

THE CHALLENGES OF TRANSLATING CULTURAL EMBEDDEDNESS IN CRIME FICTION: A PICTURE FROM CROATIA*

Abstract

The aim of the present study is to examine the specific features of translations of crime fiction in Croatia in the 2000s. Frederic Jameson (quoted in Rolls, Vuaille-Barcan, West-Sooby 2016) foregrounds the notion of crime fiction’s role as the new Realism due to the importance it places on historical and geographical specificity, together with the social fabric of our daily lives. As such, it is possible that an excessive emphasis on place in crime fiction may present a particular challenge in translation, not only in terms of the translation strategies chosen by translators, but also in terms of the preferred marketing strategies pursued by publishers and editors and the correspondence between them. This study focuses on the patterns of handling source-culture embeddedness, typical of this genre, in translation. It examines how diverse agents (publishers, editors and translators) involved in the production of translations of this genre interact, and how their interaction influences the decisions on handling the genre’s embeddedness in a particular source-culture reality. As crime fiction novels are a highly popular translated genre in Croatia, they make up a substantial portion of the production of the publishing sector. For the purposes of this study, a number of crime fiction novels by several frequently translated authors have been selected (P.D. James, Ruth Rendell, and Michael Connelly), published by Croatian publishers with diverse profiles, ranging from well-established companies to those more recently set up. The data analysed includes selected textual segments, the peritext of such editions, and interviews with the agents involved (translators and editors).

Keywords: crime fiction, CSI in translation, genre translation in Croatia

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1. Introduction

Though crime fiction and translation have long been closely interlinked, a specific interest for translation scholars in the translation of the crime fiction genre has developed only recently. Today, the genre of crime fiction enjoys growing global popularity (cf. Worthington 2011, Franks 2011, 2014, Rolls 2015, Nilsson, Damrosch, D’haen 2017), thanks to which it has become “a multi-million dollar industry [whose] stories circulate in multimedia landscapes, through books and television and movie adaptations that spread the world over” (Nilsson, Damrosch, D’haen 2017: 1). In her overview of the genre, Heather Worthington (2011: ix) makes the following observation:

Crime fiction in the early twenty-first century, **exceeds all other genres of fiction in popularity, even romance**. More crime fiction is bought for and borrowed from libraries than any other genre of fiction. Best-seller lists in newspapers and magazines invariably include crime fiction titles; bookshops have dedicated crime fiction sections; television and film offer many and varied interpretations of the genre (my emphasis).

Of course, the growing global popularity of crime fiction would not be possible without translation. The close links between translation and crime fiction are not only evident in today’s global dissemination of this genre¹ through translation, but translation has also played a vital part in the formation of the genre itself. Thus, Alistair Rolls, Marie-Laure Vuaille-Barcana and John West-Sooby (2016: 136) emphasize the “foundational role of translation in crime fiction”, citing as a case in point Edgar Allan Poe’s *The Murders in the Rue Morgue*. The role of translation in the development of the genre is of course in large part due to the fact that the first crime fiction texts arose

¹ While it is outside the scope of this paper, it is important to note that an internalization of the genre is accompanied by a large number of “local” or “national” variations becoming popular worldwide. With regard to this phenomenon, Andreas Hedberg (2017) emphasizes that the recent globalization of the genre, both in terms of its geographical spread and variety of topics, can be explained by a peculiar fusion of the universal and particular that this genre supports. When transposed to a new cultural milieu, the standardized form of crime fiction remains the same, but the narrative is filled with specific, highly “local” variations in terms of characters and settings. The “glocal” nature of the crime fiction genre is defined as a combination of rather fixed tropes reflecting local themes, which provide both unique and comfortably recognizable atmospheres.

in the Anglo-American tradition² and became available to foreign readerships through translations, which then had a vital impact on the formation of the genre outside the Anglophone world. Translating Poe's crime stories, Baudelaire created a "new poetics of modernity" (Rolls, Vuaille-Barcana, West-Sooby 2016: 137):

We should suggest that it is fitting in such a scenario to talk in terms of *a nexus of translation*, or perhaps a "contact zone", to use the terminology of Stephen Greenblatt's manifesto of cultural mobility (2009), **in which two genres** ("American" crime fiction on the one hand, "Parisian" prose poetry on the other) **arise together as a result of transnational exchange** (my emphasis).

As Karen Seago (2014) points out, the traditional focus on canonical literature in translation studies has sporadically shifted to popular genres, including crime fiction. Even so, "there is not a single monograph on the translation of crime fiction and only a handful of research articles which often only take crime fiction as their corpus but do not address themselves to the specificity of crime fiction translation" (2014: 3). Seago calls for more attention to be paid to specific challenges that crime fiction texts may present for the translator. For example, she suggests that scholarly interest be paid to issues such as "to what extent and how genre conventions and constraints, structure and thematic concerns, formal and rhetoric peculiarities impact on and crucially shape translation strategies" (2014: 4).

A feature inherent in crime fiction as a genre was noted by Frederic Jameson in his plenary lecture at "Telling Truths: Crime Fiction and National Allegory", a conference held at the University of Wollongong in 2012. Jameson (quoted in Rolls, Vuaille-Barcan, West-Sooby 2016) put forward the notion of crime fiction as "the new Realism", thereby foregrounding its historical and geographical specificity, together with depictions of the social fabric of everyday life, all of which play an important role in crime fiction writing.

In this study, it is assumed that "the new Realism" inherent in crime fiction is one of the genre's features of particular interest when such narratives are translated and consequently relocated to another lingua-culture. This study aims to contribute to the research agenda proposed by Seago (2014), shedding light on how the specific features of crime fiction texts that Jameson subsumes under "the new Realism", i.e., the plausible character of crime

² This generally accepted notion has been contested. See more in Nilsson, Damrosch and D'haen (2017).

fiction, and its immersion in a specific setting at a specific time, are handled in recent translations of crime fiction novels into Croatian. More precisely, the aim is to examine how the translator's decisions regarding the rendering of lexical items in the source texts (STs) that clearly embed the ST in the source culture (SC) universe are restrained by the genre conventions and editors' and publishers' notions of readers' expectations.

2. Methodology and corpus

2.1. Methodology

The specific set of research questions this study seeks to answer are as follows: 1) How are markers of ST embeddedness in the SC handled by translators? 2) To what extent are their choices governed by genre-specific constraints? 3) How do other agents that take part in the production of a translation (publishers and editors) influence translators' choices of solutions? 4) How are translators' decisions influenced by publishers' and editors' notions of readers' expectations, which might be revealed in the analysis of the "paratextual framing" of a target text (TT)?

In order to be able to shed light on the issues raised by the above set of research questions, we analysed three data sets. First, we conducted an analysis of textual data (segments of the selected STs and TTs) following the Descriptive Translation Studies paradigm (Toury 1995: 70–101). Furthermore, we conducted an analysis of the respective TTs' peritexts as evidence of the editors' "paratextual framing" of the TTs, and a set of face-to-face interviews with the translators and editors involved, in order to probe into their attitudes and lines of reasoning and correlate such data with the insights gained by the analysis of textual data.

The textual analysis was conducted with a view to establishing the solutions preferred by translators when handling lexical items in the ST that refer to specific geographical, social and cultural realities of the ST universe. References which embed an ST in a particular geographical locality and socio-cultural environment may be subsumed under the umbrella terms of culture specific items (CSIs) or culture-specific references, which connote "different aspects of everyday life such as education, politics, history, art, institutions, legal systems, units of measurement, place names, foods and drinks, sports and national pastimes, as experienced in different countries

and nations of the world” (Antonini 2004: 159). Such items are markers of the ST’s embeddedness in the SC, and are often referred to in literature by various terms: “cultural word” (Ivir 1987; Newmark 1988), “realia” (Florin 1993), “cultural reference” (Mailhac 1996; Olk 2001; Davies 2003; Antonini 2004), “culture-specific item” (Franco Aixelá 1996; Kwieciński 2001; Veselica-Majhut 2012) and “extralinguistic cultural reference” (Pedersen 2011). In this study, we will use the term culture-specific items (CSIs).

As stated above, the data on the preferred strategies of handling CSIs obtained by textual analysis will be supplemented with an analysis of the “paratextual framing” of the TTs. The term paratext was first coined by Gérard Genette (1997), who defined it as “those liminal devices and conventions, both within and outside the book, that form part of the complex mediation between book, author, publisher, and reader: titles, forewords, epigraphs, and publishers’ jacket copy” (1997: xviii). Paratexts as devices that mediate the book to the readership are sub-classified into peritext and epitext (Genette 1997: xviii). In this study we will consider book covers as an element of the peritext, an analysis of which can provide an insight into the strategies of “relocating” the TT in the SC.

2.2. Description of the source and target text pairs in the corpus

For the purposes of this small-scale research into practices of translating crime fiction into Croatian in the early 21st century, we have randomly selected three novels by popular Anglo-American authors of crime fiction,³ whose works have been abundantly translated into Croatian. These are *The Private Patient* by P.D. James, *The Girl Next Door* by Ruth Rendell, and *The Reversal* by Michael Connelly.

The Private Patient (PP) belongs to the Inspector Dalgliesh Series. It was first published in the UK by Faber and Faber in 2008. Its Croatian translation was published in 2010 under the title *Privatna pacijentica: slučaj Adama Dalgleisha* (PPtn) (translated by Tomislav Belanović) by the publishing house Profil, in its “Profil krimić” series. Founded in the late 1990s, Profil was one of the relatively small, newly established publishing houses. It

³ It is well known that crime fiction is a complex genre comprising numerous subgenres. However, since we are dealing with a small sample, with the aim of shedding a preliminary light on the issue addressed, we will not take subgenre distinctions into account.

grew in the early 2000s and today is one of the largest publishing companies in Croatia. In addition to a large number of textbooks – a source of safe income for today’s publishing sector in Croatia thanks to government subsidies – Profil is renowned for publishing both classical works and popular literature.⁴ The series “Profil krimić” was launched in 2004. The mere use of the word *krimiće*, a colloquial expression for a crime novel, is an indicator of the publisher’s intention to frame the series as entertaining reading.

The major part of the plot of *The Private Patient* takes place in Cheverell Manor, a private clinic set in Dorset and run by a famous plastic surgeon, George Chandler-Powell. The novel also contains a large number of precise references to various London micro-locations. In addition to references to places, the narrative abounds in references to specific details that make up the web of its protagonists’ everyday lives.

The Girl Next Door (GND) by Ruth Rendell was first published in 2014 by Hutchinson. Its Croatian translation by Mirna Čubranić was published in 2016 as *Djevojka iz susjedstva* (DS) by the publishing house Mozaik knjiga in “Mozaikova zabavna biblioteka” (Mozaik Entertaining Series). On its website, Mozaik knjiga presents itself as a leading publisher in Croatia, publishing books by both national and foreign authors and gifted storytellers, including classics of the past and children’s literature. They also promote themselves as a “family-oriented” publisher that publishes books intended for people of all ages, “from the youngest to the oldest”. As the information in the paratext shows, *Djevojka iz susjedstva* is the 231st title published in “Mozaikova zabavna biblioteka”. The series was launched in 2005 and around 300 titles have currently been published in this series.

The plot revolves around a crime committed seventy years ago, when a psychopath killed his wife and her lover, cut off their hands, and stored them in a shortbread biscuit tin hidden in the tunnels beneath Warlock House in his neighbourhood. During construction work on a new housing development, the hands are found and the protagonists, who were children when

⁴ This is how Profil is promoted on its website (<https://www.profil-klett.hr>): “We have published fiction and nonfiction since 2001. We are proud of our wonderful editions of the works of the greatest authors in the world from Margaret Atwood, Elena Ferrante, Umberto Eco, Paul Auster, Marguerite Duras, Henry James, Doris Lessing, Cormac McCarthy, Carlos Fuentes, Raymond Carver, to global bestsellers such as *Kradljivica knjiga* (*The Book Thief*) and *Žena vremenskog putnika* (*The Time Traveler’s Wife*). Among our authors are some of the best-selling contemporary authors such as Cecelia Ahern and Nora Roberts, John Le Carré, Ian Rankin, to mention just a few”.

the murder was committed, now reunite during the criminal investigation. The main focus in the novel centres on the dynamics of their re-established relations and old age as such, rather than on the investigation and solving of the crime. Details of the authentic locations where the fictional protagonists used to live or still live are meticulously portrayed, along with various details that make up the texture of their everyday lives.

The Reversal (Rv) by Michael Connelly was published in the US in 2010 and belongs to the Mickey Haller series. The Croatian translation was published in 2013 by Lumen izdavaštvo (Lumen Publishing) under the title *Preokret* (Pr) (translated by Bruno Štefić). Lumen izdavaštvo was established in 2011 by Croatia's oldest and largest publisher of academic literature, Školska knjiga [Schoolbook], as an offshoot more oriented towards popular literature.

The plot revolves around the retrial of a suspect accused of a brutal child murder, who is exonerated by new DNA evidence. Mickey Haller, a Los Angeles-based defence attorney, takes on this case as a prosecutor on behalf of the city of Los Angeles, on condition that he gets to choose his investigator, namely LAPD Detective Harry Bosch, his half-brother. The plot is set in the Los Angeles area and references to particular places, such as the famous restaurant The Water Grill, play an important role in the construction of the universe of the novel.

2.3. Culture-specific items and solution types for rendering them

The rendering of CSIs is one of the most discussed issues in translation studies, considered to be a kind of “translation crisis point” (Pedersen 2007: 19), and as such has been addressed in a large body of critical literature.⁵

When faced with the challenge of rendering a CSI in translation, translators have a range of options or solution types at their disposal. As Javier Franco Aixelá (1996: 65–71) points out, a set of factors, ranging from the supratextual parameter (the degree of linguistic prescriptivism, the nature and expectations of potential readers, the nature and the aims of the initiators),

⁵ Due to limited space, we will not present an overview of the relevant literature but rather refer the reader to the main contributions to the issues related to rendering CSIs: Ivir (1987), Hervey and Higgins (1992), Franco Aixelá, (1996), Mailhac (1996), Newmark (1998), Kwieciński, (2001), Davies (2003), Baker (2011) and Pedersen (2011).

through the textual parameter (dependent on the nature of a CSI), to the intratextual parameter, can all play a role in the translator's decision on how to render individual CSIs. Since we are primarily interested in the interrelation of genre conventions and translation solutions, we will focus on what Franco Aixelá subsumes under the supratextual parameter.

For the purposes of the textual analysis presented below, we have modified a previously compiled taxonomy of solution types for rendering CSIs. The more elaborate taxonomy, which served as the basis for the taxonomy applied in this study, was created for the purposes of an analysis of the patterns of rendering CSIs in a large corpus of Agatha Christie novels and their translations into Croatian (Veselica-Majhut 2012). The previously compiled – quite elaborate – taxonomy was reduced and simplified for the present small-scale study, taking into consideration Henrik Gottlieb's concerns (2009: 32) that should be borne in mind when establishing categories, with the aim of discerning certain patterns in translations. According to Gottlieb, categories should be established to accommodate all the findings, different categories should reflect significant differences in the findings, and there should be a correspondence between the number of categories and the size of the data set analysed.

Broadly speaking, the choice of one particular solution for rendering an individual CSI will have an effect on the text level of a TT as it will either contribute to the preservation of the embeddedness of the text in the SC, the neutralization of culture-specific content in the TT, or the substitution of SC-specific content with TC content, i.e., contribute to the assimilation of the TT in the TC.

Before we present an analysis of how CSIs that mark a TT as being set in a particular geographical and socio-cultural setting are handled in the analysed TTs, we will provide a brief overview of the taxonomy of solution types applied in the analysis. All the solution types are divided into two basic categories: simple and compound strategies. Compound solution types are the result of combining a simple solution type with another solution type, usually an intratextual or extratextual addition (cf. Franco Aixelá's "intratextual gloss" and "extratextual gloss", 1996). In Table 1, all solution types are listed, from those closest to the exoticizing (or source-oriented) pole to those closest to the assimilating (or target-oriented) pole, with neutralizing strategies in between. They are accompanied by explanations and examples of their use from the novels analysed.

Table 1. A taxonomy of solution types for rendering CSIs with examples and explanations

Solution type	ST	Explanation
Retention + linguistic translation	<p>But none of this business penetrated <u>Sanctuary Court</u>. (PP: 8) <i>No, ništa od tih aktivnosti nije dopiralo u Sanctuary Court.</i> (Ppt: 12) [But none of these activities reached <u>Sanctuary Court</u>.]</p> <p>...lived on <u>Windsor Boulevard</u> in Hancock Park. (Rv: 33) <i>...žijeli su na Bulevaru Windsor u Hancock Parku.</i> (Pr: 38) [... they lived on <u>Boulevard Windsor</u> in Hancock Park.]</p>	<p>Retention means that an item appearing in the ST is simply retained in, or transferred to, the TT.</p> <p>In Croatian translations, retention + linguistic translation is often used to render geographical references consisting of a proper and common noun. The proper noun element is retained while the common noun is translated into the TL.</p>
Retention + intratextual addition	<p>It wasn't a very large sum, but it was enough to buy a house on <u>The Hill</u> in Loughton,... (GND: 10) <i>Iznos nije bio naročito velik, ali bio je dovoljan da kupe kuću u ulici Hill u Loughtonu,...</i> (DS: 7) [The sum wasn't especially large, but it was enough to buy a house in the street <u>The Hill</u> in Loughton,...]</p>	<p>A SC reference is retained and background information is added in the core text, thus contributing to the higher accessibility of the reference for the TT reader, who is not aware of the translator's intervention.</p>
Retention + extratextual addition	<p>Now, back in his Barbican flat (PP: 6) <i>Sada mu se boraveći u svome stanu u Barbicanu*... (PPtin: 44)</i> <i>Stambeno-poslovni kompleks u londonskome Cityju (nap. prev.)</i> [Now, when he stayed in his flat in the Barbican* ... *housing and business complex in London's City, editor's note]</p>	<p>A SC reference is retained and the addition of background information or more detailed explanation is marked as such by its placement in footnotes, endnotes, commentaries or italics.</p>

<p>Replacement with a recognized exoticism</p>	<p>She had left him twenty thousand pounds in her will... (PP: 17) <i>Bila mu je prepisala dvadeset tisuća funta u svojoj oporuci...</i> (Ppt: 26) [She had left him <u>twenty thousand pounds</u> in her will...]</p>	<p>This solution type involves the use of a ready-made solution, i.e., of a term that has become an established translation equivalent for certain items belonging to other cultures. The word belongs to the linguistic system of the TL, but because it is used to refer to phenomena existing only in foreign societies and cultures, it unmistakably bears traces of such cultures. An example of the use of this solution type is the rendering of imperial units of measurement in Croatian: <i>pound</i> as <i>funta</i> or <i>inch</i> as <i>inc</i>.</p>
<p>Replacement with paraphrase</p>	<p>... she was struck by the street's emptiness, the almost uncanny calm which hung over these formal eighteenth-century terraces. (Pptn: 11) <i>Bila je iznenađena time koliko je ulica prazna te gotovo sablasnom tišinom koja se nadvila nad tim strogim nizovima kuća iz osam-naestog stoljeća...</i> (Ppp: 17) [... she was surprised by the street's emptiness and an almost uncanny calm which hung over these formal <u>rows of houses</u> from the eighteenth-century]</p>	<p>Replacement with a paraphrase is a descriptive solution. As we can see in the example, the English reference to "terrace", a style of housing where individual houses repeating one design are joined together into rows, is rendered in Croatian descriptively as <i>nizovi kuća</i> (rows of houses). However, socially relevant connotations of terrace houses, built in the 18th century in posh neighbourhoods of London as residences of noble and gentrified families who spent most of the year in their country houses, is not conveyed to the TC readership.</p>
<p>Replacement with linguistic translation</p>	<p>... the tourists and crowds would soon be pouring over the Millennium Bridge... (PP: 8) <i>...turisti i gomile ljudi slijevati preko Milenijskog mosta...</i> (Pppt: 12) [... the tourists and crowds would soon be pouring over <u>the Millennium Bridge</u>...]</p>	<p>A SC-specific reference is simply translated into the TL. The effect of this solution type is assimilating to a degree because the linguistic level affinity with the SC is obliterated.</p>

<p>Replacement with linguistic translation + extratextual addition</p>	<p>Jeremy Coxon's house in Maida Vale was one of a row of pretty Edwardian villas with gardens leading down to the canal (PP: 204) <i>Kuća Jeremija Coxona u četvrti Maida Vale bila je jedna u nizu lijepih edvardijanskih vila s vrtovima koji vode prema Kanalu.</i> (*<i>Misli se na Regent's Canal zbog kojeg londonsku četvrt Maida Vale nazivaju i Malom Venecijom, nap. ur.</i>). (PPtn: 283)</p> <p>[Jeremy Coxon's house in Maida Vale was one of a row of pretty Edwardian villas with gardens leading down to the canal* *This refers to Regent's Canal, owing to which the London neighbourhood of Maida Vale is called Little Venice, editor's note]</p>	<p>This solution type involves the simple translation of a reference into the TL and the addition of background information in a footnote or endnote.</p>
<p>Replacement with a less specific item</p>	<p>The biscuit tin had a picture of variously shaped shortbread biscuits on it (GND: 11)</p> <p><i>Limenka za kekse bila je oslikana keksima raznih oblika</i> (DS: 10)</p> <p>[The biscuit tin had a picture of variously shaped biscuits on it]</p>	<p>This solution type involves the replacement of a CSI with a generic word, or with an item that is less specific. The effect of the use of this solution type is cultural neutralization. As is seen in the example from <i>The Girl Next Door</i> "shortbread biscuits", a typical Scottish biscuit, is replaced with <i>keks</i> (biscuit) in the Croatian TT.</p>
<p>Replacement with a TC equivalent</p>	<p>The chapel at the Manor stood some eighty yards from the east wing... (PP: 9)</p> <p><i>Kapelica blizu kurije nalazila se na nekih osamdeset metara od istočnoga krila...</i> (Pptn: 65)</p> <p>[The chapel near the kurija stood some eighty metres from the east wing...]</p>	<p>Replacement with a TC equivalent is obviously a target-oriented solution type: an item firmly embedded in the SC is replaced with an item firmly embedded in the TC. The manor in our example refers to Cheverell Manor, "regarded as one of the loveliest Tudor manor houses in England" (PP: 87) in Dorset, owned by the famous plastic surgeon George Chandler-Powell, who uses it as an exclusive private clinic and a place where he can find peace from the hustle and bustle of London and his Harley Street clinic. In English architecture and history, manors occupy a special position, and they are deeply rooted in English culture. The chosen equivalent <i>kurija</i> is specific to Croatian historical heritage. A Croatian dictionary definition of <i>kurija</i> reads: "in our environment, it is a big house, a family single storey house with a land estate".</p>

Source: own study.

All solution types presented in Table 1 can be classified according to their specific effect on the cultural markedness of the TT: exoticizing, neutralizing, assimilating or educating. In our analysis, we used the previously constructed model of text-level orientations (Veselica-Majhut 2012). When translators apply one of the compound strategies, which are a result of combining one of the simple strategies with an addition, this affects the informative or educational value of the TT. The model illustrating the effects of solution types on the orientation of the TT is best presented in Figure 1. The figure is also explained in more detail in the text below.

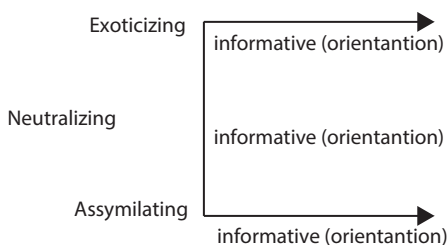


Figure 1. Model of text-level orientations

Source: own study.

In contrast to linear models that follow Sandor Hervey and Ian Higgins' model (1992), we suggest that solution types be classified according to two criteria: the presence of culture-specific content in the TT and the level of relevant information on the SC elements present in the TT. Solution types contributing to the presence/neutralization of SC-specific elements or their replacement with TC-specific content are placed along the vertical axis, with retention being at the exoticizing end, and replacement with the TC equivalent at the assimilating end. The solution types, whose effect is the obliteration of any culturally specific content, belong to the neutralizing group, which is visually removed from the vertical axis. The horizontal axes indicate the degree of informativity of a particular solution type. As we became aware that the level of information about culture-specific elements is not automatically integrated with any of the orientations reflecting the presence of culture-specific markers, we introduced this orientation in order to be able to distinguish between various levels of informational value contained in diverse solution types. While both retention and retention + extratextual addition contribute to the preservation of the SC embeddedness of the TT,

the difference between them lies in the amount of information provided to the TT reader. The following examples illustrate this distinction:

Example 1: Now as he got out of the train and made his way along the canal to the bridge and Maida Vale... (GND: 49)

Sad kad je izišao iz vlaka i hodao uz kanal do mosta i Maida Vale... (DS: 75)
[Now as he got out of the train and walked along the canal to the bridge and Maida Vale...]

Example 2: The journey from the City shouldn't take three-quarters of an hour but the London traffic was unpredictable... (PP: 7)

Put iz Cityja ne bi trebao potrajati četrdeset pet minuta, no londonski je promet nepredvidiv.*

* *Povijesna jezgra i financijsko središte Londona (nap. ur.)*

[The journey from the City* should not take forty five minutes but the London traffic was unpredictable.

* The historical heart and financial centre of London (editor's note).]

As we can see, when we compare examples 1 and 2, in both of them the references to the particular London locations – Maida Vale and the City – are retained. However, owing to the editor's note in example 2, the TT reader is provided with additional, culturally relevant information about the locality.

Assimilating strategies aim to “relocate” ST elements into the TC environment. A salient example of the use of this strategy in the analysed ST-TT pairs is found in *The Private Patient*, whose plot is set in Cheverell Manor, “regarded as one of the loveliest Tudor manor houses in England” (Pptn: 87) in Dorset. The translator's choice, as evident from Table 1, is to render Cheverell Manor as *kurija Cheverell*. The English notion of a manor, with all its specific connotations, is replaced with *kurija*, a Croatian concept loaded with a range of specific TC connotations. As Jeremy Musson (1999: 7) points out, manor houses are usually seen within the “English picturesque tradition”, where “the English manor house enjoyed a cult status at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century” (Musson 1999: 7). On the other hand, the notion of *kurija* is closely related to the continental European tradition. The translator opts for *kurija*, which, to a certain extent, semantically overlaps with “manor”, but obliterates all socio-cultural connotations the original term has for ST readers. However,

we should note that replacement with a TC equivalent is the least frequently used strategy in our corpus.

Replacement with linguistic translation refers to a literal translation of a reference. In Table 1, this strategy is illustrated with the example of handling a reference to the Millennium Bridge, which is rendered as *Milenijski most*. An alternative strategy would be to retain “the Millennium Bridge”, which would be more exoticizing, or to render it just as “the bridge”, which would have a neutralizing effect.

3. Findings

3.1. Findings of the textual analysis

A systematic analysis of selected chapters of *Djevojka iz susjedstva* (chapters 1 and 2) *Privatni pacijent* (chapters 3 and 6), and *Preokret* (chapters 11 and 13) has yielded the following insights.

We extracted 40 CSIs from chapters 1 and 2 of *The Girl Next Door*, the majority of which (26) are references to geographical locations. All of them are rendered in the TT by the use of retention, which clearly indicates that the original setting is maximally preserved. Only in two cases is retention combined with intratextual addition, as for example in the rendering of *He'd had his hip done and he was just coming back from St Margaret's* (GND: 18) as *Operirao je kuk i baš se vraćao iz bolnice St Margaret's* (DS: 21). Therefore, we are led to conclude that the dominant textual level orientation is exoticizing, or, in other words, that the translator's macro strategy is the preservation of the SC “flavour” and of the specific world of the ST. This seems to be a deliberately chosen strategy, as in many cases neutralizing solutions would work well and would allow the plot to be followed easily. For example, the above quoted reference to St Margaret's could have simply been replaced with “hospital”.

In chapters 3 and 6 of *Privatna pacijentica*, we extracted 44 culture-specific items. A large number of them (21) refer to geographical locations, all of which are rendered using retention. Therefore, as in *Djevojka iz susjedstva*, the original setting is preserved and the TT is permeated with a specific sense of the SC setting.

In chapters 11 and 13 of *Preokret*, we extracted 19 CSIs, with only 5 of them being references to geographical locations, all of which are rendered with retention or retention + linguistic translation.

The infrequent use of either intertextual or extratextual additions in these particular TTs is an indication of a considerably restrained use of informative solutions, whose function is to inform the reader about the denotative or connotative meanings of SC-specific references. In all three TTs, extratextual additions are placed in footnotes.

As for the use of footnotes in translations of fiction, there is no general attitude towards their use, but it rather seems to depend on a particular culture's tradition. For example, Landers (2001: 93) advocates against the use of footnotes in fiction translations, explaining his attitude by claiming that footnotes disturb the "mimetic effect... Footnotes break the flow, disturbing the continuity by drawing the eye, albeit briefly, away from the text to a piece of information that, however useful, is still a disrupter of 'the willing suspension of disbelief'". The restrained use of footnotes seems to be related to achieving easy readability as one of the requirements of the crime fiction genre. In fact, literary critics claim that crime fiction "has been treated as a paradigm of effortless readability" (Pyrhönen 2010: 54).

To conclude, the above textual analysis reveals that the translators have opted for exoticizing solutions on the one hand, but on the other, have been restrained in the use of informative solutions, which may be related to the genre's properties as well as the readers' expectations.

Though we analysed a small corpus, the insights gained lead us to raise certain questions related to the rendering of the portrayal of source socio-cultural reality in crime fiction translations. The strong reliance on retention results in a TT that is obviously deeply embedded in the SC. But a large number of CSIs in our corpus are not references to geographical locations as such but to places that represent institutions and have significant socio-cultural connotations in the SC, easily accessible to ST readers. Let us illustrate this with several examples:

Example 3: He never stayed longer than a week before flying to Rome where he stayed in the same pensione outside the city he had first visited when at Oxford... (PP: 30)

Nije se nikada ondje zadržavao dulje od tjedan dana nakon čega bi otputovao u Rim, gdje bi odsjeo u pansionu u blizini grada koji je prvi put posjetio tijekom studija na Oxfordu... (Pptn: 44)

[He never stayed there longer than a week and after that went to Rome, where he would stay in the small hotel near the city that he had first visited while studying at Oxford]

Example 3 is an extract in which one of the main protagonists, George Chandler-Powell, a man “at the top of his profession” recollects how he spends his Christmas holidays. “When at Oxford” is rendered via the retention of Oxford with the intratextual addition “while studying at...”, which helps the reader understand that this is not a reference to a place where he lived over a certain period of his life, but to the educational institution it metonymically denotes. As for what studying at Oxford implies in terms of one’s social position, this is left to TT readers to infer, relying on their background knowledge, if they possess it. The following example is another case in point:

Example 4: I used to imagine them, edging their way with brains and talent into the Boars Hill academic dinner parties... (PP: 31)

Zamišljao bi ih da se zahvaljujući svojoj darovitosti i pameti uspijevaju ugrati na akademske večere u Boars Hillu... (PPTn: 46)

[I would imagine how, owing to their talent and brains, they managed to edge their way into academic dinners at Boars Hill.]

Example 4 is an extract in which Herbert Chandler-Powell, George’s grandfather, tells his grandson how he, who studied at Oxford as “a scholarship boy”, never felt at home there. He despised other intelligent, ambitious boys who tried to become genuine members of the Oxford academic community. As we can see in example 4, the TT reader is not given any orientation, via additional information, regarding what Boars Hill stands for, but is left to infer from the co-text that the place refers to something that upwardly mobile young people with no satisfactory social background would like to become part of. The socially relevant connotations that the reference to Boars Hill is intended to communicate to the ST readers may be inferred from the following description: “The community of Boars Hill constituted ‘a self-conscious intellectual elite’, renowned for its concentrated population of academics, writers and artists, conscious of their position as cultural figureheads and leaders in English society” (Scott-Brown 2017: 156).

We will quote another example in order to illustrate the “cultural knowledge gap” which is present due to the restrained use of informative solutions. The main protagonists of *Djevojka iz susjedstva*, Alan and Rosemary Norris, a traditional elderly couple, who have, in Alan’s words, “spent a dull life”, first read about the morbid discovery of a tin with hands in it in the

newspapers. The following passage is rich in CSIs that have particular significance in terms of portraying contemporary British society:

Example 5:

The Daily Telegraph spread out on the dining table, Alan was reading about a discovery made by three Polish builders under a house called Warlock, on The Hill...

‘What a name,’ said Rosemary, reading it over his shoulder. ‘Zbigniew. Is that how you pronounce it?’ (GND: 17)

Raširivši Daily Telegraph na blagovaonički stol, Alan je čitao o onome što su tri građevinska radnika Poljaka pronašla ispod kuće pod imenom Warlock na Hillu...

– Kakvo ime – rekla je Rosemary čitajući preko njegova ramena. – Zbigniew. Izgovara li se tako? (DS: 19)

[Having spread “The Daily Telegraph” on the dining table, Alan was reading about a discovery made by three Polish builders under a house called Warlock, on The Hill...

– What a name – said Rosemary, reading it over his shoulder. – Zbigniew. Is it pronounced so?]

“The Daily Telegraph” is an upmarket, conservative paper. In addition to being a marker of one’s political orientation, therefore, reading “The Daily Telegraph” is also a subtle indicator of someone’s social class. For example, statistics provided by the National Readership Surveys for 1993 show that “The Daily Telegraph” was the most popular newspaper among people belonging to social grades A, B and C (upper-middle class, middle class and lower-middle class) (cf. Westin 2002: 9). The fact that the worker who dug out the tin is Polish and that Rosemary does not know how to pronounce his name is an allusion to another aspect of life in contemporary Britain, which experienced an influx of immigrants from Eastern European countries following the accession of these countries to the EU.

To conclude, we have observed divergent tendencies in the translators’ choices of solution types. On the one hand, there is a clear and consistent tendency to retain most of the CSIs, which contributes to the deep embeddedness of a TT in the SC environment. On the other hand, we should point out that imperial units of measurement, such as yard, mile and inch, are consistently replaced with TC equivalents (*metar, kilometar* and *centimetar*). This choice may be explained by the requirement for easy readability of the TT,

typical for crime fiction, which, in our opinion, also underpins the restrained use of informative solution types which bring additional information.

3.2. Findings of the analysis of peritext

In the following section we present an analysis of book covers, an element of peritext that is strongly indicative of the strategies used by publishers and editors when marketing a book, and trying to attract potential readers.

None of the books analysed foreground the fact that the book is a translation, since the translator's name is not placed on the front cover but rather in the front-matter section. This is a conventional practice in Croatia and the translator's name is cited in a routinely used phrase, such as "s engleskoga preveo Tomislav Belanović" (translated from English by Tomislav Belanović).

Visually, the most dominant element on the front cover of *Privatna pacijentica* is the ST's author's name, P.D. James, printed in large bold font. The book's title is placed below the author's name, in a conspicuously smaller font. Above the markedly prominent author's name, the book is announced as "a new novel by the first lady of **British** crime fiction" (our emphasis). In the bottom part of the cover, there is a blurb from "The Daily Telegraph", which reads "Exciting, as always...". Therefore, the publisher's marketing strategy relies heavily on the familiarity of the target audience with the author's reputation on the one hand and on the other, by the inherent features of the genre, such as mystery, excitement, suspense, a sense of anxiety provoked by the shattering of the comfortably safe picture of ordered reality, caused by an act of crime. The latter element is reinforced by the photo of an isolated grand house, which evokes a sense of mystery and unsolved secrets. P.D. James is clearly framed as "the first lady", i.e., the most celebrated female author of "British crime fiction". All this leads us to conclude that the marketing strategy relies on the author's popularity in the SC, and her importance to the tradition of British crime fiction.

In line with publishing conventions, the front flap copy, considered an important element of peritext that helps "sell the book", contains a short biography of P.D. James, in which it is emphasized that she "is one of the most famous and most appreciated authors of crime fiction in the world". The back-cover design also gives prominence to the author's name. As is conventional in crime fiction books, a brief introductory summary of the

plot is included, written in such a way as to intrigue the reader. A longer text that follows promotes the book as “the latest novel by the most famous **British** crime fiction author P.D. James, who reintroduces Adam Dalgliesh to investigate a suspicious death **in an ambiance typical for this famous author of the classic English crime novel**: in the south of England, in inland Dorset, Cheverell Manor, once a large estate, is turned into a plastic surgery clinic run by famous plastic surgeon George Chandler-Powell” (our emphasis). The text is accompanied by two blurbs: “A real pleasure to read...” from “The Observer” and “No one is as good at creating suspense as P.D. James” from “The Washington Post”. To conclude, the publisher’s marketing strategy, as the above analysis of the verbal and visual elements of the book covers reveals, brings to the foreground the author’s fame, as well as the reader’s conventional expectations of the crime fiction genre (mystery and suspense, as well as pleasure in reading). In addition, it is important to point out clues such as “the typical ambiance”, “the classic English crime novel” and “the most famous British crime fiction author”, all of which indicate that a substantial part of the book’s allure lies in its “typical ambiance” and Britishness.

While the Britishness of the book’s setting is emphasized in the case of P.D. James, *Djevojka iz susjedstva*, published by Mozaik knjiga, is announced as an “international bestseller” on the front cover. Visually, the most prominent element of the front cover is the title itself, set in a large and bold font. Unlike in *Privatna pacijentica*, here the author’s name is written below the title in a smaller font. However, the potential reader’s attention is directed towards the author by a short blurb – visually set off from the rest of the cover by its distinct blue colour – written by Ian Rankin, stating “Probably the most prominent author of crime fiction”. The front flap contains a photograph of the author and a short biography, in which it is emphasized that she has won a number of literary awards. The reader is also reminded of all the other books by Rendell translated into Croatian. The back cover tempts the reader by introducing some elements of the narrative. The back inside flap contains two recommendations: one by Patricia Cornwell, and a sentence from a review in “The Times Literary Supplement”. Cornwell describes Ruth Rendell as “undoubtedly the best author of crime fiction of our time”, and concludes that “she majestically triumphs with her recognizable, unique style of writing”. To conclude, in comparison to *Privatna pacijentica*, the publisher of *Djevojka iz susjedstva* gives prominence to the author’s worldwide fame, reinforced by blurbs by prominent genre authors such as Ian Rankin and Patricia Cornwell.

Michael Connelly's *Preokret* is paratextually framed in line with the pattern observed in *Privatna pacijentica*: visual prominence is given to the author's name and a blurb from the "Los Angeles Times": "One of the best authors of crime fiction". As the novel belongs to the subgenre of the police procedural, the photograph on the front cover depicts the enlarged entrance to a court building, with two lawyers climbing the steps. The back-matter section contains a number of extracts from the book's reviews which emphasize Connelly's mastery of the genre. The back cover does not deviate from the usual pattern of design for this genre: a short summary of the plot aimed at arousing the reader's interest, concluding with a clearly promotional line: "Written with an exceptional insight and an infallible feeling for the pace of action, *The Reversal* exceeds readers' expectations and satisfies the primordial desire for a well-told story". Therefore, emphasis is placed on the author's fame and the book's quality within its genre, without particular attention paid to the specific socio-cultural setting.

3.3. Findings from interviews with editors and translators

In this section, we will sum up the main findings from the interviews. The editor working for Mozaik knjiga said that the rendering of CSIs was not a topic specifically discussed with translators, and particularly not with the translator of *Djevojka iz susjedstva*, Mirna Čubranić. Čubranić is an experienced translator, to whom Mozaik knjiga regularly assigns the most complex popular genre texts. The editor's opinion is that these texts should be easily readable and accessible to the general public, in particular to the members of "Svijet knjige" (The Book World), the first and largest book club in Croatia,⁶ which is its most prominent market. The translator's opinions correspond with the strategy of giving priority to the fluency of the text and its easy readability. It is interesting to note that this translator (as well as the other translators interviewed) believes that in translations from English, some groups of CSIs have little weight as cultural markers. This is explained by a cultural proximity to Anglophone cultures and the assumption that Croatian readers are familiar with many features of the SC.

⁶ On its website, Mozaik knjiga promotes its book club by saying that it has over 30,000 members (a large number in Croatian terms), and that its mission is to bring books to diverse sections of the population and to cater for various tastes.

However, the rendering of CSIs in texts translated from English but set in cultures perceived as remote for the Croatian readership would require both preservation and more elaborate explanations.

Both the editor and translator working for “Profil krimić” place more weight on handling CSIs, believing that a compromise should be reached between information about the socio-cultural context and demands for the TT to be easily readable. In this regard, we should note that of all three analysed TTs, *Privatna pacijentica* contains the largest number of extratextual additions (*Privatna pacijentica* contains 24 while *Djevojka iz susjedstva* contains 3 and *Preokret* 5 footnotes).

As for Lumen izdavaštvo, the overarching concept is that the TT should be easily readable in Croatian and that readers should not be burdened by information that is not crucial to the plot. Even so, the editor working for Lumen izdavaštvo believes that the neutralization or assimilation of the markers of geographical and socio-cultural settings is acceptable only when it is necessary to help the reader follow the plot. Indeed, this is a guideline given to the translator.

4. Conclusion

In this study, we have seen that cultural markers of the ST’s setting are scrupulously retained in translations into Croatian. However, when we compare the findings reached in this study with the data from our previous, diachronically-oriented research, we observe the emergence of certain new tendencies in the 2000s. To be more precise, our previous research (cf. Veselica-Majhut 2015) showed that the use of recognized exoticisms (*milja, jard, inč*) to render imperial units of measurement was the dominant solution in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s. However, the corpus analyzed in this study shows that imperial units of measurement are invariably rendered with TC equivalents (*kilometar, metar, centimetar*). While the use of TC equivalents is a more recent tendency, whose first emergence may be traced back to the late 1970s, in the 2000s it seems to have become regular practice. TC equivalents, such as *kilometar, metar, and centimetar*, are a more assimilating solution than recognized exoticisms, such as *milja, jard, and inč*. As we have seen in the interviews with the translators and editors, this tendency is explained by the need to enhance the readability of the TT.

Within our corpus, the use of retention + linguistic translation (e.g. *ulica Harley*) to render references to urban toponyms seems to be dominant. Again, viewed from a diachronic perspective, this marks a change from the practice of using complete retention (*Harley Street*) in Croatian texts, which was dominant in the 1950s and 1960s (cf. Veselica-Majhut 2015). Though the recent developments may be interpreted as indicators of a tendency to prefer more assimilating or target-oriented solutions, it should be stressed that retention + linguistic translation allows the preservation of the “foreignness” of the setting, but makes the TT more easily readable for TT readers.

Another indicative tendency is worth noting: in the sample analysed, exoticizing solutions, such as retention, are only occasionally accompanied by intratextual or extratextual additions that would convey socially relevant connotations to the TC readership, and bridge the “knowledge gap” that exists between the ST and the TT readership.

To conclude, it should be noted that both the textual and extratextual data (derived from an analysis of the peritext and by interviews) suggest that there is an important nexus of tensions that translators have to negotiate, which could be assigned to the specific constraints imposed by the genre of translated texts. These are tensions relating to the need to strike a balance between fluent, easily readable TTs (and, consequently, well-sold books), and texts that offer a nuanced insight into the social reality of another lingua-culture, a feature to which crime fiction owes much of its transnational popularity.

As we have mentioned above, assuring the readability of fiction texts is given priority over conveying the original versions’ social and ideological nuances, though the consequence of this necessitates reducing a particular setting simply to a colourful backdrop to the plot. The paratextual framing of the sample novels also supports this conclusion: the authors, all of whom are brand names among Croatian readers of the genre, are given a prominent position and used as a device to lure readers, along with a plot which promises mystery, suspense and pleasurable reading. As is evident from the interviews conducted, a compromise is reached between paying scrupulous attention to the faithful rendering of setting in translations (the avoidance of neutralizing solutions), and achieving a fluent text in which the reader’s absorption in the plot is not disturbed by culturally relevant information.

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