jeffrey Aspern, intending to publish the author’s secret for the public and to pave the way for new readings of his works. Given that previous attempts by others to “steal” these documents have ended in failure, the narrator assumes a false identity, presenting himself as a potential tenant of the *palazzo* owned by Juliana Bordereau, the aged former lover of the elusive and deceased poet. The narrator also prepares to court her niece, Miss Tita (later renamed to Miss Tina), an unremarkable and somewhat naïve spinster. The unattainability of the documents is signalled early on, before the plot even unfolds, in Tina’s letter to the narrator – then addressed to him under his real name – and to his business associate, in which she denies the existence of any supplementary texts. Nevertheless, the narrator remains convinced that this denial is false, prompting him to embark on his “siege” of Venice.

The narrative continuously follows a kind of battle within the interior of the Venetian *palazzo*, thereby reaffirming James’s obsession with dense and confined spaces, an obsession that reaches its peak in works such as *The Portrait of a Lady*, *The Turn of the Screw*, and *The Jolly Corner*. However, *The Aspern Papers* is distinctive not only due to its textual spatial configuration but also because of Henry James’s engagement with so-called biographical material and numerous archives containing, above all, personal texts of authors. On a metatextual level, it has long been established – ironically, through readings and interpretations of James’s personal documents – that the author sought to shield his life from public scrutiny, destroying his own texts, letters, and diaries (Meyers, 2021, p. 52). In this sense, it is unsurprising that the work concludes with the narrator’s failure to seize Aspern’s writings. What is surprising, however, is James’s inspiration for writing *The Aspern Papers*. In his notebook, the author refers to a well-known “rumour” that Claire Clairmont, Byron’s lover, had kept letters between Byron and Shelley in which her illegitimate child with the poet was mentioned. Essentially, this is a story of Byron’s

discreditation – a theme of defamation that James transforms into a fictional narrative (Brown, 1991, pp. 265-266), once again underscoring his stance on “biographies”. Since the work directly engages with the issue of uncovering personal documents from the past lives of the famous, this study will focus precisely on the process of revealing the past and the archaeological “excavation” that the protagonist conducts into the life of Jeffrey Aspern.

Space and Archival Desire: Venice as Gothic Scenography in *The Aspern Papers*

Before determining the true significance of Aspern’s documents and the archive in which they are kept, it is necessary to examine the space James chooses as the setting of his intrigue. In his preface, the author states that he envisioned his character Juliana Bordereau as a person belonging to Byron’s era – that is, to Italian post-Byronism – because (1) her fate of patiently awaiting death perfectly corresponds to almost every Venetian monument that bears witness to the fallen glory of antiquity and the Renaissance (James, 1922, pp. xii-xiii), and (2) it aligns with the previously mentioned letters between Byron and Shelley, as well as with the connotations of Venice presented in the fourth canto of *Childe Harold’s Pilgrimage*, in which Byron laments the vanished heroic and artistic past, and in *Ode on Venice*, where the city is depicted as decayed and fallen (Mamoli Zorzi, 2011, p. 104).

The residence of Juliana Bordereau and Miss Tina, the *Palazzo Capello*, thus becomes a representation of the “typical” Venetian palace in literature – its atmosphere reflects a sense of quiet decay and unrealized potential; it carries the patina of time, yet still stands in its architectural grandeur, expressed through imposing balconies, pilasters, and arches. Its exterior, precisely because it is set within the Venetian urban landscape, can be interpreted as an image of a city whose past glories and struggles remain ever-present, yet whose life has faded – it exists firmly in relation to the past.

The gondola stopped, the old palace was there; it was a house of the class which in Venice carries even in extreme dilapidation the dignified name. “How charming! It’s grey and pink!” my companion exclaimed; and that is the most comprehensive description of it. It was not particularly old, only two or three centuries; and it had an air not so much of decay as of discouragement, as if it had rather missed its career. But its wide front, with a stone balcony from end to end of the *piano nobile* or most important floor, was architectural enough, with the aid of various pilasters

and arches; and the stucco with which in the intervals it had long ago been endued was rosy in the April afternoon (James, 1922, pp. 8-9).

Thus, from the very beginning, Venice appears through the lens of decay. Although the narrator does not directly focus his attention on the city, he cannot escape its presence, as Venice – a city on the brink of disappearance, submerged in water and insufficient light – shapes the entire plot through his monologue, that is, through the speech of someone well-versed in literature (Stoppani, 2009, p. 112). The motif of the deterioration of both exterior and interior spaces is further emphasized, as literature itself connotes Venice with “corrupt love,” a theme linked to Byron’s *Don Juan* and its eponymous libertine (Bysshe Stein, 1959, pp. 175-176), which serves as an emotional reflection of the narrator and his “failed love” with Tina.

Moreover, Henry James himself visited the actual (*sic!*) palace in 1887 before writing the work, and in a photograph taken by Coburn, he labelled it as *Juliana’s court*, thereby altering his own past through the text by introducing fiction into it (Brown, 1991, p. 271). This act of authorial obsession (in the Latin sense of *infatuare* – “to make a fool of”) is connected to both his and the narrator’s perception of space, which is always filtered through previously read literature; London is always perceived through the lens of Dickens; Tours, Touraine, and Paris through Balzac; while Venice is dedicated to Byron, Schiller, Shelley, Browning, and Ruskin (Mamoli Zorzi, 2011, p. 107). The narrator’s perception of space is, therefore, neither simple nor immediate but the result of a deeper intellectual processing of experiences. Fundamental spatial relationships such as “side by side,” “next to each other,” or “separate” do not arise from the direct perception of material in space (Cassirer, 2021, p. 38).

On the other hand, the narrator’s direct penetration into the interior of the *Palazzo Capello* is driven by the possibility of transforming the space into a mediator between himself and the deceased Aspern; seeking to draw closer to the poet, the narrator attempts to reach him through the people and objects that existed in the former’s present. This “archivist’s” invocation of the past is a frequent theme in James’s work, reaching its culmination in his unfinished novel *The Sense of the Past*, where the protagonist literally “travels through time.” However, in *The Aspern Papers*, James remains within an already firmly established Gothic atmosphere, though not as explicitly as in *The Portrait of a Lady* or his ghost stories.

The *Palazzo Capello* is, in a sense, abandoned, as there are no other inhabitants in its numerous chambers besides Juliana and Tina until the narrator's arrival; the distant corridors are covered in dust, as there is no reason to maintain spaces that no one uses. This neglect is never perceived negatively, as it aligns with the aforementioned Romantic connotations of Venice – a palace older than a century must bear the traces of abandonment, seen through the gaslight glow of the past. What unsettles the narrator is the impenetrability artificially created by Juliana at Tina's expense, weaving their habitus – marked by low economic and social capital – into a monastic life of seclusion and vows of silence. Nevertheless, the narrator breaks through this barrier, paying the exorbitant sum of one thousand francs at Juliana's demand. A sum that could have secured him accommodation in "better" Venetian palaces (James, 1922, p. 26), thus initiating his true search for the document. However, his anxiety over residing in a dilapidated Venetian palace ultimately leads him to overestimate his own social position while underestimating his opponent's ability to suspect him (Brylowski, 1969, p. 224).

By occupying the rooms, the narrator becomes part of Juliana's habitus, which, at first, amplifies his obsession with Aspern's papers through his dialogues with Tina. Juliana's niece is aware of the existence of such documents but does not know their exact location. Guessing – while fearing the consequences of Juliana's wrath – she directs the narrator toward what she believes to be the correct coordinates. Evoking Gothic spatiality, James thus constructs the most "elusive" space in the palace as the physical destination of the narrator's quest – Juliana's chambers. Although the narrator cannot be certain that the letters are there, he obsessively fixates on a particular piece of furniture: a neoclassical wardrobe, specifically in the Empire style. This spatial uncertainty especially provokes the narrator into a masochistic game of yearning (Bauer, 2016, p. 171).

Masochism is emphasized here because the protagonist consciously enters a diplomatic game with the personification of death itself – Juliana – who is presented as undead, a soul that should have already perished but instead haunts the abandoned palace, standing as a guardian over the Romantic papers (that is, as a grim reaper over remnants in a non-binary state of existence, given that they are physically manifested as text, yet remain "inactive" since no one "activates" them through reading). Here, the "siege of the castle," imagined as high walls surrounding the "spoils" and the

untouchability of the treasure's guardian, is at its most pronounced (Forde, 1970, p. 19). This is evident in Juliana's gaze – or rather, the absence of it in interactions – since her eyes, supposedly due to illness, are covered by green glasses, a veil, a shadow, or some other obscuring element (the English word *shade* prevents precise identification of the covering in the absence of a concrete description, which is the case here although the text hints at some kind of "curtain"), thus blocking a *tête-à-tête* interlocution. James frequently problematizes the act of "seeing" (e.g., the opera glasses in *The Princess Casamassima*, spectacles in *The Ambassadors*), but here, Gothic ominousness is most strongly emphasized through the "blind eyes of death," which both blind and astonish, the "gaslight," and the "hooded snakes" (Waldmeir, 1982, p. 263).

It was as if [Miss Tina] never peeped out of her aunt's apartment. I used to wonder what she did there week after week and year after year. I had never met so stiff a policy of seclusion; it was more than keeping quiet – it was like hunted creatures feigning death. The two ladies appeared to have no visitors whatever and no sort of contact with the world (James, 1922, p. 37).

Then came a check from the perception that we weren't really face to face, inasmuch as she had over her eyes a horrible green shade which served for her almost as a mask. I believed for the instant that she had put it on expressly, so that from underneath it she might take me all in without my getting at herself. At the same time it created a presumption of some ghastly death's head lurking behind it. The divine Juliana as a grinning skull – the vision hung there until it passed. Then it came to me that she *was* tremendously old – so old that death might take her at any moment, before I should have time to compass my end (James, 1922, pp. 21-22).

From all of the above, it is evident that barriers, boundaries, and walls permeate all relationships and contribute to the creation of the Gothic atmosphere of the space. At the same time, these boundaries are the only tangible aspect of Aspern's papers themselves – they protect from too firm a grasp, yet allow them to be "adored" and desired (Rosenberg, 2006, p. 262). However, not all barriers are impermeable. The only semi-interior space (in the manner of James's Parisian private courtyards of aristocrats and the *bourgeoisie* in *The Ambassadors*) in the novel is the palace garden. Its position – between nature and culture, indoors and outdoors – mirrors the contradiction of Venice

itself, caught between sea and land. The garden, in this sense, serves as a heterotopia that allows characters to break free from their usual behaviours. Tina, who is quiet and secretive in the darkened palace, expresses her emotions and yearning for the outside world more openly, while the narrator gains better control over his thoughts and actions (Bauer, 2016, p. 173). This moment is crucial, as it enables an emotional connection between the narrator and Tina. Furthermore, through Tina's textually invisible and inaudible conversations with Juliana, it allows for a gradual penetration toward the long-coveted documents. While in *The Ambassadors* semi-spaces are socially impenetrable and reinforce the secrecy of the characters, in *The Aspern Papers* they paradoxically enable the opening of a closed archive.

The Archive as a Sealed Tomb of Biographism and Memory

From the previous chapter, one might conclude that the archive is locked due to the internal Gothic atmosphere created by Juliana and the palace itself. However, equally contributing to this closure is the narrator himself and the meta-relationship between fiction and "reality" within the context in which the work was written. First, upon arriving at the palace, the narrator presents a business card with a false name – his *nom de guerre* – to Juliana Bordereau, thereby initiating a battle of wits and deception (Rosenberg, 2006, p. 260). This means his actions are also shrouded in secrecy, though not under the shadow of impending death, as in Juliana's case, but rather in the obsessive power of literary and scholarly Romantic yearning. For James, this desire aims to place dead poets on the dissection table – to capture them, suspend them in a critical cross-section (Hoeveler, 2008, p. 27), and then revive them as artistic artifacts – *objets d'art*. Through this lens, the narrator's goal in the novel is to transform the text about the author's life – a text open to multiple interpretations! – into an official biography edited by him. The result of this Romantic endeavour is thus a conventional hagiographic portrait of the poet, which will ultimately shut down further inquiry – an archive will be created. In order to achieve this, the narrator must symbolically place himself in Aspern's position (by reading the exclusive documents) precisely so that he can explain why he cannot truly occupy that sacred place (Davidson, 1988, p. 41) – that is, to define what makes the poet great and why it is he, the editor, who must write about him, despite his own inability to create such art.

James repeatedly signals to the reader that penetrating the archive is doomed from the outset. The first indication of this lies in the name Juliana Bordereau, whose surname, taken literally, refers to a detailed note or memorandum of accounts, an enumeration of documents, a detailed statement listing items or records. While the name might suggest the existence of the famous Aspern letter, it can also direct the reader to consider the margins of narration – something the protagonist, in his *infatuation*, fails to do (Scholl, 2013, pp. 85-86). The surname could symbolize “hard” textual records such as financial statements, contracts, minutes, or notes. The secrecy surrounding the papers would thus remain intact, as an alternative reading of Mrs. Bordereau’s motives still supports her strong interest in safeguarding the Empire-style cabinet.

Considering the historical inspiration behind the novel – letters from Byron and Shelley – the reader may recall that Byron’s real-life lover lived with her daughter, not a niece as in the novel. Additionally, Juliana and Tina’s lost American identity, erased through their assimilation into Venetian space and their sequestration in the *Palazzo Capello*, extends to their entire family history. All that is known is that they receive regular income from New York, managed by a lawyer. Consequently, Juliana’s desire to provide for Tina – by charging the narrator an exorbitant sum for his stay and later offering Aspern’s portrait for an equally outrageous price – can be interpreted as an expression of guilt for failing to secure her a financially stable life. The regular monetary transfers from America might suggest that Aspern himself ensured Tina’s future through his will (Korg, 1962, p. 379). In his obsessive pursuit of the archive – the container of Aspern’s identity and symbolic literary remains (González, 2008, p. 32) – the narrator unjustifiably disregards the “external” world of his art. He fails to acknowledge the hidden family dynamics embedded in the artifacts around him. This absurdity is most evident in his interactions – or lack thereof – with Juliana. Confronted with a woman who was at least partly the inspiration for Aspern’s work – someone with a past, memory, and poetry dedicated specifically to her – his perspective is fundamentally distorted. Juliana’s life was not lived as an ode to Aspern’s poetry (Hadley, 1997, p. 322); rather, the opposite is true. However, James describes the past as *palpable*, as something tangible (Bell, 1989, p. 125). It is no coincidence that the narrator focuses on obtaining a concrete physical object – the central piece of the archive – rather than engaging with the authorities who guard it.

Juliana stood there in her night-dress, by the doorway of her room, watching me; her hands were raised, she had lifted the everlasting curtain that covered half her face, and for the first, the last, the only time I beheld her extraordinary eyes. They glared at me; they were like the sudden drench, for a caught burglar, of a flood of gaslight; they made me horribly ashamed. I never shall forget her strange little bent white tottering figure, with its lifted head, her attitude, her expression; neither shall I forget the tone in which as I turned, looking at her, she hissed out passionately, furiously: "Ah you publishing scoundrel!" (...) and the next thing I knew she had fallen back with a quick spasm, as if death had descended on her, into Miss Tina's arms (James, 1922, p. 104).

The archaeology of the protagonist culminates in an episode of illness that overtakes Juliana Bordereau. The Empire-style cabinet is finally freed, out of sight from the archivist. But before the narrator can break into it, the relentless gaze of the panopticon focuses on the culprit. For the first time, the narrator sees Juliana's "extraordinary" eyes and the mouth that cries out, "Ah you publishing scoundrel!" Soon after, the guardian of the accounts and/or letters dies, sealing the fate of the *Palazzo Capello*. Now, the house without the archivist becomes a multi-layered sarcophagus, akin to that of a pharaoh, with the documents lying in a coffin within a coffin. The archaeologist can finally begin the excavation. The documents, still undiscovered, are also an *arkheion*, a repository of the most sacred, and, etymologically, *arkhe* – the place of the archon from which the law is spoken (Hewish, 2016, p. 255). In this sense, at the beginning of the novel, the narrator explicitly refers to Aspern, saying, "One doesn't defend one's god: one's god is in himself a defence" (James, 1922, p. 5). The yearning for the papers is thus concretized in the desire to reach the "god" himself. However, the following fundamental ambiguity of Derrida's concept of "archive fever" (*mal d'archive*) – the narrator's burning desire to create the definitive archive by incorporating the Aspern's papers – is countered by the opposite logic that calls for them to be burned and destroyed. After Juliana's death, Tina inherits Aspern's texts among other things. Aware of the narrator's "passion", she offers him marriage, believing it to be the only moral way for him to penetrate the tomb of her aunt/mother. But, due to his "pensive, awkward, grotesque" (James, 1922, p. 119) rejection of this offer, she withdraws it and burns the papers. In this way, Tina finally finds her own identity beyond the control of Juliana and the burden of Aspern's legacy, rising above childlike innocence (Currier Bell, 1981, pp. 283-284).

Regarding the burning of the letters, instead of solidifying the past, transforming Aspern's (whose name can be loosely retold as "ash" and "burn") manuscripts into ashes opens it up. The erased archive enables the creation of a different archive – one constituted by narrative appropriations, ambiguities, unanswered questions, and later re-examinations (Tsimpouki, 2018, pp. 167-168). Paradoxically, the destruction affirms the narrator's yearning because the desire for archiving would not exist without the radical finality, without the threat of oblivion. *Mal d'archive* would not be possible without the threat of death, aggression, and destruction (Savoy, 2010, p. 62). However, perhaps the narrator's greatest mistake is in misinterpreting the "finality" of the archive. The tragedy of the manuscript's death is exaggerated if one considers that the archive is a mechanism for storing and repeating information that comes from the outside – it exists only as an external system with a clear technical and physical foundation, serving as a tool for preserving memory, whereas true memory is an internal, spontaneous process (see Derrida, 1998, p. 11).

Thus, the neglect of Juliana as a source of "living" information is the only and true unspoken tragedy of the work. In other words, from the ashes of Aspern's archive, another archive is born – the archive of stories defined precisely by the absence of Aspern's papers (Tsimpouki, 2018, p. 167), since his hand could not record events after his death. A complete understanding of Aspern's papers requires the archive to be conceived in a way that transcends its status as a mere material object. Here, it is not about movement within narrative itself because there is no interiority: the archive is not present as the text the readers read, nor – what is especially significant and unique in James's oeuvre – do we witness its destruction. Any analytical discussion of Aspern's archive as content would be impossible. It remains an unclear object of desire, beyond the reach of the reader's imagination, let alone understanding. Whatever James's intentions, the death drive surrounding the archive remains outside representation; yet *mal d'archive* at the center of this story is shaped by the material co-substantiality of the archive and the body – the body as the corpse and the resurrected ghost of the author (Savoy, 2010, p. 66) in the figure of Juliana Bordereau.

The novel concludes with the complete defeat of the narrator, and the only thing left from his quest is Aspern's portrait, which Juliana had intended to charge him for. The final sentence of the novel, in classic Jamesian fashion, is ambiguous: "When I look at it [the

portrait] I can scarcely bear my loss – I mean of the precious papers” (James, 1922, p. 126). Two moments need to be highlighted here. James conceived the portrait based on the real portrait of Percy Shelley painted by Amelia Curran in 1819 in Rome. The portrait was once so famous that it attained a religious and iconic status as the ideal representation of Romantic creative power (Hoeveler, 2008, p. 27). The narrator’s loss is further emphasized by the fact that Aspern’s portrait symbolizes the unattainable presence of the great power of the artist. Therefore, the image here serves as a mere hint of a Romantic past and a reminder that it can only be grasped as a reconstruction (Bell, 1989, p. 127). However, the loss of the papers prevents a perfect reconstruction, but also signifies the narrator’s loss of his own social position through his sacrifice of Tina; his individual status in front of Juliana; and money. The destruction of the artifact is, in essence, the loss of identity (Church, 1990, p. 39). Similarly, in Pushkin’s *The Queen of the Spades*, the slight smile on the portrait further underscores the irony the work conveys (Norris Scales, 1991, pp. 489-490). This is not the first time that James’s central character allows the destruction of the present due to an obsession with the past. In *The Altar of the Dead* (as the culmination of his collection *Terminations*), the yearning projected onto the deceased causes the downfall of the main character and the final loss (Hewish, 2016, p. 257).

It should also be noted that pyromania is almost a constant element in James’s works, always at the expense of elusive objects with which the characters are particularly connected. Thus, in *The American*, Christopher Newman burns a letter that would compromise a family, stopping himself from exercising revenge; in *The Spoils of Ponyton*, Fleda receives a letter in which she is invited to choose any relic (again, an *objet d’art*) from Ponyton as her own, but when she arrives a few days later, she discovers that the estate has been consumed by fire; while in *The Wings of the Dove*, there is no arson, but a denial of the appropriation of an immoral document that permits taking someone else’s money. These endings of the novels ultimately mirror James’s personal life, specifically the moment in the autumn of 1909 when the author seized his private papers – 40 years of correspondence with contemporaries, manuscripts, old notebooks – and lit a bonfire in his garden: “The great Anglo-American archive perished that day” (Edel, author of the five-volume biography of James, according to Savoy, 2010, p. 63). His drastic action is not as surprising as it might seem at first, considering that James had warned of the fate of the “legacy” of another American author, Nathaniel Hawthorne. Indeed, Julian Hawthorne

was selling samples of his father's manuscripts to collectors, publishing excerpts from his private notebooks, displaying his letters to the public, and so on, meaning James's life "law" of destroying any biographical material was "established" as a preventive measure. Therefore, this novel is essentially a novel about the ethics of biography (Scharnhorst, 1990, pp. 211-212, 216) and the archaeological excavation of individuals.

Conclusion

The Aspern Papers is a novel that, at its core, challenges human aspirations and desires for the past while questioning the finality of identity. Moreover, it is a work that explores the failures of individuals in their attempts to immortalize certain historical moments and transforms them into textual records – the ultimate documents where answers are stored. It is crucial to emphasize the significance of Juliana Bordereau. She is a woman who left such a profound mark on Jeffrey Aspern's life that she became an inseparable part of his creative work; she is, in essence, the art recorded in Aspern's manuscript, a reconstruction of real life. However, what the narrator seeks to achieve is a reconstruction of a reconstruction, remaining blinded by his identification of the archive with authentic memory instead of viewing it as its supplement. Perhaps Juliana's "overlong" life signifies her waiting for archaeology to finally turn toward her – to convey memory through speech, without the mediation of documents.

In his later work, *The Sense of the Past*, Henry James will also portray the failures of Ralph Pendrel, who, as a historian, begins to experience fear and horror precisely because his knowledge – rooted in written texts – cannot surpass the history in which he suddenly finds himself through a bizarre journey through time. In this sense, biographies are not only ethically questionable and revealing but also fail to fulfil the very purpose for which they were written. Does this disqualify the need for creating archives? No, but it underscores the crucial role of those who preserve them. Specifically, Juliana Bordereau was an archivist, a historian, because it is her memory and experience that have been preserved – her history.

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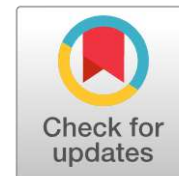
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EMOTIONAL VOID AND IDENTITY FRAGMENTATION: MADNESS AND NARCISSISM IN *LADY AUDLEY'S SECRET* BY MARY ELIZABETH BRADDON (1862)

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Abstract

This research aims at investigating the psychological dimension of the protagonist Lady Audley on the grounds of the dialectic of alleged madness and assumed narcissistic personality disorder related to psychoanalytic literary methodology and criticism. In the light of the first Freudian studies of the first decade of the twentieth century and the subsequent outcomes, we attempt the hypothesis of female identity construction onto typically narcissistic features, in the perspective of Freud's unconscious anticipated by Mary Elizabeth Braddon in her prose generating not only a sensation novel but also an innovative psychological plot depicting the double nature of Victorian society from the perspective of a woman labeled as insane.

Keywords: Bigamy, Braddon, Fake Identity, Lady Audley's Secret, Madness, Narcissistic Personality

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In *Lady Audley's Secret*, the mental condition of distress of the female protagonist unfolds in the vortex of the limbo of madness also shared by Mary Elizabeth Braddon as a young middle class girl, fully supported by her mother, Fanny Braddon, to become an actress with the stage name of Mary Sayton, although the stage only offered her large secondary parts in comedies and a deep sense of frustration for not being the leading lady, thus turning to the career of writer "Having experienced public disgrace herself, Mary Braddon could have desired to take a deeper look at female psychology and behavior in stressful situation" (Razumovskaya, 2012, p. 4).

Accordingly, Braddon and Lady Audley shared this feeling of initial inadequacy in society as young girls searching for their own roles; this sense of anxiety constantly and systematically affects the evolution of the gender identity of Lady Audley since she came into the world with the name of Lucy Graham transforming herself, from an identity point of view, following all those phases of evolution and growth of personality structures that can be associated in many aspects with those identities that Alexander Lowen (1984) illustrates in *Narcissism: Denial of the True Self* within the spectrum of narcissistic personality disorder.

Following Lowen's handbook publication, narcissism is officially included in *The Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* DSMV-5 (American Psychiatric Association, 2013) among the Cluster B personality disorders even though "The act of identifying an abnormal person could be done by psychotherapists and experts in the field, however; society helps individuals to develop some mechanisms with which they can say this man or woman is insane (Alami, 2016, p. 62) while Giuseppe Giordano states "Lady Audley was presumably affected by antisocial personality disorder since her behaviour was against social norms and obligations and more alike the conduct and disposition of a psychopath or a criminal" (2021, p. 2).

Psychiatry was due to emerge as a medical specialty in a rudimentary way during the Victorian age and the diagnosis of psychiatric conditions was not sophisticated and precise as today since:

Due to deficiencies of the 1808 Act, counties did not begin mass construction of Asylums throughout the country. It was not until the passing of the County Asylum / Lunacy Act in 1845 did the construction begin to take hold (...) This Act,

based on the work of John Conolly and Lord Shaftesbury saw the lunatics being treated as Patients and not prisoners (County Asylums, n.d.).

Lucy Graham before evolving into Lady Audley

Lucy Graham's origins, before marrying her first husband George Talboys, thus becoming Mrs Lucy Talboys, are narrated as humble and above all mysterious, opaque:

No one knew anything of her except that she came in answer to an advertisement which Mr Dawson, the surgeon, had inserted in the Times. She came from London; and the only reference she gave was to a lady at a school at Brompton, where she had once been a teacher. But this reference was so satisfactory that none other was needed (Braddon, 1997, p. 6).

The shadows in the dark and mysterious past deliberately hidden to soothe the deep and unbridgeable wounds of little Lucy, mistreated and psychologically abused by an alcoholic and penniless father and an untrustworthy mother, make her emotional void an unbridgeable abyss. As a consequence, the emotional desert of parental care and attention is nourished while taking the first steps of her life deprived of certainties and points of reference, transitioning the girl into a very accentuated narcissistic personality, since growing up, she gets rid of the most authentic and profound emotional relationships, as an extreme need of conservation and self-protection from external threats, betrayed and unheeded since childhood, thus giving space in a completely pervasive and egosyntonic disorder to an identity based exclusively on the satisfaction of her own needs which cancel out automatically those of others in any relationship dynamic, acting without feelings, placing in the centre of one's pre-established choices a utilitarian logic of full emotional, physical and material energetic exploitation, therefore economic of the chosen victim, partly unaware of her own destructive and manipulative intentions; Otto Kernberg scrutinises the young child's "fusion of the ideal self, ideal object and actual self-images as a defense against an intolerable reality in the interpersonal realm" (1975, p. 264). Braddon offers the reader what a narcissist does not normally do, namely an unreserved confession of Lucy regarding her inability to love authentically when she turns to Sir Michael Audley proposing to her:

(Sir Michael) Don't ask too much of me," she kept repeating; "I have been selfish from my babyhood." "Lucy—Lucy, speak plainly. Do you dislike me?" "Dislike you? No—no!" "But is there anyone else whom you love?" She laughed aloud at his

question. "I do not love anyone in the world," she answered (Braddon, 1997, p. 11).

With reference to Janine Hatter, Braddon herself shares with Lady Audley the altered emotion of experiencing a sensation of deep and irrepressible solitude as an adult who has not evolved gradually and in continuity but throughout the breaks of repeated emotional traumas "The distance between adulthood and childhood emphasises one of the main problems with autobiography: memory and its destabilisation. Despite the author's repeated assertion 'I remember', she alludes to this problem through the misunderstandings and memory lapses she had while writing her autobiography" (2015, p. 20).

Accordingly, we may assume that Braddon spontaneously created an abnormal character in the overall sphere of mental insanity that nowadays sociologists and psychologists tend to classify as typically narcissistic according to the framework provided by Alexander Lowen (1984).

In the new disturbed and criminal identity of Lady Audley, Lucy Graham as a bigamous adult, perfectly constructed and modeled, unable to distinguish between the real self and the contrived image that she engages in "doing good to those around her" as a pure exercise of power believes she can become her own world by imagining herself to represent the whole world by living outside the social network, in domestic isolation, not to be dangerously unmasked and thus labeled according to Victorian canons as hysterical, hence insane. Otto Kernberg emphasises the young child's "fusion of the ideal self, ideal object and actual self-images as a defense against an intolerable reality in the interpersonal realm" (1975, p. 231).

Braddon's novel delineates with extreme precision and accuracy all the characteristics and nuances of the psychological traits of the protagonist Lady Audley in a social context that would only welcome the first studies on narcissism with the collaboration between Freud and Breuer coming to fruition in the jointly authored *Studies on Hysteria* (1895), the first psychoanalytic book which advanced the hypothesis that the physical symptoms of hysteria were caused by unconscious emotional conflict. Thus, Braddon in her role as a female writer could to all intents and purposes be considered a pioneer of "new experimental literary laboratories" in the study of what was more

generically labeled as *madness* during the Victorian Age, gender-biased with regards to women, in which all the traits of the “hysterical” or more commonly abnormal personality often converged.

It is precisely from her willingness to abandon her husband, son and father that Helen Talboys initiates a fierce action of narcissistic vindication of her wounded and denigrated ego; her first husband's condition of misery and abandonment follows hers as a mother also deprived of the means and tools to lead the life she considers worthy. As a result, Helen projects an image of the self which fully corresponds to a grandiose ego that she endeavours to protect and redeem with all her mental energy even through the objectification of the things and people around her and of her own body which she socially “kills” in the old identity of Lucy fictitiously buried in Ventnor in order to revive it in the one of Lady Audley with the typically Victorian appearance of the *angel of the house* but with a split and fragmented soul acting cynically, malignantly and criminally, in the most extreme attempt to deceive the true self from which she distances exploiting and absorbing all the energies of *others* who inevitably represent a potential obstacle to the fulfilment of her grandiose life project of pomp and lust for power.

The acting on the stage of life

The Lady's refusal to meet George Talboys on his return from Australia occurs because it is perceived as threatening for her manipulative and criminal intent, contrasting the Victorian morality forbidding any women to plan, as men, a private life potentially generating all kinds of comfort or profit if not for being chosen as wives within the marriage market, the only possible source of self-sustaining outside convents or dungeons of prostitution. Indeed, Helen Talboys before transitioning into Lady Audley shows a strong concern for a tedious and monotonous family life of a caring daughter of a dissented father and afterwards in the role of a caring mother and sad wife abandoned by her squatted man.

Increasingly, with the precise aim of becoming “Lady Audley”, Helen acts as a subtle and seductive manipulator with Sir Michael, behaving cunningly as a poor victim, offended and neglected in childhood, willing to a marriage affiliation without reservations provided she is rewarded with money; on the other hand, love is completely

reset by Braddon to foreground even the thirst for power of the disturbed mind of Helen who has no conscience, like all narcissists, of the impact of her consumerism on the emotional balance of others, "Lady Audley is the fallen woman, a symbol of destructive beauty, a bigamist and a pretender" (Eros, 2010, p. 69).

At Audley Court the newborn Lady Audley lives as if she were a child to be pampered and always pleased, her demands on her husband Sir Michael are constant and of all kinds "Her (Lady Audley's) newfound life of luxury is entirely dependent upon him" (Carver, 2010, p. 8) with a typically narcissistic attitude of vested right to receive special treatment from anyone regardless of her intentions and the results of all actions taken before, only for her own benefit, never in the interest of anyone other than the perceived grand self. Lady Audley looks and acts as a narcissistic professional actress; the art of acting with the false mask of her new identity is meant to project the reshaped image. Apparently, in this change of identity she manages to express perfectly because the narcissistic individual always acts, even if not all actors and actresses are narcissists, but it is always the opposite. And as it is typical of all narcissists, she never allows herself to experience deep feelings of pain and especially fear; lastly, this reveals as the true road to madness which threatens the already precarious psychological balance of the narcissist: "Every narcissist is afraid of going crazy, because the potential for insanity is in his personality. This fear reinforces the denial of feeling, creating a vicious circle" (Lowen, 1984, p. 155).

Consistently, Lady Audley does everything to impose her attitude and her beauty as the dominant force of her personality, suppressing any feeling that may contradict her and her own image succeeds in affections to achieve such a dominant position in the domestic sphere of Audley Court and outside in society only in the absence of strong feelings, through the blocking of the function of perception that she might have put into action in all situations of potential deep emotional involvement of her own feelings and those of others:

Action is taken solely on the basis of reason and logic. One lives in a world divorced from feeling. Indeed, the world of feeling is seen as unreal and, therefore, allied to insanity. Although such a person knows about feelings, he or she cannot let go to feelings – that is, allow them to "dictate" behavior (Lowen, 1984, p. 137).

The burden of the secret

Lady Audley's need to hide her secret slowly turns into a fierce battle for victory and the defeat of not realizing herself in the marriage market becomes a matter of life or death as there is no room for feelings; particularly, when she learns of the return of her husband George from Australia she sees in his physical presence some threatening and disturbing aspects of her own self such as abandonment, misery and failure. Accordingly, she splits the reality in which she lives, some aspects of herself are accepted while the most painful ones are brutally rejected and projected first on George and systematically on all other members of the new acquired family at Audley Court who do question the *purity* of her identity in terms of transparency of her origins "Although the Court is not physically crushed, it metaphorically crushes Victorian domestic ideology by showing that crime inhabits the home, the place where Victorians least expect it" (Naz Bulamur, 2016, p. 105).

In the size of the fake identity designed for Lady Audley we come across an adequacy problem: the new identity projected by Helen Talboys in the metamorphosis towards the "Lady" creates a narcissistic dimension which contains a deep and valuable human meaning to the spirit of Victorian society comparable to what any other non-narcissist woman of the same time could imagine and desire for herself in terms of honesty and moral integrity. Yet, Lady Audley lives in her sentimental universe divided between an irrational anger and a tearful sentimentalism; her rage against the first husband George who suddenly returns from Australia after about three years absence is expressed through a distorted explosion of the Lady who blinded by the fear of being unmasked in her criminal plan tries to kill her husband George pushing him into the ruined well in the garden of Audley Court. Therefore, the sentimentalism towards Sir Michael is a substitute for love, she herself at the beginning of the novel, still living as Lucy Graham, explicitly asserts that she does not love Sir Michael: "But is there anyone else whom you (Lucy) love?" She laughed aloud at his question. "I do not love anyone in the world," she answered" (Braddon, 1997, p. 11). Lady Audley's narcissistic personality structure develops and evolves progressively in the novel on one hand as a compensation for an unacceptable self-image and on the other hand as an act of defense against intolerable feelings; their systematic suppression and denial results in the repression of all those significant and very painful memories of her childhood and adolescence. The

emotional instability is confessed to her husband Sir Michael in an exchange of tenderness speaking and moving physically like a child simulating in her acting the wounded ego of a vulnerable creature:

She (Lady Audley) stood on tiptoe to kiss him, and then was only tall enough to reach his white beard. She told him, laughing, that she had always been a silly, frightened creature—frightened of dogs, frightened of cattle, frightened of a thunderstorm, frightened of a rough sea. "Frightened of everything and everybody but my dear, noble, handsome husband," she said (Braddon, 1997, p. 63).

Throughout the novel, till the confinement in the asylum in Belgium, the Lady stages as a covert narcissist with a frivolous and cheerful nature, despite the many paradoxes of her character, with a taste for the dark and melancholy music that better gives shape to the fragile notes of her fragmented identity perpetually disturbed by anxiety, anguish and boredom that puts on stage real acts of seduction whose nature is always and only deceptive: "Seduction is not a market place transaction, in which both parties are equal and the rule of caveat emptor applies (...) Seduction occurs only in relationships in which some degree of trust exists. Seduction, therefore, is always a betrayal" (Lowen, 1984, p. 102).

The criminal and manipulative mind

Arguably, in some passages of the novel, the narcissistic nature of Lady Audley assumes malignant traits depicting the most split narcissistic personalities between the mental ego and the bodily self; it is the case of the fire at the inn of Phobe, the chambermaid, and Luke, her *fiancé*, or the most ruthless attempt to get rid of her first husband George Talboys by pushing him down into the well in the garden of Audley Court so as not to leave any trace of his body, in such a way as to erase every spectre of suspicion of the family and especially of the unstable childhood friend of her husband, Robert Audley, amateur detective keen on his technique of investigation backwards. And it is exactly when Robert displays the investigative techniques to reconstruct the unexplained disappearance of George that he oddly notices a bruise on Lady Audley's wrist, carefully hidden by a bracelet, while playing the piano; the same bruise is then noticed by Sir Michael coming into the room and it is at this moment that the signs of the woman's madness begin to come out abruptly, as if someone were trying to take away the mask of her perverse narcissistic project:

What is it, Lucy? he (Sir Michael) asked; "and how did it happen?" "How foolish you all are to trouble yourselves about anything so absurd!" said Lady Audley, laughing. "I am rather absent in mind, and amused myself a few days ago by tying a piece of ribbon around my arm so tightly, that it left a bruise when I removed it." "Hum!" thought Robert. "My lady tells little childish white lies; the bruise is of a more recent date than a few days ago; the skin has only just begun to change color" (Braddon, 1997, p. 71).

Herein, the restless and suffering image of Lady Audley, within the new family nucleus, is also returned by Alicia Audley, Sir Michael's daughter; the stepmother is described as a skilled manipulator in dialogues and actions, seemingly angelic and perfectly in line with the Victorian aesthetic canons of the *angel of the house* of Coventry Patmore. Cunningly, to the eyes of her family and visitors to Audley Court, the Lady speaks and acts with a balanced temperament and polite gestures measured to the point of appearing as fragile and emotionally vulnerable as a child, incapable of any malevolent or even criminal action, just to remove all doubt about the ruthless and destructive nature of her fake self:

The poor little woman is very sensitive, you know, Alicia," the baronet said, gravely, "and she feels your conduct most acutely." "I don't believe it a bit, papa," answered Alicia, stoutly. "You think her sensitive because she has soft little white hands, and big blue eyes with long lashes, and all manner of affected, fantastical ways, which you stupid men call fascinating. Sensitive! Why, I've seen her do cruel things with those slender white fingers, and laugh at the pain she inflicted (Braddon, 1997, p. 84).

Consistently, Lady Audley's lust for money also takes hold when, in her image reflected in the maid Phoebe Marks, she rebukes the latter who intends to marry a poor squatter boy for love disregarding the abyss of a life without money, imagining herself in the condition of Phoebe through an action of mirroring or projection on her of her own fears and anxieties: "You surely are not in love with the awkward, ugly creature are you, Phoebe?" asked my lady sharply." (Braddon, 1997, p. 87). Furthermore, the need to have a considerable amount of money is a typical narcissist's need, whether a man or a woman as through money the fake self is strengthened in a position of domination in the social context of belonging by corrupting and manipulating the behaviours of others, thus affecting their intentions and choices; and this is exactly the mental scheme that Lady Audley puts into action by progressively debasing and invalidating the identity of George

Talboys with subtle irony when the detective and lawyer Robert Audley narrates about his university mate George at Eton: "Yes, to be sure—Mr. George Talboys. Rather a singular name, by-the-by, and certainly, by all accounts, a very singular person. Have you seen him lately?" (Braddon, 1997, p. 96); also, this depreciation mechanism is part of the typical narcissistic personality disorder tending to not recognize but to the total denial of the identity of others, conceived in the full existential value and dignity, systematically devalued and dismantled in an act of extreme exercise of power and control.

Additionally, since the beginning of Robert Audley's investigation, Lady Audley feels progressively more tired of observing and keeping under control the actions of detective Robert as if external forces would attempt to tear the narcissistic mask of the fake self off her: "Sitting quietly in her chair, her head fallen back upon the amber damask cushions, and her little hands lying powerless in her lap, Lady Audley had fainted away." (Braddon, 1997, p. 97). According to the recurring functioning of narcissistic personality, she hides in the oblivion of the unconscious of her divided and fragmented personality all the sorrows and pains of the past existence, since she started teaching at the school of Mrs Vincent in Crescent Villas, although without references that were not requested because initially she didn't seem to be interested in the salary but after she exploited the director of the school leaving her full of debts, thus acting as a true energy vampire, tending to manipulate others to achieve her own goals, using guilt and fear, emotional blackmail, flattery or threats to control and dominate the victim in the incessant need to fill her pockets with money and material advantages:

You had no reference, then, from Miss Graham?" asked Robert, addressing Mrs. Vincent. "No," the lady answered, with some little embarrassment; "I waived that. Miss Graham waived the question of salary; I could not do less than waive the question of reference. She quarreled with her papa, she told me, and she wanted to find a home away from all the people she had ever known. She wished to keep herself quite separate from these people (Braddon, 1997, p. 187).

Dramatically, the separation of Lucy Graham from her father, and therefore the narcissistic wound of childhood, was determined precisely by money problems extorted from the father himself to his daughter who managed to earn it carrying out the most humble jobs; it is the same father Henry Maldon to speak of it in a note dated 16 April 1854 addressed to Mrs Barkamb, the owner of one of the cottages that had hosted him together with his daughter Helen and little George at Wildernsea:

"I (Henry Maldon) am in the depths of despair. My daughter has left me! You may imagine my feelings! We had a few words last night upon the subject of money matters, which subject has always been a disagreeable one between us, and on rising this morning I found I was deserted!" (Braddon, 1997, p. 187).

Inevitably, the Lady's narcissistic wound moves not only through the spectre of money but also with a ruthless *gaslighting* action, an insidious form of manipulation and control addressed to Robert Audley, deliberately and systematically fed with false information after his accusations of the Lady's involvement in the mysterious disappearance of George Talboys, thus, Lady Audley begins to mystify tentatively the unacceptable reality so as to generate destabilizing confusion within the mind of the young detective Robert, ending up considering him a fool and completely turning the situation upside down:

She (Lady Audley) would be a very foolish woman if she suffered herself to be influenced by any such absurdity," she said. "You are hypochondriacal, Mr. Audley, and you must take camphor, or red lavender, or sal volatile. What can be more ridiculous than this idea which you have taken into your head? (Braddon, 1997, p. 214).

Undeniably, Lady Audley's defense against the attacks of Robert Audley is not only achieved through *gaslighting* but also with *mirroring*, actually typical narcissistic reactions in situations of threats or danger that involve the return of the guilt and responsibility of the action of the narcissistic manipulation when the Lady feels cornered by Robert who puts firmly under her nose the irrefutable evidence of her responsibility in the disappearance of her husband George:

"(...) If I (Lady Audley) were placed in a criminal dock I could, no doubt, bring forward witnesses to refute your absurd accusation. But I am not in a criminal dock, Mr. Audley, and I do not choose to do anything but laugh at your ridiculous folly. I tell you that you are mad!" (Braddon, 1997, p. 217).

Crucially, in a desperate attempt to divert attention from herself and escape the danger of being framed by the detective's accusations and inducement evidence regarding her husband's disappearance "Lady Audley is doomed to be endlessly observed and investigated" (Ennis, 2012, 87) so she begins to triangulate with ease with Robert and Sir Michael turning to the latter in a desperate attempt to be saved by the moves of Robert to rip off her narcissistic mask, falling on the latter the infamy of madness:

Robert Audley is mad," she (Lady Audley) said, decisively. "What is one of the strangest diagnostics of madness—what is the first appalling sign of mental aberration? The mind becomes stationary; the brain stagnates; the even current of reflection is interrupted; the thinking power of the brain resolves itself into a monotone (Braddon, 1997, p. 229).

With undeniable mastery of descriptive style and penetration of the protagonist's psyche, lacking of the appropriate tools of psychological investigation that only nearly forty years later will offer Sigmund Freud, Braddon sets up a mechanism of reconstructing memories in Lady Audley's mind, facing her fears and terrors, as only an experienced psychotherapist could do in our times trying to put the adult in close contact with the hidden pain of their narcissistic childhood wound being inflicted in the body or mind, generating a very strong instinct for self-preservation, protection and survival which anaesthetises all feelings of attachment to anyone, of deep love and surrender to the most authentic emotions in order not to lose control over reality and the unforeseeable actions and reactions of others that inevitably pose a threat to the already precarious emotional balance of the narcissistic Lady who manages to survive apparently only through a strong outer, hedonistic appearance or purely sexual relationships, never aimed at a true and deep relationship that can easily become upsetting or disarming for any reason:

Did she remember the day in which that fairy dower of beauty had first taught her to be selfish and cruel, indifferent to the joys and sorrows of others, cold-hearted and capricious, greedy of admiration, exacting and tyrannical with that petty woman's tyranny which is the worst of despotism? Did she trace every sin of her life back to its true source? (Braddon, 1997, p. 235).

The rigidity of the body

Lady Audley is also presented with a rigid body as if it were her own expression of power and control of the emotions which cross her body in a pervasive way and when they pass the line of the neck such rigidity wraps around her head:

The lines of her exquisitely molded lips were so beautiful, that it was only a very close observer who could have perceived a certain rigidity that was unusual to them. She (Lady Audley) saw this herself, and tried to smile away that statue-like immobility: but to-night the rosy lips refused to obey her; they were firmly locked, and were no longer the slaves of her will and pleasure (Braddon, 1997, p. 246).

Her body appears subsequently so rigid that it makes one think of a statue, all in one piece, as if that rigidity should serve to resist the pressure of all those unbearable feelings which could lead to the so feared madness that causes horror in narcissist Lady Audley: "Unlike terror, however, horror is not an emotion, because there is no feeling quality to the state of horror." (Lowen, 1984, p. 132). At her body level, the "armor" takes on different forms which all reflect a certain degree of general rigidity; the expression *armor* was introduced by Wilhelm Reich to describe the process whereby the muscles of the body of any narcissist develop a chronic tension that forms a shield against the insults from the outside world and against the inner impulses. Lowen narrates the breakdown of the connections between head and body as a result of lack of flow of feelings:

Today I understand more clearly how the break in the connection between head and body is responsible for a person's lack of feeling (...) the break is caused by a band of tension at the base of the skull, which blocks the subjective perception of bodily events. (Lowen 1984, p. 130).

Surprisingly, at the end of the novel *Lady Audley*, exasperated and exhausted by the psychological pressures of detective Robert, abandons her identity mask that slowly moves to make room for a story in which the traumatized woman retraces her life, her youth, thinking that she had never been evil, at least intentionally. This impossibility of being totally aware of her actions reinforces my hypothesis of Braddon's creation of a female character of narcissistic type, certainly responding to all the expectations of wonder and astonishment of the readership of sensation and bigamy novels; any narcissistic personality structure, therefore egosyntonic, is perfectly integrated with the self, unable to perceive some malfunctions or anomalies in their own actions; it is rather the reactions of others that make them reflect upon their own being:

I (lady Audley) was not wicked when I was young, she thought, as she stared gloomingly at the fire, "I was only thoughtless. I never did any harm—at least, wilfully. Have I ever been really wicked, I wonder?" she mused. "My worst wickednesses have been the result of wild impulses, and not of deeply-laid plots" (Braddon, 1997, p. 236).

The confession of madness

The final surrender comes when the irrefutable evidence of the Lady's madness and dangerousness become even clearer after the arson at the inn on Mount Stanning and Luke, Phoebe's husband, remains badly burned. Crucially, Lady Audley becomes

overwhelmed with the incessant psychological pressure of Robert Audley in his obsessive attempt to get a confession from her thus taking her responsibility for her husband's disappearance and be dragged into court and adequately sentenced for all her misdeeds. At the beginning of the third and last part of the novel *My Lady Tells the Truth*, the Lady gives in to her deepest inner pain of the narcissistic wound, of the split and fragmented ego, openly confessing to be mad for choosing to live on the border between sleep and madness, the latter the deepest and uncontrollable fear of any narcissist in the mental condition of *overthinking*:

You (Robert Audley) have conquered—a MAD WOMAN!" "A mad woman!" cried Mr. Audley. "Yes, a mad woman. When you say that I killed George Talboys, you say the truth. When you say that I murdered him treacherously and foully, you lie. I killed him because I AM MAD! because my intellect is a little way upon the wrong side of that narrow boundary-line between sanity and insanity (Braddon, 1997, p. 274).

Indeed, in the inner emotional emptiness of the disturbed personality of Lady Audley is hidden her inability to feel and perceive love from others and then share and return it in an authentic way, apparently inhibited by her childhood trauma to understand it on an emotional level but only cognitive; for her joining it in the deepest feelings would have meant to retrace the tunnel of trauma of all the frustrations in the dysfunctional dynamics of her family of origin, the absence of a mother locked up in an asylum, thus experiencing the condition of being the daughter of a mentally ill woman and then the misfortune of her father who abused her with money extortion; in the end, the Lady confesses openly all this to Sir Michael Audley, unaware of her first marriage, right in front of the explicit accusations of detective Robert:

I must tell you the story of my life, in order to tell you why I have become the miserable wretch who has no better hope than to be allowed to run away and hide in some desolate corner of the earth (...) They told me that mother was away. I was not happy, for the woman who had charge of me was a disagreeable woman and the place in which we lived was a lonely place, a village upon the Hampshire coast, about seven miles from Portsmouth. My father, who was in the navy, only came now and then to see me (Braddon, 1997, p. 276).

Since the very first meeting with Lady Audley, Sir Michael was filled with a deep sense of emptiness, of not fully involving Lucy even though she always appeared courteous, polite, beautiful and kind, but in the typical narcissistic traits this attitude

displays only at a superficial level, never at a deep one as it would be dangerously unmanageable, excessively close to the emotional void, which firmly structured in her childhood persisting into her adulthood. Hence, the incessant need of Lady Audley to possess material objects, wealth, money, economic benefits and social status, certainly within any marital union there was no room for sharing deep affectivity and emotions: "I do not believe that Sir Michael Audley had ever really believed in his wife. He had loved her and admired her; he had been bewitched by her beauty and bewildered by her charms." (Braddon, 1997, p. 279).

And it was just when George Talboys left for Australia in search of fortune leaving his wife Helen alone with her elderly, alcoholic father and little George to be raised that Helen, a poor, abandoned mother and wife, began to perceive a mental instability:

I did not love the child, for he had been left a burden upon my hands (...) At this time I think my mind first lost its balance, and for the first time I crossed that invisible line which separates reason from madness." (Braddon, 1997, p. 280)

And so Lady Audley approached Sir Michael to seduce him by simulating the feeling of love, seemingly aware of her personality disorder which did not allow her to either replace or understand this feeling as it was too painful to go through: "The mad folly that the world calls love had never had any part in my madness, and here at least extremes met, and the vice of heartlessness became the virtue of constancy." (Braddon, 1997, p. 281) but love for the Lady, as well as for every other pathological narcissist, is intrinsically a dimension of madness as the most authentic feelings were buried during childhood so as to remove the pain and confusion caused by the abusing and absent adult in the role of caregiver; as an adult, married to Sir Michael and having achieved a state of social and financial ease, she expresses gradually generosity towards the members of her family in-laws and the visitors to Audley Court solely as an exercise of power over each other, in a constant and obsessive relationship based on who commands and who executes orders and requests with someone at the top and someone else at the bottom of the relationship, without ever expecting a confrontation between equals, because the latter is the only relational model she could see and internalize when she was still Lucy Graham:

In the sunshine of my own happiness I felt, for the first time in my life, for the miseries of others. I had been poor myself, and I was now rich, and could afford to pity and relieve the poverty of my neighbors." (Braddon, 1997, p. 281).

Lastly, Braddon pushes the action of Lady Audley on the narrative scene of the novel to a confession that the protagonist labels as her "hereditary taint": "I had often wondered while sitting in the surgeon's quiet family circle whether any suspicion of that invisible, hereditary taint had ever occurred to Mr. Dawson." (Braddon, 1997, p. 281) intended more as a narrative impetus of Braddon clearly aimed at restoring the mental order of Victorian society being disturbed from the issue of personality disorders, therefore from non-conforming identities accompanying the display of psychological and criminal narrative plots.

Typically, George Talboys experiences the post-traumatic stress syndrome so much frequent in any victim of narcissistic manipulation when the abuser, the Lady in our case, proceeds with the discard, also violent, as in the circumstance of George being pushed down to the bottom of the well at Fig Tree Court in the attempt to be eliminated permanently as an obstacle to the full realisation of Lady Audley's criminal plan kept in her secret that she accurately built and modeled on herself as a new identity, a rebirth of a rich and powerful woman who for no reason at all would accept the condition to be hindered by the first poor and squatted husband that she shall only address to as a stupid lover, in his childish and detached vision of the deeper dimension of love feeling and deeply vengeful; George is saved by pure chance after falling into the well and although seriously injured he is welcomed at home by Luke Marks, Phoebe's husband, who hears the young man's moans in the bushes:

I (Luke Marks) crossed the garden, and went into the lime-walk; the nighest way to the servants' hall took me through the shrubbery and past the dry well (...) I was close against the mouth of the dry well when I heard a sound that made my blood creep. It was a groan—a groan of a man in pain, as was lyin' somewhere hid among the bushes (Braddon, 1997, p. 336).

Conclusion

In the final analysis, as it frequently happens in the existence of any pathological narcissist, loneliness, isolation and deep depression dot everyday life which tends to be increasingly impoverished and then finally extinguished in what Braddon labels as

Maladie de Languer of which Lady Audley is diagnosed in the *maison de santé* of Villebrumeuse in Belgium after being officially labeled as insane and criminal: “Lady Audley ‘died abroad’ which, after all her manic energy, is a notable fictional non-condition. (Indeed, one might also add the postscript: presumed cause of death – boredom.)” (Lee, 2011, p. 134); accordingly, her incurable mental condition in the last part of her life as a recluse presents a typical severe depressive condition, of authentic emotions hidden and forever buried in the darkness of childhood’s ingratitude for survival instinct from the incessant mental abuse of her parental caregivers within the family sphere.

Conclusively, certain emotions remain forever locked in the Lady’s bodily rigidity, systematically returned to the reader’s eyes sitting inexorably at its end, even last trapped in her identity, marked by the stigma of insanity inflicted by the Victorians, respectively the fourth in the order of the shirts of Mme Taylor, thus, getting rid of any trace of impurity connected to the Victorian English territory unlike the French counterpart, apparently more tolerant with certain deformities of identities, Lady Audley’s “madness” supplies the audience cultural commentary on how Victorian England was still unprepared to accept and collocate in society both women suffering from mental illness and those who more cunningly used the tool of apparent madness to throw off the chains of poverty or forced marriage as an extreme attempt at social redemption.

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EXTRACTION OF ANGLICISMS FROM A CORPUS OF MACEDONIAN MAGAZINE TEXTS

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Abstract

The present article is a description of the stages involved in compiling a specialized corpus of Macedonian magazine texts and the software tools employed to extract anglicisms from the corpus. The texts were collected from the magazine *Kapital* and cover two distinct periods: the years 2000 and 2020. The size of the corpus is about 2 million tokens and 141,852 types. The software employed produced word lists that later in combination with other statistical techniques produced a refined Anglicism headword list from which new anglicisms were extracted. In addition to the software tools, careful manual inspection was necessary in both the extraction and analysis stages. As a result of the research, a total of 220 completely new anglicisms have been identified. Most of these new anglicisms are not yet included in existing Macedonian dictionaries.

Keywords: Anglicisms, anglicisms extraction, corpus linguistics, corpus analysis tools

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The present article describes a research project aimed at building a specialized corpus of Macedonian magazine texts to be used for anglicisms identification and analysis. Previous research on anglicisms has provided a methodological background for the identification and extraction of these English loan words.

To identify anglicisms, the language of the media, whether print or digital is regarded as a very convenient source since “it is representative of a wide range of registers and is highly receptive and open towards neologisms, loanwords and linguistic creativity in general” (Furiassi & Hofland, 2007, p. 347). Foreign words, anglicisms, and false anglicisms are often used for their positive connotation and their strategically communicative features, especially in eye-catching headlines (p. 347).

The media plays a significant role as a primary source for introducing anglicisms in the Macedonian language. Written texts are particularly important in the study of new loans as they provide these items more visibility in the influx of newly introduced borrowings and coinages. The fact that some new anglicisms are accompanied by their original in parenthesis, quotation marks or explained is more likely to fix them in both the passive and the active lexical repertoire of Macedonian readers. Additionally, the presence or absence of typographical resources (such as inverted commas or italics) can be interpreted as marks of novelty or foreign character. In fact, they reveal to what extent the writer considers the word should be highlighted as foreign or not. The examples from the corpus in **Appendix 1** illustrate this.

Applying corpus analysis tools to study Anglicisms in Macedonian media texts is a robust approach to understanding how English loanwords influence Macedonian language use, particularly in journalism and media discourse. Attempts at automatic and semi-automatic retrieval of anglicisms with varying degrees of success are discussed by Andersen (2005, 2011, 2012), Furiassi & Hofland (2007), Furiassi (2008), and Losnegaard & Lyse (2012).

Identification of Anglicisms

The starting point for any study of anglicisms is based on the definition of these loan words, i.e. what counts as an Anglicism, which is essential to determine in order to calculate the number and the impact (frequency) of English vocabulary on a language. Definitions vary significantly in the literature and are usually adapted to the researcher's

interest. Definitions can be quite restrictive, focusing only on the most recent anglicisms (cf. Görlach 2001) or more accommodating (cf. Gottlieb 2004), including both new and older anglicisms that have long been accepted into the recipient language.

For the purpose of this paper, the definition of what constitutes an Anglicism focuses mainly on lexical items without constraints on their degree of acceptance. Moreover, no limitations are placed on whether a word is an Anglicism, Americanism, or Britishism. Consequently, the term Anglicism used in this paper covers any variant of English origin adapted or adopted (unadapted) and serves as a portmanteau term. In other words, anglicisms in this study are adapted lexical items and unadapted lexical items that clearly have an English origin (are attested in the source language) and bear English traits in their phonology, morphology, orthography, and semantics. Adapted anglicisms are words or compounds whose orthography and morphology are adapted to the recipient language system. Such items often become a productive source for new terms in the recipient language system; for example, *финушира*, *стратува*, *инвестура*, are clear loanwords adapted to the Macedonian phonological, morphological, and grammatical system. On the other hand, adopted/unadapted loans are words or compounds borrowed from English “wholesale” without much structural integration so that the expression remains recognizably English, such as *скрининг*, *кобрандинг*, *бот*, *бизнис*. The only intervention of the recipient language is in the phonology of the term, given the difference between English and the recipient language phonological systems. For practical reasons, the anglicisms discussed in this paper are one-word lexical units or single-unit compounds unhyphenated. Thus defined a list of anglicisms for further analysis was extracted from the corpus as explained in section 4

The KAPITAL corpus

To extract and study anglicisms in Macedonian, a corpus of magazine articles was compiled and analyzed. The corpus was created specifically for the purpose of this study and was compiled from scratch. The corpus size is 2,288,999 tokens. The corpus was extracted from two distinct time periods: the years 2000 and 2020. This proved to be crucial in identifying trends and changes in the usage and frequency of anglicisms as well as detecting new anglicisms. The corpus was extracted from a total number of 1511 articles that represent the yearly publication of Kapital in the year 2000 and 396 articles published in the year 2020. A total of 1907 articles were examined. Given the two

examined time periods, i.e. the years 2000 and 2020, the corpus is divided into two sub-corpora: MK2000 (hereinafter MK2000) has 1562927 tokens, and 97255 types. Corpus MK2020 (hereinafter MK2020) has 726072 tokens and 44597 types. **Figure 1** shows the file number, token count, type count, as well as other data for MK2000. **Figure 2** shows the file number, token count, type count, and other data for MK2020.

Figure 1

File count, token count, and type count for MK2000

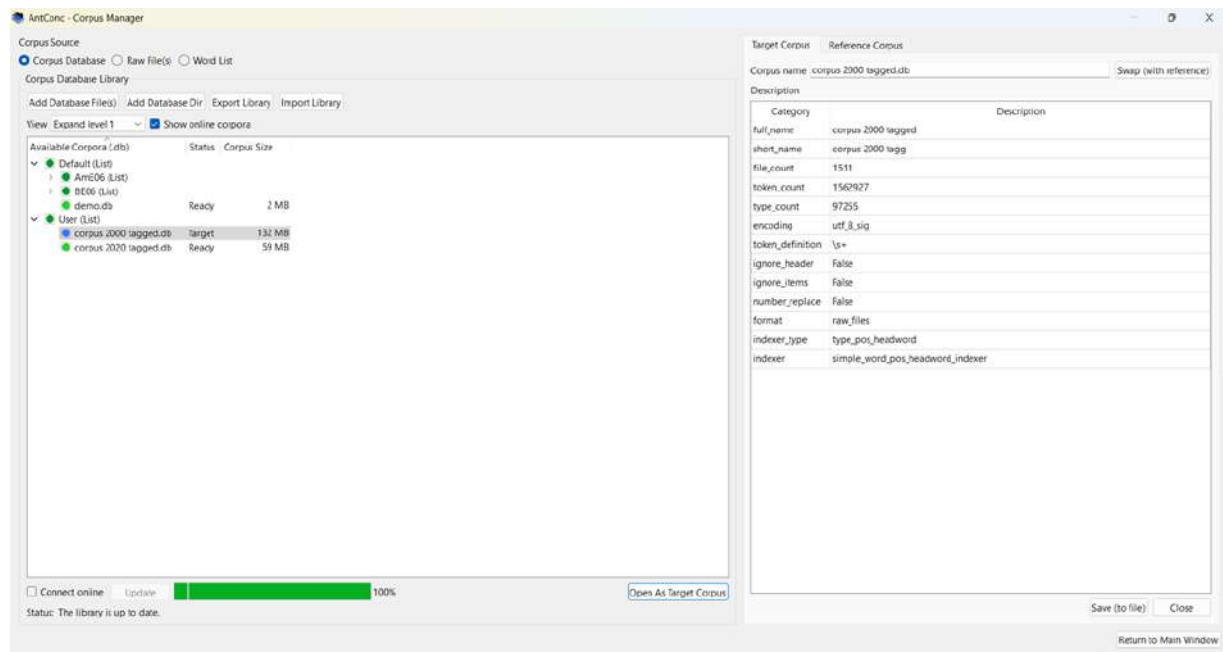
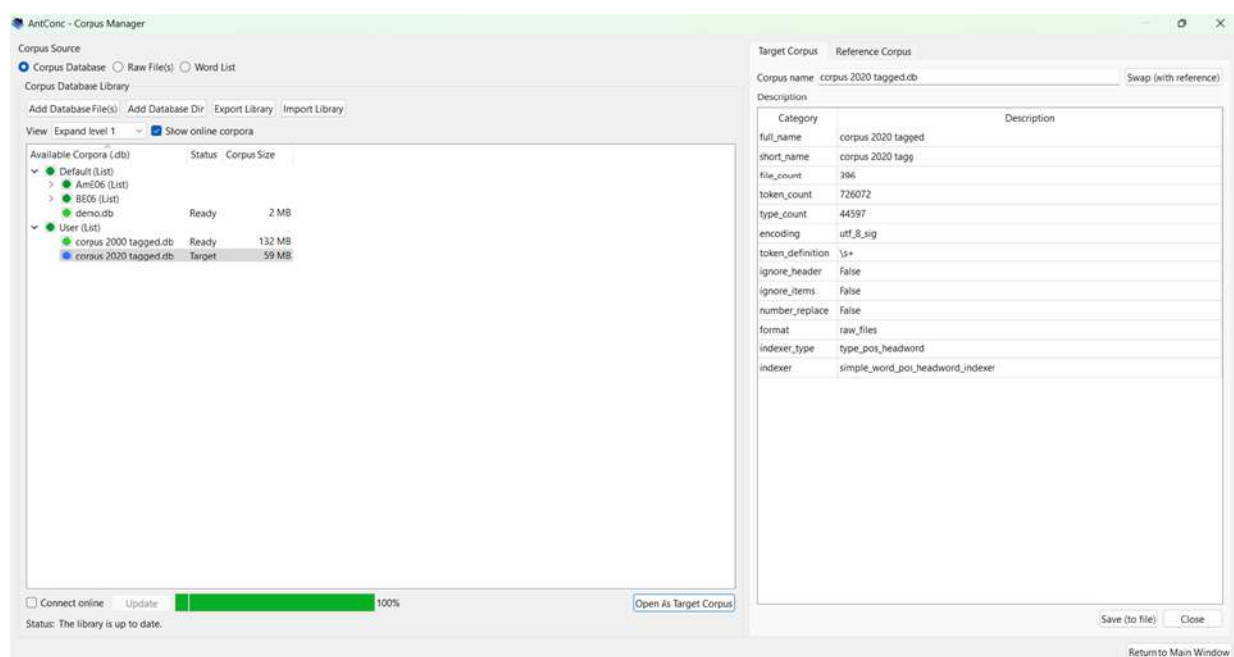


Figure 2

File count, token count, and type count for corpus MK2020



The KAPITAL magazine was selected for analysis because of the following reasons: Kapital covers topics in economics, business, politics, technology, and innovations. Many scholars (cf. Nogueroles 2017, Winter-Froemel & Onysko 2012, Khoutyz 2010) have identified such topics as major fields where anglicisms' presence in different languages is attested, due to borrowing from English and the role English plays in spreading new concepts and innovations.

The KAPITAL magazine is published in print and digital format. The texts are balanced in their methodological approach, relatively accurately proofread and edited, unlike most online publications with questionable linguistic correctness. All texts are archived in electronic format suitable for computer processing for the designated periods analyzed in the study.

Journalistic texts usually have a semi-formal style that should produce a corpus containing lexicalised anglicisms as well as more recent borrowings. Journalistic texts aim to appeal to audiences and attract more readership, so the topics chosen for publication will likely reflect current trends in the country at the time. Since English represents prestige and modernity in Macedonian, journalistic texts seem like a genre that would be receptive to anglicisms.

To ensure the representativeness of the corpus, all published articles in the years 2000 and 2020 were taken into account and included in the corpus. The texts that make up the corpus required several pre-processing steps to be made analyzable. This was a necessary procedure to create a computer-readable corpus. Texts from the year 2000 were obtained as archived (ZIP) files of entire folder structures covering publications from numbers 39-84 (46 issues) of KAPITAL. That is a total of 1511 files in separate Word files (.doc). Because these articles were written in the year 2000, the texts were in Macedonian Tms font, which is a non-UTF-8 format (non-regular font for text formation). This makes the processing of the data problematic because of global character incompatibility. Therefore, for further analysis, the raw files had to be pre-processed in two stages:

1. Conversion of texts to UTF-8 format: using a character type converter, the texts were converted to UTF-8 encoded format.
2. The UTF-8 converted files were saved in txt file format to be compatible with the software-supported text formats that will be used in the process of corpus analysis

Through this procedure, the MK2000 sub-corpus was obtained in a .txt text file format. However, further manual inspection of the content of the files revealed duplicate files, badly converted files due to file corruption, and files containing text in languages other than Macedonian (mainly English web links). These issues were dealt with, and a clean corpus of texts was obtained.

Similarly, the texts from the year 2020 were obtained in a similar format and structure from folders covering the issues from 1048 to 1088 of *Kapital* in 2020. That is a total of 41 issues that make a total of 396 articles. The texts were in Word (.doc) format and UTF-8 standard. The pre-processing of the texts to obtain the MK2020 sub-corpus was conducted by conversion of the text format from .doc to .txt files. In this manner, both the MK2000 sub-corpus and MK2020 sub-corpus had identical file formats ready to be analyzed using corpus software tools.

Methodology for extraction of anglicisms

As stated in the introduction, attempts for automatic and semi-automatic extraction of English loans from corpora have been undertaken by scholars examining these linguistic items while trying to take advantage of software analysis tools. The main goal is to develop data processing tools that would automatise the process of English loans identification and extraction. Attempts at the automatic retrieval of lexical false anglicisms in Italian are discussed in (Furiassi & Hofland 2007, Furiassi 2008) and (Andersen 2005, 2011, 2012) for anglicisms in Norwegian. The proposed data processing tools for the automatic extraction of English loans rely on the differences in orthography between the languages in contact and use grapheme typicality algorithms, as well as dictionary-based methods and word-formation regularity (Wohlfeld & Witalisz, 2019).

Despite the efficacy of the methods employed in reducing “noise” and minimizing human labour, they still do not seem reliable in either the identification or analysis phases. Andersen maintains that the proposed tool “does not offer the full answer as to which forms to include and which forms to leave out, but it promises a systematic and empirically based proposal of where to start looking. This will hopefully lead to a significant reduction of manual work and a radical simplification of the task of looking for the needle in the linguistic hay-stack”. (Andersen 2011). Given the speed in technological advancements, such tools might be available in the future; however, at the moment,

human expertise must be combined with computational procedures for the findings to be accurate.

The identification of loans which is the starting point in any analysis of Anglicisms in a recipient language “still remains the researcher’s responsibility and depends on their knowledge-based human skills that have not, as yet, been successfully copied and replaced with artificial intelligence” (Wohlfeld & Witalisz 2019: 172). Therefore, for the extraction of anglicisms for analysis in this paper, a combination of corpus analysis tools and careful manual inspection is applied at each stage of the process

Because the corpus was composed for the purpose of this study and not tagged in any way, the only available option for extracting a list of anglicisms was to go through the texts and identify the loans manually. Given the size of the corpus, this method was too time-consuming and laborious. However, it seemed necessary as computerized automatic identification of loans in texts is unreliable. Another possible method was to go through a representative sample of the corpus and extract a list of Anglicisms and to use the resulting list to analyze the frequency and use of these terms in the rest of the corpus. However, this method will not capture all anglicisms in the corpus, especially those anglicisms that have very few occurrences, but still their usage might provide valuable insight on the choices of the particular Anglicism in the particular context.

In order to ensure comprehensiveness and inclusiveness, i.e. to capture all anglicisms in the corpus, the following steps were taken to extract a list of anglicisms from the corpus:

1. Using the software AntConc, a word list was made for all the words occurring in the corpus. A word list is made for MK2000 and MK2020 separately. A word list counts how many times each word occurs in the corpus and lists all the words in the corpus.
2. The ‘Word list’ function in AntConc is accessed by using the tab word list. Using this option, AntConc provides the following information:
 - The total number of words in the corpus (word tokens)
 - The total number of unique words in the corpus, which is the vocabulary size of the corpus (Word Types).
 - A ranking of every unique word type by its frequency in the corpus.

The obtained two lists were merged, filtered for duplicates, cleaned, and refined to obtain unique words only. From this list, a list of anglicisms was extracted manually by looking at each word individually and including all lexical anglicisms and excluding all other words of Macedonian origin and different foreign origin. Also, proper nouns, abbreviations and acronyms, pseudo / false anglicisms (e.g. *маунтбајкинз*), direct translation from English (e.g. *бежичен* “wireless”, *безхартиена* “non-paper”, *еднорози* “unicorn”, *споделен* “share”, *широкопојасен* “broadband”, *сапуница* “soap opera”) were also excluded from the final list as these categories are not the focus of the current study. This procedure originated a refined Anglicisms word list, which is used for further analysis.

The final Anglicisms list contains 4436 anglicisms. This list will later serve to count frequencies and to extract new anglicisms. This list includes just lexical items (one-word items) and compounds (compound words unhyphenated, written as one word). This choice is made for practical reasons as the used software AntConc turned to provide inaccurate results when the word list contained hyphenated compounds, or two-word compounds separated by a space when counting frequencies. From the part of speech point of view, the anglicisms list includes nouns, verbs, adjectives, verbal nouns, and adverbs in their base form uninflected. In other words, all definite markers, feminine, masculine, neuter, and plural markers, and markers of tense are erased.

Once a list of anglicisms had been obtained as described above, AntConc software was used to determine the exact number of times each term occurred in each sub-corpus. However, before counting frequencies¹ could be performed, another procedure had to be undertaken to ensure the results' maximum accuracy.

As mentioned earlier, the raw files that constitute both corpora MK2000 and MK2020 were obtained in their original format and not tagged in any way. Tagging the corpus was necessary to ensure that different tokens of a certain type of anglicism were counted. For example, the anglicism *блог* (blog), can appear in its base form but can also appear with the definite marker *блогот*, with the plural marker *блогови*, and with the

¹ Frequencies of anglicisms are not going to be discussed in detail in this paper as the main focus here is on the procedural stages involved in the identification and extraction process of anglicisms. Analysis of frequencies is discussed in detail in a separate paper. Frequency is mentioned here briefly when deemed necessary.

plural and definite marker *блоговите*. Without tagging the corpus, the software will not recognize that *блог, блогот, блогови, блоговите* are tokens of the same type.

To tag the corpus, the files were fed into the multi-language segmenter and Part-Of-Speech (POS) tagger software TagAnt (Anthony, 2024b), where a trained pipeline model for the Macedonian language was used to tag the words in the texts. The tagging later helped in the process of grouping the anglicisms according to their part of speech category during the phase of statistical analysis. The model “mk_core_news_lg” was used since it is the largest and most comprehensive model available. This model is part of the spaCy open-source library for natural language processing (Honnibal & Montani, 2025). It is important to note that due to the imperfection of the trained language model, some of the words appeared as duplicates and were tagged as different types of words (incorrectly tagged). The erroneous tagging was manually corrected. Moreover, due to the imperfection of the language model, the lemmatization of the words in many cases was incorrect. The errors were manually corrected by correcting the word form and the corresponding frequency counts.

The cleaned tagged files are later analysed by the software AntConc (Anthony, 2024a). The rationale behind choosing AntConc for corpus analysis in this study is based on 1. AntConc is a corpus analysis software available for free on the internet, unlike other software that require a subscription fee 2. Hence, no funds were acquired for this study; choosing a freeware was the only available choice 3. AntConc is regularly updated, and new releases are made freely available on the internet, which improves the accuracy and the performance of the software. The process of corpus analysis started with importing the tagged files into the AntConc software. AntConc provides various features to analyse a digital corpus. First, the word counter tab was used to conduct a frequency analysis of the corpus. The output of this step was a word list with all the words occurring in the corpus with their respective frequencies but now tagged and grouped according to their part of speech category. Figure 3 is a screenshot of the results obtained by AntConc correctly counting headwords. For example, the anglicisms инвеститор (investor) with all its occurrences инвеститори(151); инвеститорите(252); инвеститор(15); инвеститорот(10) is correctly counted and placed under the POS Noun with 428 occurrences in the MK2020 corpus.

New anglicisms attested in MK2020

To extract new anglicisms that appeared only in the MK2020 corpus and were not attested in the MK2000 corpus we crossed and examined the frequency lists of both corpora, removed duplicates, and extracted those items that appeared only in the MK2020 corpus. The items were also checked in the corpus to verify context of occurrence. The results show that 582 anglicism lemmas are only attested in the MK2020 corpus. However, we cannot jump to the conclusion that all these 582 items are completely new words that entered the language after the year 2000. To verify which anglicisms can be labelled as new we manually inspected the data and found that many items are word forms not used in the MK2000 corpus, and not new words. For example, the anglicisms n. *девелопер* is attested in the MK2000 corpus but not the adj. *девелоперски*. Unless many written resources are inspected, there is no way to tell for sure which word-form was first borrowed into Macedonian. However, many scholars agree that usually nouns are borrowed first into the recipient language then other word forms develop using the language's word-formation mechanisms. Based on the corpus data, we can list a few examples of word forms not attested in the MK2000 corpus (**Appendix 2**). The emergence of these new word-forms in the MK2020 corpus shows the level of lexicalisation of these anglicisms. Over the 20 years' span (the time distance between the MK2000 and MK2020 corpora) these anglicisms got adapted to the Macedonian language system and through different word-formation mechanisms produced new word forms.

Out of the 582 anglicism lemmas attested in MK2020, just 220 are completely new anglicisms not attested in the MK2000. This is 0.03% of the total tokens of the MK2020. However, this percentage of new anglicisms, although true for the MK2020 cannot be generalized to the whole language. Although the number of new anglicisms seems small yet the total frequency of anglicisms in the MK2020 is higher compared to the MK2000 as corpus data show.

We assume that the truly new anglicisms in the MK2020 corpus will be related mainly to two domains 1) COVID-related terminology and 2) digital/ technological terminology. The year 2020 witnessed the global outbreak of the Covid-19 pandemic. The words used to talk about the COVID-19 pandemic are captured in the MK2020 corpus as a timestamp of the events of the time. The COVID-19 pandemic gave rise to new

terminology on the one hand but also contributed to the high frequency of older terms that were infrequent in the year 2000 on the other. Examples of new COVID-related anglicisms attested only in the MK2020 corpus are given in **Appendix 3**. These Covid-related terms are specific in that they reflect the Covid crisis, and their usage has dropped significantly after the end of the pandemic.

The other domains where new anglicisms in the MK2020 corpus are attested are related to new technology, new concepts, and less frequently, political/ historical events. Unlike the COVID-19-related terms, these items will probably linger longer in the language and produce new derivatives as long as the technology and the concepts they refer to are useful and needed by the speakers. New technology related anglicisms are plenty (**Appendix 4**). None of these words are attested in the MK2000 corpus so we might conclude that these are new anglicisms that recently entered the language.

New anglicisms are also attested in the MK2020 corpus that are not necessarily technology-related but refer to concepts, objects, and ideas that are recent in a wide range of domains, such as the economy, lifestyle, business transactions, sports, recreational activities, and the like (**Appendix 5**).

It is worth noting that some new anglicisms show variation in their spelling. For example, the anglicisms *блокчеин* (blockchain) appears one time as such in MK2020, and as *блокчејн* appears 4 times. The variation in transcription of blockchain is probably due to the newness of this word. The available dictionaries do not provide much help on the matter as the word is not yet indexed in Macedonian dictionaries. However, a quick Google search renders 116.000 hits with the variant *блокчејн* whereas the variant *блокчеин* renders 61.800 hits. It remains to be seen which of these two variants will gain dominance in the language. However, the transcription *блокчејн* imitates more closely the English pronunciation. If language users decide to imitate the English pronunciation more closely, we assume that this variant will be more prevalent.

The Orthography of the Macedonian Language, page 183 prescribes the “correct” transcription for English phonemes and diphthongs. According to this guidebook, the grapheme *ai* corresponding to the sound *ei* in English should be transcribed as *ej* or as *e* in Macedonian as in the examples Daisy (English) > *Дејз* (Macedonian), Twain (English) > *Твеи* (Macedonian). The Orthography of the Macedonian Language states that when

transferring English sounds to Macedonian, the starting point should be their pronunciation, not their graphic presentation. In other words, the transcription should be recorded in a manner corresponding to how Macedonian speakers perceive the specific English sound.

Other cases of spelling variation in new anglicisms are noticed in *бреинсторминг* n. (brainstorming) while the verb version is rendered as *брејнстормира* (to brainstorm) with a change in the vowel in the verb. Both noun and verb are not indexed in Macedonian dictionaries. This is a similar case to *блокчејн/блокчеин*, where a hesitation in the vowel choice in spelling is apparent when it comes to new anglicisms. Similarly, the case of the anglicism *меинструм/мејнструм* (mainstream).

Inspecting the corpus, it appears that not only new Anglicism show variation in their transcription but certain “old” anglicisms also do. In fact, some borrowings never settle on a definite visual representation and competing variants persist in the recipient language. The cases of *email* and *online* are interesting because these items have been in usage for a long time but still show spelling variations. The Anglicism *email* appears as *имејл*, *емаил*, *мејл*, and *и-мејл*. The transcription *емаил* is attested only in the MK2000 corpus (3 occurrences) while the transcription *умејл* is attested only in the MK2020 corpus (1 occurrence). *И-мејл* (2 occurrences MK2000, no occurrence MK2020), *мејл* (1 occurrence MK2000, 5 occurrences MK2020). This leads to the conclusion that email over the years has settled on two variants: either the transcription *умејл* which imitates more closely the English pronunciation or the shortened form *мејл* which for Macedonian users refers exclusively to electronic mail. When this word *умејл* is looked up in the Macedonian Digital Dictionary, the dictionary returns yet another variant *e-пошта* which is more formal. As for *online* in the MK2000 corpus, it appears as *онлајн* just once while it appears as *онлине* 7 times. Compared to the MK2020 corpus *онлине* has no occurrences at all while *онлајн* occurred 296 times.

In terms of frequency, the top ten most frequent new anglicisms among the 220 attested in MK2020 are presented in Appendix 6. These items demonstrate a very high frequency at the time of the global pandemic in both the language of the media and everyday language.

Conclusion

The extraction of new anglicisms from a corpus of Macedonian magazine articles cannot entirely rely upon automatic processing. Time-consuming and careful manual scanning must be combined with computational procedures at each stage of the analysis. As to the Kapital corpus, the approach enabled the extraction of examples of anglicisms not attested in the year 2000. The software was successful in identifying and counting a refined headword list of one-word items or compounds written as single words. Although some automatic filters were added in order to eliminate the undesired 'noise' in the final word list, only further time-consuming manual scanning of such a list led to the tracing of new anglicisms. A total of 220 completely new anglicisms were identified. Among these, the most frequent are Covid-related items, while other terms have low frequency. Most of these new anglicisms are not yet included in existing Macedonian dictionaries, and although some of them are highly frequent in everyday usage, their frequency in the corpus is low. This is due to the topics tackled by the corpus and do not reflect their overall frequency in the language. To have more accurate measurements of the overall frequency of a term in the language, huge resources need to be compiled and analyzed.

Undoubtedly, computational tools were extremely useful in saving time in compiling and digitalizing the corpus, in retrieving specific items, checking the context of usage, and in collecting a preliminary list of anglicisms in Macedonian. Despite the advantages, the software analysis tools used still lack accuracy and cannot replace the insight of a linguist when handling a complex and multifaceted phenomenon such as anglicisms.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1

- **Болдеринг** (анг. bouldering), што претставува искачување по помали природни или вештачки карпи, само со помош на прстите на качувачот и без употреба на јажиња или дополнителна опрема – уште еден голем потенцијал за развој на адреналински туризам.
- Започнуваме со утрински напиток кој секогаш има доза на **бреинсторминг** или бура од идеи што се би можеле да направиме во текот на денот.
- Протестантизам – генерално, потекнува од Макс Вебер, според кого: а) протестантската етика е значајна за економскиот успех, и б) овоземниот успех може да се интерпретира како знак на „ спасение “ и затоа толку силно се поставува како цел. Мажите се секогаш облечени во црно како знак на скромност. Зборот **воркохолик** (workaholic) потекнува од оваа култура.
- Аналитичарите на Голдман Сакс очекуваат **бенчмаркот** (цена на одредено подрачје) на Лондонската берза за следната година просечно да изнесува 22 долари за барел.

Appendix 2

Examples of word forms not attested in the MK2000 corpus

Агрегатен adj. (aggregate), адаптабилност n. (adaptability), активизам n. (activism), актуелност n. (modern/ current), дигитализација n. (digitalization), дигитализиран adj. (digital), дигитализирање n. (digitalization), интерактивност n. (interactivity), принта v. (print), принтање n. (printing), ресетување n. (reset), роботизација n. (robotization), роботика n. (robotics), консумира v. (consume).

Appendix 3

Examples of new COVID-related anglicisms attested only in the MK2020 corpus

Асимптоматски (asymptomatic), вирулентност (virulence), карантин (quarantine), коморбидитет (comorbidity), корона (corona), коронавирус (coronavirus), коронакриза (corona-crisis), пандемиски (pandemic adj.), пандемичен (pandemic adv.), пик (peak), локдаун (lockdown), аеросол (aerosol), дезинфицира (disinfect), инкубаторски (incubation-wise), инкубација (incubation), инкубира (incubate), интубација (intubation), инфицира (infect), инфицирање (infecting), кластер (cluster), ковид (covid), новодијагностициран (newly diagnosed), посткризен (post-crisis), постпандемичен (post-pandemic), постпандемски (post-pandemic), ревакцинација (revaccination), респиратор (respirator), сомоизолација (self-isolation), сомоизолира (self-isolate), серопреваленца (seroprevalence), социјализација (socialization), хоспитализација (hospitalization), and the phrase социјално дистанцирање (social distancing).

Appendix 4

New technology related anglicisms not attested in the MK2000 corpus

Акаунт (account), алгоритам (algorithm), атачмент (attachment), баркод (barcode), бекап (backup), блог (blog), блогер (blogger), блокчејн (blockchain), бот (bot), вебинар (webinar), видеоконференциски (video conference), видеотелеконференциски (video teleconference), визибилност (visibility), вирален (viral), гугла (to google something/find on Google), десктоп (desktop computer), дрон (drone), емотикон (emoticon), инфлуенсер (influencer), инфографик (infographic), клауд (the cloud), кликбајт (clickbait), клип (clip), копирајтер (copywriter), логира (log in), мултитаскер (multitasker), мултитаскинг (multitasking), нанодимензија (nano-dimension), наноматеријал (nano-material), нотификација (notification), персонализација (personalization), персонализиран (personalized), плејстејшн (PlayStation), постира (post), постиран (posted), постирајќи (posting), принтскрин (print screen), реконфигурација (reconfiguration), реконфигурирање (reconfiguration), репрограмирање (reprogramming), сајбербезбедност (cybersecurity), симулатор (simulator), смарт (smart), смартфон (smartphone), стартап (startup), стартапција (someone who works/owns a startup company), стрим (stream), стриминг (streaming), таблет (tablet), твит (tweet), твита (to tweet), телеконференциски (teleconference), токен (token), торент (torrent), финтек (fintech), фотоволтаик (photovoltaic), фотоволтаичен (photovoltaic), хакер (hacker), хаштаг (hashtag), хуманоид (humanoid).

Appendix 5

New anglicisms are also attested in the MK2020 corpus

Аутгоинг (outgoing), аутсорс (outsource), аутсорсинг (outsourcing), аутсорсипа (to outsource), апликабилен (applicable), болдер (boulder), болдеринг (bouldering), бајк (bike), бајкинг (biking), банџи (bungee), бекпротектор (back protector), билдинг as in тим билдинг (team-building), биопринтање (bioprinting), ботокс (botox), бреинсторминг (brainstorming), бејнстормира (to brainstorm), ветинг (vetting), вординг (wording), воркохолик (workaholic), декарбонизација (decarbonization), декарбонизиран (decarbonized), драфт (draft), енотуризам (enotourism), импакт (impact), импичмент (impeachment), индивидуализација (individualization), кетеринг (catering), исхендла (get something done/ deal with something), консумеризам (consumerism), контејнеризација (containerization), контролинг (controlling), корпоратизација (corporatization), кул (cool), лајфстајл (lifestyle), лаунџ (lounge), листинг (listing), мајндсет (mindset), манга (manga), маунтбајкинг (mountain biking), маунтин (mountain), мејнстрим (mainstream), миленијалци (millennials), мол (mall), невромаркетинг (neuromarketing), офлејбл (off-label), рафтинг (rafting), ребрендирање (rebranding), револвинг (revolving), рентакар (rent-a-car), рецептор (receptor), ресорт (resort), саундтрак (soundtrack), секвенционирање (sequencing), скрининг (screening), спин (spin),

спинување (spinning) , стејкхолдер (stakeholder), туруператор (tour operator), туторијал (tutorial), факторинг (factoring), фактчекинг (fact-checking), фит (fit), фриленсер (freelancer), фрирајд (freeride), фотофрејм (photoframe), хаб (hub), хедхантинг (headhunting), хед (hedge), џампинг (jumping), шинтоизам (Shintoism). Anglicisms in the domain of politics and/or historical events that are attested in the MK2020 corpus only are бенчмаркира (benchmark), бенчмаркирање (benchmarking), брегзит (Brexit), брегзитер (Brexiteer), моментум (momentum), фрегзит (Frexit). Many of the stated anglicisms above have not been included in Macedonian dictionaries yet. Examples of such anglicisms are бекграунд, адвертајзинг, алоцира, атачмент, бартер, бекап, билда, тим билдинг, блокчејн, болдер, болдеринг, бос, бот, бреинсторминг, ветинг, вебинар, визитинг, вирален, волатилност, вординг, воркохолик, гејзер, гугла, датабаза, девелопер, декодер, депрецијација, драјвер, интермедијарен, интерсекција, интубација, инфлуенсер, контрибуира, контролинг, копирајтер, корморбидитет, корпоратизација, лаунџ, листинг, локализација, локдаун, мајндсет, мејнстрим, микроменаџира, миленијалец, моментум, монетизира, монетизација, мултитаскер, нанодимензија, наноматеријал, невромаркетинг, нотификација, нутритивен, офлејбл, панелист, параглајдинг, парамедицински, перзистентен, принта, прудентен, рафтинг, реверзибилитет, револвинг, резистентност, репетитивен, рестарт, сајбербезбедност, саундтрак, серопреваленца, смарт, скрининг, сноубординг, спин, спинувања, стартап, стејкхолдер, стендбај, стрим, стриминг, таблет, твит, тејлоризам, телемедицина, токен, торент, тренди, туторијал, факторинг, фејк, финтек, фискализација, фриленсер, хаб, хаштаг, хедхантинг, хед, перспирација, фронтмен.

Appendix 6

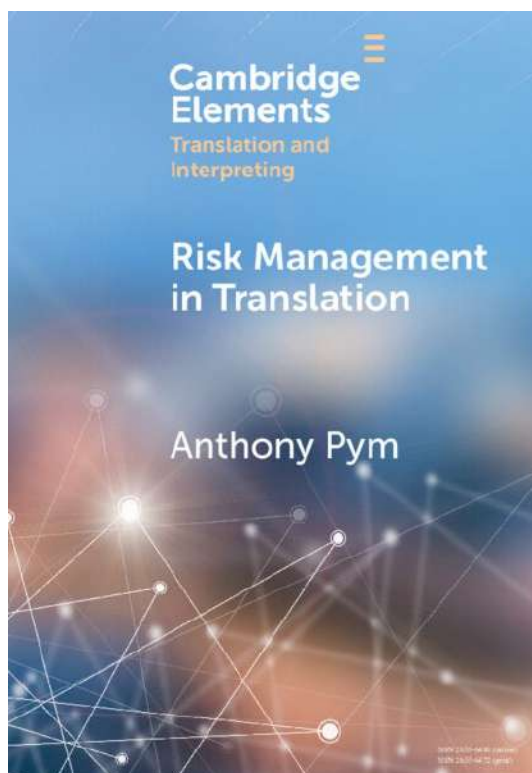
Ten most frequent new anglicisms attested in MK2020

Корона (corona) – raw frequency of 274, кластер (cluster) – 94, стартап (start-up) – 44, ковид (COVID) – 42, коронавирус (Corona virus) – 41, локдаун (lockdown) – 34, стриминг (streaming) – 13, импакт (impact) – 9, скрининг (screening) – 8, аутсорсинг (outsourcing) – 6.

BOOK REVIEWS SECTION

RISK MANAGEMENT IN TRANSLATION – BOOK REVIEW

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Book Details

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Risk Management in Translation

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Anthony Pym

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Antony Hoyte-West is an interdisciplinary researcher focusing on linguistics, literature, and translation studies. A qualified translator and conference interpreter from several languages into his native English, he holds a doctorate from the University of Silesia in Katowice and master's degrees from the universities of St Andrews, Oxford, and Galway, as well as two diplomas in piano performance. He is the author of over 100 publications on various topics, a number of which are indexed in Scopus or Web of Science. He has been a visiting fellow at the Leibniz Centre for Educational Media (Braunschweig, Germany) and South-West University "Neofit Rilski" (Blagoevgrad, Bulgaria).

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A recent addition to Cambridge University Press's Elements in Translation and Interpreting series is *Risk Management in Translation*, authored by Anthony Pym, one of the world's foremost translation studies scholars (Ioannidis, 2024). In this concise but insightful volume, Pym presents and analyses a topic of immense academic and practical relevance which synthesises and develops aspects touched upon in some of his previous research (e.g., see Pym, 2015).

Risk Management in Translation is divided in six sections. The first, entitled 'Why talk about risk?' (pp. 1-8), highlights the inherent uncertainty underlying (multilingual) communication. Pym goes beyond traditional rule-based notions of equivalence, highlighting that in many areas of translation, the "problems of translating a text do not have clear, simple solutions" (Pym, 2025a, p. 1). In discussing the role of risk and probability in numerical economic and business-related contexts, Pym then delineates how risk management interplays with the translator's craft, and how – consciously or not – it may affect a translator's work and mindset. As such, the importance of cooperation in enhancing the probability of a successful outcome – as well as in the avoidance of failure – is underscored.

The second section, 'The risk of what?' (pp. 8-17), summarises the factors that underpin successful intercultural communication (and by extension translation) given its potential susceptibility to risk. Utilising different case studies, Pym presents how notions of success and failure can potentially be measured in instances of translation or interpreting, even though certain of these 'successes' may not conform to specific or generally-recommended guidelines. Pym centres his attentions on the "local decision-making process, between the people and factors considered pertinent by the decision maker" (Pym, 2025a, p. 14), looking *inter alia* at the fluid nature of cooperation, and the economic rationale underpinning why certain things may (or may not) need to be translated in full.

In the third section, 'Types of risk management' (pp. 18-31), Pym outlines some of the major strategies underpinning risk management. Always in the context of translation and interpreting, these include brief presentations of strategies to avoid risk, information about the transfer of risks, as well as when and how both to take risks or when to use

trade-offs in professional practice. These insights not only discussed in the context of the appropriate scholarly literature but are additionally enriched with references to Pym's wealth of professional translation experience, thereby incorporating judicious examples from real-life practice.

Section four, 'Trust as risk management' (pp. 31-38), notes that trust represents "the social glue that enables cooperation to extend over time" (Pym, 2025a, p. 31). In applying this to translation and interpreting, Pym details the importance of quality and credibility – i.e., relating to appropriate linguistic and subject-specific knowledge and skills. Pym also presents the concept of 'thick' and 'thin' trust – i.e., whether a professional is considered to be trusted across many domains or only in one exclusive area. Lastly, Pym also outlines distrust, a concept which he advances as being much stronger than simply a mere lack of trust.

The penultimate section, 'Risks in automated translation' (pp. 38-50), can be considered especially relevant to our modern age. Here, Pym outlines some of the different technologies and the risks inherent in them (from machine translation and translation memories to neural machine translation and onwards). He articulates some of the issues that could arise, including the need for consumers to be protected and the risks of data loss through breaches, as well as aspects relating to risk assessment and the speed and accuracy of such systems in time-restricted emergency contexts. Conscious of the evolving role of translators in the future, he also usefully presents some helpful pointers for mitigating some of the risks of automation in the language sphere, including practical steps regarding the pre-editing and post-editing of documents, the creation of relevant templates, as well as on potential ways to revise AI texts.

In the work's conclusion, 'A case for more risk-taking' (pp. 50-57), Pym reiterates the centrality of cooperation to his understanding of risk management in translation, observing how things are changing because of the increased utilisation of online tools and the ensuing access to myriad translation possibilities by non-specialists. Accordingly, the *Element* concludes with a series of recommendations, which include teaching the risks of automation as well as the acceptance that translation has now become open to all. In addition, in terms of future trends, Pym advises that translators focus on high-stakes situations, as well as on

enhancing creative transformation and the development of ‘thick’ trust relations – i.e., as mentioned previously, across a variety of sectors, rather than just one.

In sum, this short volume provides an eminently skilful and up-to-date summary of an important and relevant topic which – as the author has anticipated in a recent position paper (see Pym, 2025b) – will doubtlessly provide material for further comment and debate. The insights are delivered in Pym’s characteristic reader-conscious style, which presents and discusses with the subject matter with verve and aplomb. Though aimed at an academic audience of scholars, researchers, and students, the analysis and observations contained in *Risk Management in Translation* will also be a must-read for practicing translators and interpreters seeking to adapt to the present era of change, as well as those involved in organising, contracting, and utilising multilingual communication services.

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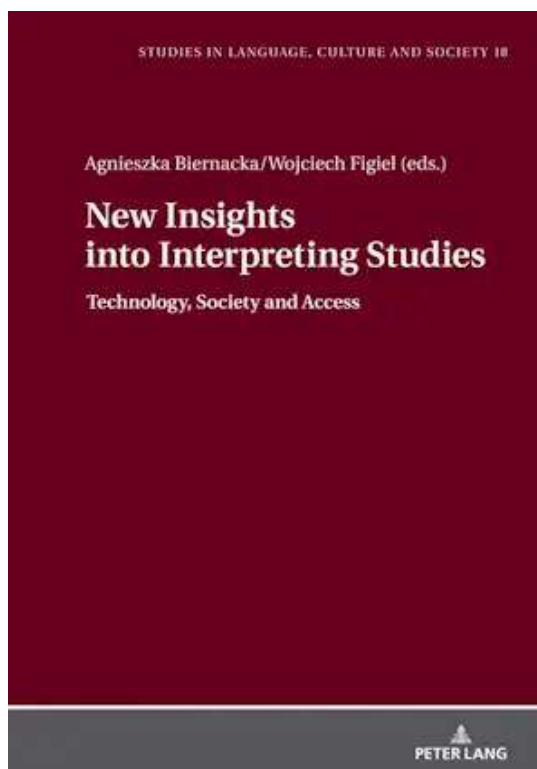
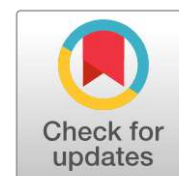
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NEW INSIGHTS INTO INTERPRETING STUDIES. TECHNOLOGY, SOCIETY AND ACCESS – BOOK REVIEW

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Book Details

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New Insights into Interpreting Studies.
Technology, Society and Access

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For decades, Professor Małgorzata Tryuk has been one of those scholars who leave a distinctive and constructive impact across every research area they explore, and a teacher whom students and colleagues turn to for sensible and up-to-date advice. A recipient of the order Officier des Palmes académiques in 2013 and of the University of Warsaw award in 2016, Professor Tryuk has built an impressive career, publishing seminal works on conference interpreting, community interpreting, interpreting history and interpreter training, while at the same time maintaining an active role at the Institute of Applied Linguistics of the University of Warsaw, which she represented at the EMCI and now represents at CIUTI and EMT.

It is only natural that her 70th birthday is celebrated with a special anniversary volume gathering fourteen contributions from leading figures in interpreting studies and interpreter training. Each contributor shares not only an interest in the scientific topics explored, but an enduring professional and personal connection with Professor Tryuk. *New Insights into Interpreting Studies. Technology, Society and Access* is thus, as Michaela Wolf puts it in her own contribution, ‘not only yet another publication on “our” issue, but especially a proof of our friendship’ (Wolf, 2024, p. 36).

This ‘journey’ through Professor Tryuk’s contribution to the profession and the latest development in interpreting studies starts with Franz Pöchhacker’s overview of the academic study of interpreting from the 1990s to the present day: ‘History, community, accessibility: Interpreting studies extended’. The author also presents several contemporary perspectives that are largely the result of ‘the intellectual and organisational leadership of Małgorzata Tryuk in one of Poland’s most prestigious centres of research and teaching in translation and interpreting’, a leadership that ‘has been shown to shift boundaries and prepare the ground for further extensions of the field of study’ (Pöchhacker, 2024, p. 31). The paper draws a thorough portrait of Professor Tryuk, both as a researcher and a trainer of researchers, in the context of the history of her field of study.

Using Marc Augé’s concept of *non-place* and drawing on a close reading of some 450 survivors’ reports in eight different languages, Michaela Wolf, in her contribution ‘Interpreting under threat: Nazi concentration camps as “non-places”’, provides a deeper understanding of the communication patterns that emerged within the context of concentration camps. Her analysis sheds light on the role interpreters played in this

extremely violent environment, a topic to which Professor Tryuk has made substantial contributions over the years (two examples of such contributions are Tryuk, 2010 and Tryuk, 2015).

In 'Interpreting and translation in military intelligence interrogations: A social-systemic perspective', Sergey Tyulenev takes an innovative approach examining the specificities and, we might say, paradoxes of a setting that remains largely underexplored in Translation and Interpreting Studies. Grounded in Niklas Luhmann's social systems theory, the author highlights the 'complex dynamics between layers of the socio-systemic boundary' (Tyulenev, 2024, p. 55). He examines how these dynamics play out, whether the interlinguistic transfer is performed by the interrogator themselves or an interpreter.

Elisabet Tiselius gives a thoroughly documented answer to the question 'Ethics of interpreting professions: One size fits all?', another topic that Tryuk (2015) has explored in depth. The paper is structured around the various interpreter professions and highlights their differences and similarities in terms of ethical approaches, concluding that 'a code of professional ethics will not have an answer to every situation' (Tiselius, 2024, p. 88), let alone for every interpreting profession. Through the careful analysis of each interpreting context and 'virtue', this research makes a useful contribution to reflection on the topic and can serve as a basis for discussions in training settings.

'In the footsteps of Professor Małgorzata Tryuk's research' (p. 93), whose research in court and community interpreting has been ground-breaking, Agnieszka Biernacka ('Still *the Cinderella of interpretation?* Court interpreting in Poland revisited') explores the topic in detail. Every aspect – from status to competences, from modes to ethics and more – is examined in light of the latest international research. Consequently, the reader gains a broader overview of the profession, even though the author focuses on the situation in Poland. The extensive bibliography is particularly helpful for anyone wishing to undertake similar research in other geographical areas.

Yet another contribution with potential benefits that extend beyond its niche topic is Aleksandra Kalata-Zawłocka's 'Preparation for interpreting in TV settings: Strategies employed by signed language interpreters across Europe'. Drawing on a comprehensive and balanced online survey completed by 83 signed language interpreters, the author identifies the most common pre-assignment, on-assignment

and post-assignment preparation strategies currently in use. While these strategies are specifically observed in the context of signed language interpreting for television, most of them are equally valid for other forms of interpreting, making this study widely applicable.

In Belgium, the interpreter's role as perceived by the users of their services has been the focus of several projects. Heidi Salaets and Katalin Balogh, authors of 'Access to justice for vulnerable groups in society: Minors in Belgium as a case', are set to present their work in this area as part of three recent projects – Co-Minor- N/ QUEST I, Co-Minor-IN/ QUEST II and ChiLLS (Children in Legal Language Settings) – as well as through the Interprofessional Education (IPE) programme, which they 'organised for stakeholders involved in interpreter-mediated questioning of minors' (Balogh et. al., 2016, p. 141). An important outcome of this work is a free manual available in five languages¹ which helps 'the facilitator to tailor the training according to the most relevant needs of the potential participants who by definition are diverse and come from different backgrounds' (p. 146). The authors' work has had an impressive outreach and should certainly be replicated in more countries.

Yet another generous initiative is presented in 'Exodus, refugees, and inclusion of the Afghan population in Spain. The project *Get To Know To Keep In Mind*' by Carmen Valero Garcés. Conducted from March 2022 to March 2023, and described in detail in the paper, this project offers a comprehensive exploration of the challenges faced by refugees. It could also serve as a model for socially oriented research that delivers quantifiable results that directly benefit people in need.

An experienced trainer and researcher, Alessandra Riccardi became interested in the history of the profession thanks to Professor Tryuk and now tackles this topic from the perspective of 'the opportunity to reflect on the interpreter's role and how it developed through centuries, in particular during turning points in civilisation' (p. 175). Her paper 'Interpreter training: A never-ending process' draws on the experiences recorded in the police detention camp Risiera di San Sabba in 1943 and during the Nuremberg trials, demonstrating history's potential to assist trainees today:

¹ For the English version, see <https://www.arts.kuleuven.be/tolkwetenschap/projecten/trailld/training-in-languages-of-lesser-fiffusion>

[e]xamples taken from the pioneers may help them [interpreting students] understand that even great interpreters had to struggle to obtain a fluent delivery and the right pace that seem so natural and spontaneous encouraging them to continue their studies knowing that present circumstances are much easier compared to what pioneer interpreters had to go through in the past' (p. 186).

A strong supporter of the concept of community of practice in interpreter training, Danielle D'Hayer presents its potential benefits in 'When a CoP mindset combined with hybrid pedagogy breaks silos to enhance interprofessional multilingual experiential learning and an inclusive participation of multiple communities. The case study of mock conferences for conference interpreting education at London Metropolitan University'. This very organised and motivating working model responds to the challenges of today's world by leveraging the tools provided by technology and interpreter pedagogy. It can be adapted by other schools to involve students at all levels of training and to create a network of professionals who recognise the high value of shared practice.

AI is undoubtedly the most widely discussed topic nowadays concerning the future of interpreting, and taking stock of professionals' and trainees' opinions on the topic is a highly relevant way to prepare for what may lie ahead. In 'Artificial intelligence from the perspective of students and interpreters', Ivana Čeňková presents findings from a 2020 questionnaire distributed to students and interpreter trainers at Charles University, as well as to Czech interpreters, and compared the results with those from an EMCI survey on the same topic. This study, which distinguishes purely automatic interpreting from AI-assisted interpreting, concludes on an optimistic note, stating that we can 'expect that AI will soon be able to assist interpreters and make their jobs easier' (p. 237).

Focusing on the basics of the profession while using present-day research tools, Anna Jelec, Karol Bartkiewicz, Katarzyna Czarnocka and Joanna Ziobro-Strzępek take a comparative look at note-taking in both 'no training' and 'after training' conditions, comparing the volume of notes and their density. Their novel and objective approach to note-taking analysis in 'Why not(es)? Automatic analysis of notes for consecutive interpreting' offers valuable insight into the benefits of consecutive interpreting training, accompanied by an exhaustive bibliography on the topic, making this paper a

valuable contribution with the potential to inspire new approaches to teaching note-taking.

Tomasz Korybski ('Hybrid and synchronous simultaneous interpreter training: Configurations, constraints, opportunities and perceptions') reflects on the strengths and weaknesses of blended training, drawing on his experience at the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań and examining the potential of hybrid interpreter training in the near future. He concludes on a positive note, stating that 'learning new skills and new teaching modes with a significant technological component is a must for interpreter trainers, but since most of them are or have been practising interpreters, acquiring new knowledge and rapidly adapting to a new work environment is second nature to them anyway.' (p. 285)

The relatively recent experience of the pandemic, with all the changes it brought to teaching routines, continues to fuel reflection on the best ways to train interpreters. In line with Tomasz Korybski's perspective, Wojciech Figiel ('Teaching simultaneous interpreting during the COVID-19 pandemic: Technology, society, access') shares his and his students' experiences to highlight 'the importance of support from disability activists in testing and adopting technical solutions accessible for all' (p. 289). The theory of capitals by Pierre Bourdieu and autoethnography form the theoretical framework of a very clear and systematic outlining of an experience in which we may recognise ourselves, but from which the author manages to draw more constructive and better-defined lessons than is typically the case. This autoethnographical and capital-wise reflection on one's teaching experience is indeed inspiring.

Małgorzata Tryuk's exceptional contribution to the field of interpreting studies resonates through the richness and diversity of the contributions to this volume, written by researchers who have all been inspired – as colleagues, students, friends – by her work and her generous spirit.

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