

Untranslatability: Lexical and Culture Gaps

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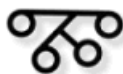
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UNIVERSITY OF ZAGREB
FACULTY OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
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TRANSLATION TRACK

Petra Cuculić

Untranslatability: Lexical and Culture Gaps

Diploma thesis

Annotated translations presented in fulfilment of requirements for a second-cycle degree

Supervisor:
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Abstract

This thesis comprises five annotated translations, accompanied by a discussion. Excerpts from three books were translated from English into Croatian; namely, from the areas of popular psychology (*The Willpower Instinct*) and sociology (*Social Class in the 21st Century*), as well as a UNHCR Handbook (*UNHCR Resettlement Handbook*). Texts translated from Croatian into English were literary texts; namely, a contemporary novel (*Oči*) and an early twentieth-century novel (*Ženski udesi*). The discussion was focused on the problem of lexical and culture gaps between English and Croatian, with special emphasis on the concept of untranslatability. By providing examples of seemingly untranslatable words and phrases from these texts, I discussed some common translation strategies in dealing with them.

Sažetak

Diplomski rad objedinjava pet prijevoda s bilješkama prevoditelja te raspravu. Dijelovi tri knjige prevedeni su s engleskog na hrvatski. Spomenute knjige pripadaju područjima popularne psihologije (*The Willpower Instinct*) i sociologije (*Social Class in the 21st Century*), a uz to preveden je i priručnik UNHCR-a (*UNHCR Resettlement Handbook*). Književni tekstovi prevedeni su s hrvatskog na engleski, a radi se o suvremenom romanu (*Oči*) te romanu s početka dvadesetog stoljeća (*Ženski udesi*). U raspravi je obrađen problem leksičkih i kulturnih praznina između engleskog i hrvatskog, s posebnim naglaskom na koncept neprevodivosti. U raspravi također predlažem strategije pri prevođenju leksičkih i kulturnih praznina na primjerima naizgled neprevodivih riječi i sintagmi iz navedenih tekstova.

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Part One
Discussion

Untranslatability: Lexical and Culture Gaps

A term from the source language may seem untranslatable when there is a so-called lexical gap in the target language. Lexical gaps are defined as “instances of lack of lexicalization [of a certain concept] detected in a language when comparing two languages or in a target language during translation” (Cvilikaitė 2006, 127). For instance, cultural and consequently lexical gaps, often become evident when comparing family relations in two different language systems. For example, there is no superordinate term in Croatian which would denote a person’s brother or sister but in English there is a hypernym *sibling*. In other words, when trying to translate the word *sibling* into Croatian, the translator would be faced with the problem of lexical gap. As outlined above, lexical gaps do not exist *per se* in a language, rather, they become evident when two languages or two systems are compared (Pavlović, 2015, 34). Rules of one language do not necessarily apply to the other. As Baker (1992, 46) puts it: “Words are not strung together at random in any language; there are always restrictions on the way they can be combined to convey meaning.” In the case of non-equivalence, the translator has to be very careful because collocations in the source language might differ substantially from those in the target language. For instance, in English it is typical to say *do homework* and not *write homework*, whereas Croatian collocation is *napisati zadaću* (*write homework*). What is more, idioms and fixed expressions that exist in one linguistic system might not exist in the other. These gaps between different language systems question the feasibility of translation as a procedure.

As discussed above, translating lexical and culture gaps is sometimes quite difficult, if not impossible. Some linguists, such as Sapir and Whorf, even consider translation an impossible task. They argue that people from different cultures perceive their reality in a way that is characteristic only of their culture. In other words, “speakers’ native languages set up series of categories which act as a kind of grid through which they perceive the world” (Trudgill 2000, 13). According to this view, languages differ in the way they use grammatical and lexical categories to depict the world, which consequently means that different languages represent diverse social realities. The Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis is still very controversial: “No two languages are ever sufficiently similar to be considered as representing the same social reality. The worlds in which different societies live are distinct worlds, not merely the same world with different labels attached” (Sapir 1949, 69). Therefore, translation from one language into another is practically impossible, since linguistic categories of different languages are never

completely equivalent. The concept of untranslatability is connected to the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis. Untranslatability is loosely defined as a property of an utterance in the source language for which there is no equivalent expression in the target language. However, the concept of untranslatability is not a popular one in translation studies. It is more acceptable to talk about the non-equivalence between the two linguistic systems and stick to Newmark's (1987, 6) rule that "everything without exception is translatable." Newmark (1987, 6) further elaborates his remark by saying that "the translator cannot afford the luxury of saying that something cannot be translated." Instead, translators should get more familiar with various translation strategies that help them bridge cultural and lexical gaps.

First Text: The Willpower Instinct

The style of the book *The Willpower Instinct* is casual and in some instances rather informal. This is to be expected from a self-help book, which is by its definition instructive and speaks directly to the reader. A looser and more informal style is, therefore, a characteristic of the self-help genre in English. However, self-help literature in Croatian is written in a slightly different manner, and the differences become evident precisely in the aspect of style. While English self-help books tend to be written in a somewhat informal register, Croatian ones retain some distance in approach and more formal register. At first glance, one could say that style has nothing to do with lexical and cultural gaps. However, Trudgill (2000, 83) states that different styles in English are mostly characterized by their vocabulary and syntactic differences. When trying to accurately translate words from the source text into Croatian, the translator will be faced with difficulties, because lexical choices in Croatian self-help register tend to be much more formal. For instance, I decided to translate the expression *mankind's most fabulous upgrade* as *najnaprednija ljudska karakteristika*. This way, the informal style is subtly toned down, while the gist of information is retained. This is more of an example of non-equivalence at lexical level than of a lexical gap.

However, the following examples do not have equivalent target expressions in the target language self-help register. In the sentence: "Bet u don't want 2 know how many calories r in that drink", the slang abbreviations *u*, *r*, and *2* do not have translation equivalents in Croatian. The sentence could be translated more informally, for instance: "Brijem da ne želiš znat' kol'ko ima kalorija u tom piću." By using slang in the target sentence the translator would only

compensate for the inability of finding accurate translation equivalents for the slang abbreviations. Since there are no target language translation equivalents for the slang abbreviations, the translator is faced with the problem of lexical gaps. Constraints of the genre limit translation choices. The sentence: “Brijem da ne želiš znat’ kol’ko ima kalorija u tom piću” could be an option for the target text in a different register; here, however, such a sentence would be highly stylistically inappropriate. Therefore, the sentence is translated as, “Kladim se da ne želiš znati koliko kalorija ima u tom piću.” The expression *kladim se da*, emphasizes a casual tone of the sentence, and at the same time, the sentence stays grammatically correct.

A similar problem occurred in the sentence: “Oops! You’ll be less likely to exercise if you have to stop for dinner first.” The sentence is translated as, “Pazite! Manja je vjerojatnost da ćete vježbati ako prvo odlučite pojesti večeru.” Translating *oops* as *pazite* is not completely accurate. The interjection *oops* is usually used to express surprise or apology when someone makes a minor mistake, and its Croatian equivalent would be the exclamation *O, ne!*. However, for the reasons stated above, the meaning of the target term is slightly altered and the informal choice of words is toned down. The target term *pazite* should warn the reader that a mistake could be made if one does not think carefully first. If the co-text is taken into account, *pazite* is a semantically good choice. The previous example shows that even though there are translation equivalents in the source language, register or style can sometimes limit translation choices and create lexical gaps where one would not expect to find them.

Second Text: Social Class in the 21st Century

The chapter “Classifying class: early sociological paradigms” of the book *Social Class in the 21st Century*, describes the criteria for the classification of social classes. One of the most semantically complex words from the source text is definitely the word *sensibilities*. It appears in the sentence: “These sensibilities fed into the first attempts to formally classify the population from the early nineteenth century onwards.” When trying to translate the word into Croatian, the translator will notice that meaning of the word is a bit ambiguous. According to the online *Cambridge Dictionary of English*, the noun *sensibilities* is synonymous to the noun *feelings*. Moreover, in *The Free Dictionary* the noun is translated into Croatian as *osjećaji*. In my opinion, however, it would not be accurate to translate the noun *sensibilities* simply as *osjećaji*, at least not in this context. For a non-English speaker it is difficult to grasp all the nuances of

meaning of the word *sensibilities*. Baker states that sometimes the source language concept is not lexicalized in the target language. She points out that “the source-language word may express a concept which is known in the target culture but simply not lexicalized, that is not allocated a target-language word to express it” (1992, 21). The word *osjećaji* is then a neutral Croatian equivalent for the English word *sensibilities*, however, it does not always fit in any given context.

This may be so because the word *sensibilities* is semantically very complex. Baker (1992: 22) argues that “a single word which consists of a single morpheme can sometimes express a more complex set of meanings than the whole sentence.” When it comes to such translation difficulties, Baker suggests that the translator paraphrases the source term “by modifying the superordinate or simply unpacking the meaning of the source item, particularly if the item in question is semantically complex” (1992: 38). Influenced by her thinking, I decided to substitute the initial target term *osjećaji* with a loosely related word *preokupacije*. The decision has been based on the context – the paragraph previous to the sentence illustrates how a number of questions were raised about how to classify the population in the nineteenth century. The word *sensibilities* then stands for the questions which preoccupied people at that time.

In addition to semantically complex words, there are also a few culture-specific terms in this chapter. Pavlović (2015, 39) defines culture-specific terms as source language items that denote a concept which is completely unknown in the target culture. Some of the culture-specific terms in the text are *Registrar General* and *Registrar General's Office*. *Registrar General* is a government official who manages vital records such as births, deaths, and marriages. In *The English-Croatian Dictionary of Law and International and Business Relations* the term is translated as *glavni voditelj upisa*, *voditelj uknjižbe* and *glavni matičar*; while *Registrar General's Office* is translated as *ured glavnog matičara*. Since there is more than one translation of the aforementioned terms, the target culture is clearly familiar with them. However, one should take into account that the text describes the public administration of England and Wales in the early twentieth century. After an online discussion on *Omega*, the consensus was reached that the safest option for translating these culture-specific items was to paraphrase them. In instances such as this, Baker suggests to paraphrase the culture-specific term by using a related word from the target culture. Baker (1992:37) states that “the strategy tends to be used when the concept expressed by the source item is lexicalized in the target language but in a different form.” Thus, *Registrar General* and *Registrar General's Office* were translated as *Glavni*

matični ured za Englesku i Wales, a concept which would be more comprehensible to the target language reader.

Yet another culture-specific item that appears in the text is the term *barrister*. Barrister is a legal profession that is specific of common law jurisdictions. At the same time, civil law jurisdictions, part of which is the Croatian legal system, do not have the profession. Common law jurisdictions differentiate between two types of lawyers: barristers and solicitors. A solicitor is a lawyer who gives legal advice to clients and prepares legal documents and cases. As opposed to solicitor, a barrister can argue a case in both higher and lower courts. In the Croatian legal system, there is no such differentiation between types of lawyers. In fact, there is just one term to designate a person who gives legal advice and represents clients in court – *odvjetnik*. The term *barrister* appears on its own in the source text sentence, in other words, it is not compared to the other type of common law lawyer. Therefore, it is not important to mark or emphasize the difference in rank between the solicitor and barrister in the target text. The translation choice for the target text is, therefore, a regular Croatian term used in this context – *odvjetnik*. The source text sentence: “We know that the barrister and the blacksmith are in different social grades,” points to the fact that being a barrister implies a certain social prestige, whereas being a blacksmith does not. The target term is an adequate choice in this sense as well, since the term *odvjetnik* carries similar prestigious connotations in Croatian.

Third Text: *Ženski udesi*

The book *Ženski udesi*, written in 1902, abounds with culture-specific terms and dialect words. The words can be grouped into two categories, first of which includes cooking terms. The main female character, Paraska, prepares dinner for her husband Janoš. She cooks *paprikaš* and a special type of pasta called *trganci* or *valjušci*. Both *paprikaš* and *valjušci* are local dishes in the continental Croatia but they originate from foreign countries. More precisely, *paprikaš* is a traditional Hungarian dish, while *valjušci* is traditionally prepared in the south of Germany and in Austria. At the time when the book was written, Croatia was a part of Austria-Hungary, and therefore, Croatian cuisine was influenced by the cuisines of Austria and Hungary. The term *paprikaš* is simply translated as *paprikash* in the target text, since the loan word already exists in English. Sometime in the past there had been a culture gap between the two language systems but then English adopted the term *paprikash* and adapted it to its phonetic and language norms.

However, the same cannot be said for *trganci* and *valjušci*. When trying to translate *trganci* and *valjušci* into English, the translator will become aware of a lexical and culture gap. In fact, *valjušci*, also known as *šufnudli*, is a Croatian name for the German dish *Schupfnudeln*. In other words, the Croatian term *šufnudli* is a loan word from German. Similarly, the English calque for *Schupfnudeln* is *finger noodles*. Thus, *valjušci* in fact has its equivalent term in English and it is *finger noodles*. At the same time, *trganci* is a traditional Croatian dish with no English translation equivalent, and the translator, consequently, has to find a way to bridge both lexical and culture gap. *Trganci* and *valjušci* are not the same pasta shape and they are made from different ingredients. Despite that, Paraska uses the terms synonymously and serves both *trganci* and *valjušci* with *paprikaš*. This could indicate that for her, *trganci* and *valjušci* are in fact the same dish. Due to this reason, I decided to translate both terms with a hypernym: a superordinate term which comprises meanings of both subordinate words. So, both *trganci* and *valjušci* are translated as *finger noodles*. To sum up, I translated *paprikaš* using the loan word *paprikash*, whereas *trganci* and *valjušci* were translated using the hypernym *finger noodles*. This way, the specific local cuisine is explained in terms easily comprehensible to the target reader, while at the same time, its cultural flavor is retained.

The other set of culture-specific items from the book *Ženski udesi* is connected to typical places where people used to spend their free time. The first word, *banjak*, describes a part of the house where people used to sit and relax, while the other, *bircuz*, could be translated as *tavern*. Since *banjak* is an archaic Croatian word, mainly used in the continental part of the country, its meaning might be unfamiliar to some Croatian readers. *Banjak* refers to the spacious area behind the stove, where it was warm and comfortable, so people used to sit there and children used to play. Since the word is culturally and regionally specific, I decided to translate it using a translation procedure called paraphrase. Pavlović (2015: 78) says that using paraphrase as a translation procedure is a double-edged sword; on the one hand the translator helps the reader to understand the cultural reference better, while on the other, paraphrase can often be lengthy and clumsily put. Therefore, I decided to keep the paraphrase short and simple. The source sentence: “Dok je on večerao, ona sjela kraj peći na banjak,” was translated as, “While he was having supper, she sat in the open space behind the stove.”

The second culture-specific item in the text is the word *bircuz*. Faced with yet another lexical gap, I decided to use substitution as a translation procedure and find a cultural equivalent for the term. *Bircuz* could be translated as *pub* but *pub* does not have the exact same connotations.

Pubs are typically found in the English-speaking world but they are not characteristic of early twentieth-century Croatia. A more appropriate cultural equivalent is *tavern*. It is important to point out that when referring to the local tavern, the narrator and characters sometimes call it *bircuz* and sometimes *krčma*. It seems that the difference in usage of the terms lies in their different expressive meaning. While *krčma* is used as a neutral term, *bircuz* carries some negative connotations. The word is mainly used by Paraska when she urges Janoš not to go there. For Paraska, the tavern is a disreputable place and she is terrified of the fact that Janoš frequents it. In an online forum discussion, my colleagues and I agreed to translate both terms as *tavern*, since they refer to the same place and are practically synonymous. However, Baker (1992: 23) states that “if the target-language equivalent is neutral compared to the source-language item, the translator can sometimes add the evaluative element by means of a modifier or adverb if necessary.” Therefore, I decided to make a distinction between *bircuz* and *krčma* and signalize their negative or neutral connotations, respectively. I used the neutral word *tavern* when referring to *krčma*, and added a premodifier *filthy* when referring to *bircuz*. In other words, *bircuz* was translated as *filthy tavern* to emphasize the negative image of the place.

Fourth text: Oči

Since Edo Popović’s novel *Oči* is a contemporary novel, it is written in informal style and the characters use a lot of slang expressions. For instance, the sentence: “Kaje, Kalda, kaj ti nije jasno?” is a perfect example of Zagreb slang. The sentence mimics spoken language by combining the words *kaj* and *je* into a compound word. Besides being highly colloquial, *kaje* does not conform to the grammatical rules of written language because it is written the way it is pronounced, i.e. in eye dialect. Online *Oxford English Dictionary* defines eye dialect as the use of nonstandard respelling to represent dialectal or colloquial pronunciation. Based on this, *kaje* could be translated as, for example, *wut*, a variant of respelling of the word *what*. However, *wut* would not convey the meaning accurately because *kaje* is semantically more complex than *what*. Therefore, I decided to use addition as a translation procedure and thus modify the target expression to convey meaning more similar to that of the source text. In the end, I translated the target sentence as, “What the hell are you looking at, Kalda, what’s bugging you?” thus adding additional information. At first, the target sentence seems a bit different from the source sentence because it is longer and more elaborate. However, if I had translated it using only *what*

or *wut*, the target text would have been deprived of a specific nuance of meaning. By saying *kaje* the character expressed her annoyance with Kalda's staring at her, which is evident from the co-text. Moreover, it is usually very rude to address someone with *kaje*, so adding the expression *what the hell* in the target text accentuated the rudeness of the speaker.

Another interesting example of non-equivalence at lexical level from the text is *čaša za vodu od debelog stakla*. The descriptive nature of Croatian comes to the fore in this example. The source language noun phrase *čaša za vodu* can be easily expressed in English by using only one word – *tumbler*. In cases such as this, it is usual to premodify the noun in English, so the translator could simply translate the source term as *thick glass tumbler*. At the same time, premodification is considered grammatically and stylistically incorrect in Croatian. Therefore, Croatian uses a lengthy paraphrase to describe the type of container for liquids. Baker (1992, 24) states that “when a language has no mechanism for producing certain forms, they are often replaced by an appropriate paraphrase.” Croatian, unlike English, has no such mechanism, so the concept has to be paraphrased and described in more words. Due to these grammatical differences, the translator is faced with the problem of non-equivalence at the level of form. In Baker's (1992, 24) words: “There is often no equivalent in the target language for a particular form in the source text.” Even though the semantical meaning can be conveyed to the target language, the form of the noun phrase remains untranslatable. Moreover, since tumblers are made of thick glass, the postmodifier *od debelog stakla* does not necessarily have to be added in the target text. However, since this is a literary text, as much as possible should be kept so as not to unintentionally change the author's style.

Fifth Text: UNHCR Resettlement Handbook

Baker (1992, 25) argues that “the use of loan words in the source text poses a special problem in translation.” She further states that loan words are used to add a certain air of sophistication to the text. The sophistication and prestige they carry in the source language are often lost in translation for obvious reasons – it is not always possible to find a loan word with a similar meaning and connotations in the target language. Such a problem can be found in *UNHCR Resettlement Handbook*, where Latin expressions are used. Even though the *UNHCR Resettlement Handbook*, as its name suggests, is primarily a handbook, its register is legal. Latin expressions can frequently be found in both Croatian and English legal texts, so in theory, they

could be left untranslated from Latin in the target text. After a discussion on *Omega*, some of my colleagues decided not to translate Latin expressions precisely for the above-mentioned reasons. However, some of us stated that it depends on the context whether Latin expressions should be translated or not. One of the Latin expressions in my part of the source text was *prima facie*, which I decided not to translate. In the *English-Croatian Dictionary of Law and International and Business Relations*, *prima facie* is translated as *na prvi pogled* or *u prvi mah*. However, I translated the source text clause: “whether on an individual or *prima facie* basis” as “bilo na individualnoj osnovi ili *prima facie*.” The expression *prima facie* is more typical of English legal texts than of Croatian ones, but I decided to keep the expression unaltered. As previously explained, Baker states that in translation of loan source text words, a lot is lost in translation because of the difficulty of finding an adequate and equally prestigious expression in the target text. In this specific sentence, it seems to me that there is no equivalent target expression to substitute *prima facie* with. In other words, there is a lexical gap in Croatian which can be bridged by keeping the loan source term. By keeping the expression in its source text form both the intended meaning and its prestigious form are conveyed.

Conclusion

In his book *Ferdinand de Saussure*, Jonathan Culler summarizes the problem of lexical and culture gaps in two simple sentences: “If languages were simply a nomenclature for a set of universal concepts, it would be easy to translate from one language to another. But languages are not nomenclatures, the concepts of one language may differ radically from those of another” (1986, 31). The task of translators is to find ways in which the source language categories can be expressed in the target language. By discussing the above-mentioned examples of lexical and culture gaps, I tried to depict some common translation strategies in dealing with them. For instance, lexical gaps become evident when translating nonstandard language varieties, such as slang or regional varieties. Such language varieties are a characteristic of a certain geographical area or a social setting, so it might be difficult to find an equivalent target culture expressions. If the target language does not have the equivalent term, the translator can try to find a superordinate term. This procedure was used to translate the terms *barrister* and *valjušci/trganci*. However, if the culture-specific term is completely unknown in the target

culture, the best option is to paraphrase it. *Banjak* was, therefore, translated as *open space behind the stove*.

When the meaning of the target term is not expressive enough, the translator can add grammatical modifiers to intensify the meaning. I highlighted the difference between *bircuz* and *krčma* by describing *bircuz* as *filthy*, while keeping the neutral term *tavern* for *krčma*. If there is a lexical gap, even the source term can sometimes be left untranslated in the target text, especially if the target language has already borrowed the term from another language. The source term might be semantically complex and it might not be easily translated into the target language. In that case, the lexical gap might be bridged by modifying the superordinate term so that it fits into the given context. For instance, a neutral translation of the word *sensibilities* is *osjećaji*. However, *sensibilities* is a semantically complex word, which means that it can take on different meanings in various contexts. Having all this in mind, the concept of untranslatability comes into question. Every word is translatable if in the given situation the translator is adept and inventive enough. It seems that Newmark was right all along when he said that “everything without exception is translatable” (1987, 6). It is the task and responsibility of the translator to translate the seemingly untranslatable words and bridge lexical and culture gaps in order to communicate the message to the reader.

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Part Two
Translations

Translation 1

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

pp 19-24

EN	HR	Source
ability	sposobnost	Gačić
awareness	svijest	Medicinski rječnik
brain	mozak	Medicinski rječnik
brainpower	intelektualni potencijal	Gačić
brain region	moždana regija	MSD-priručnici
disease	bolest	Medicinski rječnik
evolution	evolucija	Hrvatska enciklopedija
feeling	osjećaj	Medicinski rječnik
gray matter	siva tvar	Hrvatska enciklopedija
impulse	poriv	Medicinski rječnik
instinct	nagon	Medicinski rječnik
instinctive response	refleksni odgovor	Hrvatska enciklopedija
mind	um	Medicinski rječnik
muscle	mišić	Medicinski rječnik
neuroscientist	neuroznanstvenik	Hrčak
prefrontal cortex	prefrontalni korteks	Hrvatski institut za istraživanje mozga
primitive instinct	primarni nagon	Hrvatska enciklopedija
psychologist	psiholog	Bujas
self-awareness	samosvijest	Struna
self-control	samokontrola	Gačić

self- understanding	samorazumijevanje	Hrvatska enciklopedija
temptation	iskušenje	Gačić
tension	napetost	Medicinski rječnik
willpower	snaga volje	Medicinski rječnik

Zatim provjerite etiketu s cijenom: 199,99 \$.ⁱ Da niste ugledali tu skandaloznu cijenu, vaš bi prefrontalni korteks trebao ozbiljno intervenirati da zaustavi impulzivnu kupnju. No što ako cijena u vašem mozgu izazove refleksni odgovor na bol? Studije pokazuju da se to zaista događa, naime, mozak visoku cijenu može smatrati teškim udarcem.ⁱⁱ Taj instinktivni šok olakšat će posao prefrontalnom korteksu, a vi jedva da ćete morati iskazati „moć suzdržavanja od kupnje”. Dok se trudimo ojačati snagu volje, na razne ćemo načine pokušati iskoristiti sve što nas čini ljudima da bismo ostvarili svoje ciljeve; što uključuje i naše primarne nagone, od želje za užitkom do potrebe da se uklopimo.ⁱⁱⁱ

PRVO PRAVILO SNAGE VOLJE: ZNATI SAMOGA SEBE

Samokontrola je jedna od najnaprednijih ljudskih karakteristika, ali ona nije jedino po čemu smo posebni. Također posjedujemo samosvijest: sposobnost da za vrijeme radnje shvatimo što radimo i zašto to radimo. Uz malo sreće, također možemo predvidjeti što bismo mogli učiniti *prije* nego što to zaista učinimo, što nam daje priliku da preispitamo svoje nakane. Čini se da ta razina samosvijesti postoji samo kod ljudi. Dakako, dupini i slonovi mogu prepoznati svoj odraz u ogledalu, no postoji malo dokaza da poniru u sebe u potrazi za samorazumijevanjem.

Bez samosvijesti, sustav samokontrole bi bio beskoristan. Bitno je da prepoznate kad vaš odabir iziskuje snagu volje, u protivnom će vaš mozak uvijek odabrati već zadan lakši put. Promotrimo pušača koji želi prestati pušiti. On^{iv} treba prepoznati prve znakove želje za cigaretom i kamo ga ona može odvesti (van, na hladnoću, gdje će petljati po upaljaču). Također treba osvijestiti to da ako ovaj put poklekne, vjerojatnije je da će pušiti sutra. Lako će predvidjeti^v da, ako nastavi ovim putem, može oboljeti od svih onih groznih bolesti o kojima je učio na biologiji^{vi}. Da izbjegne takvu sudbinu, mora svjesno odabrati da neće pušiti. Bez samosvijesti, osuđen je na propast.

Možda se čini jednostavno, no psiholozi znaju da većinom odabiremo automatizmom, bez da smo svjesni toga što usmjerava naše odabire i zasigurno bez da ozbiljno razmislimo o njihovim posljedicama. Doista^{vii}, većinu vremena uopće nismo ni svjesni da odabiremo. Primjerice, u jednom su istraživanju ispitanici upitani koliko su odluka povezanih uz hranu donijeli u jednome danu. Što mislite? U prosjeku, odgovor je bio 14. U stvarnosti, kad su ispitanici pažljivo pratili svoje odluke, njihov je prosjek bio 227. To je više od 200 odabira kojih isprva

nisu bili svjesni, a radi se samo o odlukama koje su povezane s jelom. Kako je moguće kontrolirati se, ako niste ni svjesni da postoji nešto što treba kontrolirati?

Stalno odvrćanje pažnje i poticaji modernoga društva pritom nisu od pomoći. Profesor marketinga na Poslovnoj školi Sveučilišta Stanford, Baba Shiv, ustanovio je da rastresene osobe lakše podliježu iskušenjima. Primjerice, postoji 50 % veća vjerojatnost da će studenti koji se pokušavaju prisjetiti telefonskog broja za užinu^{viii} radije odabrati čokoladnu tortu nego voće. Rastreseni kupci skloniji su kupnji proizvoda na promociji i češće će kupiti nešto što im nije na popisu za kupnju.

Kad je um previše zaokupljen, vaše odabire usmjeravat će porivi, a ne dugoročni ciljevi. Ako pišete poruke dok čekate u redu za kavu, moguće je da ćete naručiti frape od moke umjesto ledene kave. (Dolazna poruka: Kladim se da ne želiš znati koliko^{ix} kalorija ima u tom piću.) Ne možete prestati razmišljati o poslu? Možda se zateknete kako se slažete s prodavačem da vam treba nadogradnja postojećeg modela i paket za neograničenu potrošnju.

EKSPERIMENT SA SNAGOM VOLJE: PRATITE

ODABIRE SVOJE SNAGE VOLJE

Da biste imali jaču samokontrolu, prvo trebate razviti samosvijest. Za početak pokušajte primijetiti kad su vaši odabiri povezani s izazovom vaše snage volje. Neke ćete odabire lakše uočiti od drugih, primjerice: „Idem li u teretanu nakon posla?”. Utjecaj drugih odluka možda neće biti vidljiv dok kasnije tijekom dana ne uočite njihove posljedice. Na primjer, jeste li odlučili spakirati torbu za teretanu kako se ne biste trebali vraćati kući po nju? (Pametna odabir! Teže ćete naći izgovor da ne odete u teretanu.) Jeste li se zadržali zbog telefonskog poziva pa ste previše ogladnjeli da biste otišli ravno u teretanu? (Pazite! Manja je vjerojatnost da ćete vježbati ako prvo odlučite pojesti večeru.) Barem na jedan dan pratite svoje odabire. Na kraju dana prisjetite ih se i pokušajte analizirati kad su vaše odluke poduprle vaše ciljeve, a kad ih potkopale. Praćenjem svojih odabira također ćete smanjiti broj odluka koje donosite dok ste rastreseni, što je siguran način da osnažite svoju snagu volje.

OVISNICA O SLANJU ELEKTRONIČKIH PORUKA PODUZIMA PRVI KORAK PREMA OZDRAVLJENJU

Michele, tridesetjednogodišnja producentica radijske emisije, stalno je provjeravala elektroničku poštu na kompjuteru ili mobitelu. To je narušavalo njezinu produktivnost na poslu i išlo na živce njezinu dečku, kojemu nikad nije posvećivala svoju punu pozornost. Izazov njezinoj snazi volje za kolegij bio je da rjeđe provjerava elektroničku poštu, a ona je ambiciozno odlučila da je neće provjeravati češće od jedanput u satu. Nakon prvog tjedna, priopćila je da nije ni blizu svojemu cilju. Problem je bio u tome što često ne bi ni shvatila da provjerava elektroničku poštu sve dok ne bi počela pregledavati pristigle poruke. Mogla je prestati jednom kad bi shvatila što radi, međutim, poriv koji ju je potaknuo da pogleda mobitel ili uđe u spremnik elektroničke pošte javljao se nesvjesno. Michele je odlučila uhvatiti samu sebe u ranijem stadiju procesa.

Do idućeg je tjedna osvijestila kad poseže za mobitelom ili otvara elektroničku poštu. Time je dobila priliku vježbati da se zaustavi prije nego što bi postala potpuno zaokupljena radnjom. Poriv za provjeravanjem bilo je sve teže uočiti. Michele nije mogla prepoznati uzrok koji ju je navodio da provjeri poštu i koji se javljao *prije* nego što bi zaista započela provjeravati. S vremenom je ipak uspjela prepoznati osjećaj sličan svrbežu, odnosno napetost u njenu mozgu i tijelu koja je popustila kad bi provjerila elektroničku poštu. To je se opažanje snažno dojmilo jer nikada nije razmišljala o provjeravanju pošte kao o načinu da se riješi napetosti. Mislila je da samo traži informacije. Kad je obratila pozornost na to kako se osjeća nakon što je provjerila poštu, Michele je shvatila da je provjeravanje pošte bilo jednako nedjelotvorno kao i češanje mjesta koje svrbi – ono samo svrbi još više. Svjesna poriva i svoje reakcije, imala je puno više kontrole nad svojim ponašanjem. Čak je postigla i više od svog prvotnog cilja da izvan radnoga vremena rjeđe provjerava poštu.

Ovaj se tjedan posvetite promatranju toga kako se javlja proces popuštanja porivima. Još ne morate postaviti cilj za jačanje svoje samokontrole. Pokušajte se uhvatiti sve ranije u procesu i primijetiti koje misli, osjećaji i situacije najčešće izazivaju poriv. Što to pomislite ili kažete sami sebi da popustite pred porivima?

TRENIRAJTE SVOJ MOZAK U JAČANJU SNAGE VOLJE

Trebalo je proći nekoliko milijuna godina da bi se evolucijom razvio prefrontalni korteks koji je sposoban za sve što ljudi trebaju. Možda će zvučati pohlepno, no je li moguće da ljudski mozak postane još bolji u samokontroli, a da na to ne moramo čekati još milijun godina? Ako je ljudski mozak već po svojoj prirodi prilično dobar u samokontroli, možemo li učiniti nešto da ga još više usavršimo?

Od početaka civilizacije ili barem otkako su znanstvenici počeli istraživati ljudski mozak, mislilo se da je on nepromjenjive strukture. Intelaktualni potencijal čovjeka definiran je od rođenja i na njemu se ne može raditi. Jedina promjena do koje je na mozgu moglo doći bila je slabljenje funkcija do koje dolazi sa starenjem. Međutim, tijekom prošlog desetljeća, neuroznanstvenici su otkrili da mozak, baš kao i student željan znanja, izuzetno snažno upija iskustveno znanje. Ako svaki dan rješavate zadatke iz matematike, vaš će mozak biti sve bolji u tome^x. Ako se brinete, vaš će vas mozak sve lakše činiti zabrinutima. Ako se trudite koncentrirati, vaš će mozak razviti sve bolju sposobnost koncentriranja.

Ne samo da će vašemu mozgu te radnje biti lakše, nego će se on i preoblikovati na temelju onoga što od njega tražite da čini. Neki će dijelovi mozga postati gušći, sa sve više sive tvari baš kao mišići koji ojačaju od tjelovježbe. Na primjer, kod odraslih koji nauče žonglirati, razvije se više sive tvari u moždanim regijama za praćenje objekata u pokretu. Dijelovi mozga također mogu postati međusobno povezaniji, tako da brže izmjenjuju informacije.

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Translation 2

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pp 31-37

EN	HR	SOURCE
academics	znanstvena javnost	Gačić
aristocrat	aristokrat	Bujas
business	trgovina	Gačić
blue-collar	plavi ovratnici	Potočnik
civil servant	državni službenik	Gačić
class divide	klasna podjela	Polšek
social class division	podjela klasa	Hrvatska enciklopedija
class schema	shema klasne pripadnosti	Polšek
class system	klasni sustav	Struna
colour-coded mapping	bojom kodirane karte	MPPI
early mortality	rana smrtnost	Kovačiček et al.
educational reform	obrazovna reforma	Gačić
franchise	izborno pravo	Gačić
gender	spol	Gačić
Registrar General	glavni matičar	Gačić
Registrar General's Office	glavni matični ured	Gačić
household	kućanstvo	Gačić
human capital	ljudski kapital	Keeley
immigration	imigracija	DZS
income	prihod	Gačić
large-scale urbanization	urbanizacija velikih razmjera	Društvo arhitekata Zagreba
lower class	niža klasa	Polšek
managerial job	rukovodeći posao	Gačić
managerialism	menadžerijalizam	Miljenović
manual employment	manualno zanimanje	Potočnik
unemployment	nezaposlenost	Gačić
medical officer of health	lokalni vladin službenik zadužen za zdravstvene usluge u okrugu	Medicinski rječnik

middle class	srednja klasa	Polšek
milieu	društvena sredina	Gačić
mortality	mortalitet	Hrvatska enciklopedija
mortality rate	stopa mortaliteta	Hrvatska enciklopedija
non-manual employment	nemanualno zanimanje	Potočnik
occupation	zanimanje	Gačić
occupational structure	struktura zvanja i zanimanja	Gačić
partly skilled manual	djelomično kvalificirani manualni	Mastilica
polity	državni poredak	Gačić
poor, the	siromašni	Gačić
population	populacija	Potočnik
population growth	porast broja stanovnika	Hrvatska enciklopedija
poverty	siromaštvo	Bujas
profession	zanimanje	Gačić
profession, the	učena zvanja	Gačić
professional	stručnjak	Mastilica
professional class	ljudi sa zvanjima za koje je potrebno više školovanje	Gačić
professional job	stručni posao	Mastilica
proletariat	proleterijat	Potočnik
skilled manual	kvalificirani manualni	Mastilica
skilled non-manual	obrazovani nemanualni	Mastilica
skilled tradesman	zanatlija	Gačić
slump	ekonomska kriza	Gačić
social class division	klasna podjela	Polšek
social grade	društveni razred	Milardović
social group	društvena grupa	Hrvatska enciklopedija

social map	sociološka mapa	Lalić
social class	društvena klasa	Gačić
social conditions	društveni uvjeti	Gačić
study of poverty	studija o siromaštvu	UNICEF
poor, the	siromašni	Gačić
unemployed, the	nezaposleni	Gačić
trade-union movement	sindikalni pokret	Hrvatska enciklopedija
unskilled manual	nekvalificirani manualni	Mastilica
upper class	viša klasa	Polšek
white-collar	bijeli ovratnici	Potočnik
white-collar job	posao bijelih okovratnika	Polšek
white-collar proletariat	proleter s bijelim ovratnikom	Braverman
work	rad, posao	Gačić
working class	radnička klasa	Polšek

Podjela društvenih klasa: rane sociološke paradigme

Te su preokupacije utjecale na prve pokušaje formalne klasifikacije populacije od prve polovice 19. stoljeća nadalje, kad je u središte interesa došla identifikacija središnjeg rascjepa između srednje i radničke klase. Viša klasa predstavljala je posebnu skupinu: njezini su pripadnici^{xi} znali tko su, nisu prihvaćali pripadnike drugih klasa^{xii}, a njihove su povlastice najvećim dijelom ostale neosporne. Ako nisu bili sigurni oko nečijeg statusa, mogli su se poslužiti knjigom^{xiii} *Debrett's Peerage and Baronetage*, u kojoj je još od 1769. godine bio naveden točan popis aristokrata. Ipak, prilike su bile malo drugačije za pripadnike srednjih klasa u učenim zvanjima i trgovini, koji nisu uvijek sa sigurnošću znali razlikuje li se njihov položaj od položaja zanatlija.

Upravo su ti stavovi pridonijeli stvaranju prve razvijenije mape^{xiv} klasnog sustava iz prvih desetljeća 19. stoljeća. Ključna inspiracija bila je novi poticaj razumijevanju prirode i dinamike siromaštva, u kontekstu urbanizacije velikih razmjera i porasta broja stanovnika te strahova od pojave novog rezidualnog sloja (sačinjenoga od nezaposlenih koji su bili na zlu glasu kao potencijalni kršitelji zakona). U tim je okolnostima glasoviti londonski brodovlasnik Charles Booth 1880-ih godina osmislio minucioznu sociološku mapu Londona, dok je Benjamin Seebohm Rowntree, kveker i vlasnik tvornice čokolade, izradio čuvenu studiju o siromaštvu u Yorku u 1901. U oba su rada korištene bojom kodirane karte na kojima su se ulice razlikovale s obzirom na moral njihovih stanovnika, a koji su mjerili profesionalni promatrači. Ključno je da su ove studije povezivale društvenu klasu s ugledom i moralom, što vrlo jasno pokazuje legenda za Boothovu kartu Londona, sa skalom boja koja ide od crne: „najniža klasa: okrutni zločinci, sitni kriminalci” preko ružičaste „relativno dobro situirani” do zlatne: „bogati”.

U ovoj su plodnoj društvenoj sredini, s pažnjom usmjerenom na ugled, zagađenje i klasnu podjelu, 1911. godine u Glavnom matičnom uredu za Englesku i Wales^{xv}, razvijena prva formalna mjerila podjele kućanstva u društvene klase. Da bi objasnili razlike u zdravlju različitih društvenih grupa te osobito razmjer u kojemu su siromašni bili podložniji bolesti i ranoj smrtnosti nakon bolesti, bilo je ključno pronaći jasne kriterije za podjelu u društvene klase. Time su protivnici^{xvi} ideje da su loše zdravlje i nemoralno ponašanje nižih društvenih klasa uzrokovani nasljeđem, na temelju procjena novih podjela klasa, dobili priliku obrazložiti da ih zapravo uzrokuju loši društveni uvjeti života siromašnih.

Rezultat je bila shema klasne pripadnosti Glavnog matičnog ureda (vidi tablicu 1.1). Time je jasno određeno da je glavna klasna granica povezana s razlikom između „manualnih” i „nemanualnih” zanimanja. Podjela je također razdvojila klasu „kvalificiranih” radnika 3 u dvije skupine (IIIN i IIIM). Dodatan interes da se odvoje središnje skupine svjedoči o kulturnoj tjeskobi oko središnje granice i ulozima koji su u to bili uključeni.

Na prvi se pogled shema klasne pripadnosti Glavnog matičnog ureda temeljila na kategorijama pojedinih zanimanja pa su tako na prvom mjestu bili stručni poslovi, zatim, skoro pri samome vrhu klasne strukture, rukovodeći poslovi, a na nižim su razinama bila zanimanja za obrazovane nemanualne radnike. Na kraju je slijedila podjela na kvalificirane, djelomično kvalificirane i nekvalificirane manualne radnike. U ovom je slučaju društvena klasa definirana kao proizvod zanimanja.

Međutim, klasifikacija je bila puno složenija nego što se činilo na prvi pogled^{xvii} jer su zanimanja bila grupirana s obzirom na njihovu „kulturu”, a ne izravno s obzirom na prirodu posla ili razinu prihoda. Tvorac ove sheme, lokalni vladin službenik zadužen za zdravstvene usluge u okrugu, T. H. C. Stevenson, odlučno je ustvrdio da je cilj uspješno prikazati kulturni aspekt društvene klase. Naime, on je smatrao kulturne faktore najvažnijima za objašnjenje toga zašto su neke društvene klase imale niže stope smrtnosti od drugih. Godine 1927. napisao je da:

niža smrtnost bogatijih društvenih klasa manje ovisi o samom bogatstvu, nego o kulturi pa tako obuhvaća i pitanja higijene, koja su uglavnom s njom povezana. [. . .] No kultura se lakše procjenjuje s obzirom na zanimanja, nego na bogatstvo, a društveno stupnjevanje na temelju zanimanja tendira to naglasiti.

U nastavku je ustvrdio: „Proizlazi da kada netko govori o manje ili više dobrostojećim društvenim klasama, najčešće misli na manje ili više kulturne društvene klase.”

Stoga je klasni kriterij prema zanimanjima doveo do kulturne prosudbe o rangi i društvenoj važnosti poslova. To je diskretno ukazivalo na moralne vrednote različitih vrsta poslova te sukladno tome na ugled koji je iz njih proizlazio. No kako su zapravo zanimanja raspodijeljena u društvene klase? Stevenson je pomno objasnio da broj soba u nečijoj kući nije dovoljno dobar kriterij za razlikovanje, naime: „Bogati neženja može zauzeti jednako mnogo soba kao i vozač taksija sa šestero djece.” Na kraju je ustvrdio da je svima gotovo samo po sebi razumljivo da „su odvjetnik^{xviii} i kovač u drugačijim društvenim razredima.” No je li postojao konsenzus oko toga koja su zanimanja na boljem glasu od drugih? Je li slučajnost da su shemu klasne

pripadnosti, koja je ljude sa zvanjima za koje je potrebno više školovanje stavljala na vrh, zapravo osmislili profesionalni javni službenici i znanstvena javnost?

Razlikovanje klasa postalo je povezano s obilježavanjem moralno sumnjivih skupina radničke klase i identificiranjem razmjera njihova odstupanja od norma koje su određivale ugled.

Ishodišta podjele društvenih klasa stoga se ne mogu odvojiti od elitističkog interesa da se omeđi i odredi granica ugleda, koja je najprije trebala razlikovati srednju (nemanualnu) klasu i radničku (manualnu) klasu (iako su unutar svake od spomenutih klasa postojale frakcije koje su bile više ili manje ugledne). Stoga je osnovna preokupacija bila usmjerena na kulturne i moralne aspekte klase. Ipak, ovo je pobudilo osjećaj superiornosti nekih društvenih grupa nad drugima, što je prkosilo sve snažnijem demokratskom etosu, prema kojem je bilo neprilično stvarati takve neskrivene razlike.

Rezultat je doveo do izbjegavanja uloge kulture kao jedne od socioloških odrednica klase. Jasno je da većina stručnjaka nije sumnjala u svoju kulturnu superiornost. Ipak, otvoreno priznati nešto takvo u doba militantnog i prodornog sindikalnog pokreta te masovne nezaposlenosti i oskudice, koja je uslijedila nakon ekonomske krize u 1929., moglo se smatrati vrlo neukusnim. Posebno zato što je državni poredak postajao naoko sve demokratičniji davanjem izbornog prava svim muškarcima 1918. godine i svim ženama 1928. godine.^{xix} Kulturne su dimenzije klase tako postale skrivene: o njima se moglo govoriti među sebi sličnima, ali ne i širiti dalje.^{xx}

Kao jedan od ishoda, obrazloženje sheme klasne pripadnosti Glavnog matičnog ureda promijenilo se kroz vrijeme, s napomenom da je fokus s kulture promijenjen na vještinu i „položaj” zanimanja u zajednici. To je naizgled učinilo podjelu „objektivnijom” i manje osuđujućom – iako su u stvarnosti mnoga zanimanja ostala unutar istih klasa kao i prije. Ross McKibbin ustanovio je da su sredinom dvadesetog stoljeća razdjelnice između srednje i radničke klase prilagođene. Prilagodili su ih osobito političari Konzervativne stranke koji su željeli definirati srednje klase kao bastione nacionalne vrline, nasuprot, po njima „opasne” lijevo orijentirane radničke klase. U godinama poslije rata podjela je dobila dodatni poticaj kroz tehnokratski naglasak na potrebi za obučanim i kvalificiranim „ljudskim kapitalom”, koji je zauzvrat išao na ruku razvoju obrazovne reforme i menadžerijalizmu od 1960-ih nadalje.

Posebice tijekom dvadesetog stoljeća, daljnje bojazni oko poslova bijelih ili plavih okovratnika povezane su s rodom i imigracijom. U prijašnja muška „utočišta” nemanualnog rada sve više su ulazile žene koje su dotad bile ograničene na tadašnja ženska „geta” – podučavanje i

odgajanje. Od prvih desetljeća dvadesetog stoljeća nadalje, došlo je do vidljivog porasta u broju žena u poslovima bijelih ovratnika, primjerice, u bankarskim poslovima ili poslovima prodavačica u dućanima. Međutim, žene su gotovo u potpunosti bile zaposlene na nižim pozicijama. Stoga je postojala zabrinutost da su one „proleter s bijelim ovratnikom”. Čak su i nakon zakona o suzbijanju diskriminacije na temelju spola iz ranih 1970-ih, koji su zabranili zapošljavanje žena po drugačijim uvjetima od muškaraca, žene ostale na nižim razinama strukture zanimanja.

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Translation 3

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pp 32-38

She came right out onto the threshold to meet him and waited to see what he was about to do. He closed the fence gate, and when he turned around, he wished her good evening, but dryly, coldly, and in a way reluctantly. Then he firmly went straight into the house, averting his eyes from her. Paraska got out of his way and he went inside the house. There he took off his bag, put down his crook, drank some water – everything in silence – and then he suddenly asked for his shirt, to change his clothes.

“A shirt^{xxi}?” asked Paraska in surprise, as if she did not understand him properly, and he confirmed coldly, “Yes, a shirt!”

Upon this, she handed him the shirt and he began to change his clothes.

Meanwhile, Paraska started preparing supper in the kitchen. She was as silent as the grave and in such a distress, she felt as the ground feels when clouds obscure it. She did not know what it all meant, so she could not have expressed or even entertained an opinion. She remained silent but her heart was aching so much that she could cry. They behaved this way during the whole supper. While he was having supper, she sat in the open space^{xxii} behind the stove;^{xxiii} she was silent, as was he. Some kind of fence appeared between them – they were surprised about it but they could not jump over it. She did not think that this would happen to them.

After the supper, Janos^{xxiv} sat by the table for a while: he was silent as he cut a pip with the knife. Then suddenly he stood up and said to her that he would go and guard the sheep, and that she should pack his bag.

Paraska looked at him in surprise again. “The sheep? At this hour?” she said to him nervously. And he said to her rather unwillingly, “Well, I have to be there early tomorrow. We are going to choose the sheep for the market.”

Paraska then started to pack his bag without saying anything; but it was so hard for her, she almost cried. In the meantime, he drank some water from a jug, emptied and then refilled his pipe, and looked for something in the table drawer. And when Paraska handed him the packed bag, he slung it right over his shoulder; with the bag on his shoulder he lit his pipe with the firebrand that he had grabbed from the hearth. The pipe filling was already lit to the middle but he still held the firebrand above the pipe. While deeply inhaling the smoke from the pipe he looked at the firebrand anxiously. As if he was thinking about something. And then suddenly he threw away the firebrand, closed the top of his pipe and turned to grab his crook. “Alright then, I’m off now,” he said taking the crook into his hands, “and you take care of the house. Farewell and goodnight!” And he went out of the room, he did not even look at her.

When he was at the fence gate, she ran out after him and called him in a soft voice, already full of tears, “Janos, please don’t go to that filthy tavern again!”^{xxv}

But he just waved her off and stopped for a moment half-turned toward her. “Ah! Don’t you worry!” and he went on.

Paraska stayed on the threshold and looked in his direction for a long time. At that moment, she saw his every motion and his every step in the moonlight. It seemed to her all evening that he was embarrassed – for that reason he did not want to say anything and kept avoiding to look at her. This filled her with so much joy that she wanted to tell him more than once, “Come on, you silly! There’s no harm in wine!”^{xxvi} But seeing the grave expression on Janos’s face, she refrained from saying anything each of those times. She did not dare. She was unsure what to do the whole evening. She could not understand Janos. As soon as he said that he would go to guard the sheep, she felt tingles as sharp as knives, and realized that this was not time for jokes. When he left the room shortly afterwards, not even glancing at her, her heart broke and large tears ran down her face. Janos seemed reserved, she had not thought that he could act this way. But looking at him now again, how he paced bent and gloomy, hesitant; it seemed to her again that he was embarrassed and that this was the only reason why he left her. She was so certain about it that she trembled. “Poor Janos!” She silently felt sorry for him. “He went out that far in such a dark night!” And when he turned around the first house in the village, where she could not see him anymore, she felt a strong urge to call him back – he should have been reasonable and not went out into the dark night.

But she restrained herself, she did not call him. “He will come back,” she thought. “Next Saturday already, it’s not so long to wait, he will come back and we will reconcile.”

That night, it took Paraska a long time to fall asleep.

She was constantly thinking of Janos, who was moving away from the house, bent and gloomy; and she kept reproaching herself, she was the only one to blame that he had left that way. If she had only comforted him, he would have stayed and everything would have been all right again. But she let him go, she did not want to say a kind word.^{xxvii} Oh poor Janos, he had to travel during the night and through the wasteland to come to his sheep! But she would fix it eventually, when he came back home. If only Saturday came as soon as possible. Oh, she would make it all up to him!

Paraska was sad the whole week and when Saturday came – it was a feast day – she restored her zest for life. From the early morning on, she was thinking only about the evening, which she would spend with Janos.

“He will come, he will certainly come today,” she kept saying to herself unceasingly. “He will undoubtedly spend the night at home and everything will be all right, just as it used to be.”

She was quite sure that Janos would come that evening. In order to warmly welcome him, she started to prepare supper early. She butchered a rooster and cut it to pieces for chicken paprikash, which she would spice heavily – she would not be able to eat it at all, but never mind, Janos liked paprikash that way – and she would add some finger noodles^{xxviii} in it, Janos liked that too – Janos always said that he could, “gorge himself on finger noodles in paprikash.” In the evening, Janos would come home sullen and look at his *opanke*^{xxix} as if he had done something wrong; and she would, at first, stay silent. Then she would suddenly approach him, pull him by the ear and then tell him, “Why are you frowning at me? What did I do wrong to you?” And then he would brighten up immediately, as soon as he realized that she would not nag at him: he would start hemming and hawing, saying that he was not frowning and, in the end, why would he; and so on. She would not even listen to him but instead bring him the supper. “Here, I made you a poisonous meal, since you are being angry at me!” She would say that to him and put paprikash on the table. Then they would start talking as they used to, laughing and joking, and everything would be as it used be.

This was what Paraska was thinking about while she was cleaning and carving the rooster.

But Janos did not come that night either.

She waited for him long with the supper but he did not come.

Around eight o’clock in the evening, when he usually came home, she laid the table for him and lit a candle; she got everything ready for him, he only had to show up and have supper. But when he did not come by 9, she blew out the candle, removed the bread, stepped on the threshold, sat down and grew sad. Dear Lord, she thought; she thought about all sorts of things, thoughts were swirling in her head. By the minute she thought that she had misjudged Janos and that Janos was a drunkard just like her late father. “He must be in that filthy tavern.” And as soon as the thought crossed her mind, tears already trickled down her face, and her mouth sagged from crying. But she tried to overcome her tears and such thoughts. After every such thought, she would reproach herself, “No, he is not a drunkard, it is my fault. It is all my fault!” And she wanted to tear her hair out for having done that.

It was easier for her when she thought it was all her fault: her heart was full of love and compassion. But those moments would last very briefly. The suspicion that there was more to

¹ A traditional type of shoes worn in Southeastern Europe.

it than meets the eye was gnawing at her heart steadily; she carried such a heavy burden, as if there was a whole house on her shoulders.

She sat on the threshold quite long, until she heard the clock striking midnight^{xxx}. The clock was striking for a long time and she could hardly wait for it to stop. It seemed to her that the heavy iron hammer she saw on a clock tower when she was a child, was hitting her on the head; such strong was the pain she felt. She then felt cold and weak, so she stood up slowly holding the doorpost, and staggering like a drunkard she went into the room and lay down.

She lay down on the bed fully clothed, having removed only her headscarf. She pulled the blanket up to her chin and forced herself to fall asleep. But she could not. Her eyes would open all the time and stared into the darkness numbly, and she listened intently all the time to hear the sound of Janos's voice or his footsteps. She was breathing deeply with quivers: she sighed heavily with every breath. She was disoriented and felt dizzy, as if she was on a well pulley. Wide awake, she waited until the morning came. In the morning she got up early: it was still dark outside, the sun was still pale. She stood by the bed and as she rubbed her eyes, she thought of something.

She determinedly took the scarf, which she covered her head with, from the table; she covered her head hastily and then took another thick scarf out of the closet, and wrapped it around her neck. Then she hurriedly left the house, locking the door behind her.

She headed straight to the Sava pasture to see if Janos was by the sheep, and check if he had gone anywhere yesterday, and if yes where.

Passing through the village, she peeped into the tavern: there was no one inside, except of a jolly wanderer, who was lying under the table and sleeping like a log. If her Janos came to the village yesterday, thought Paraska, then he must have been in the tavern, and left early in the morning to guard his sheep. The tavern keeper must have already gotten up at this hour, so she could ask him if Janos had been there; but she was embarrassed and who knows if he would have told her the truth. Therefore, she went straight to where Janos guarded his sheep, just as she had intended.

Many women noticed her while she was passing through the village: they were cleaning or kneading dough in the morning, and they all wondered where Paraska was going at this early hour. Some of them teased her: Good morning, Paraska, where are the fairies taking you?" But she did not take notice of them or replied to them. What could she tell them? She had to shout at them loudly to tell them what they deserved; but she could not have done that, she had no strength. At this moment, she could only cry so that the whole village could hear her, and

nothing more than that. Along the way she met people who had slept in the threshing floors and were now coming back home; she also met ostlers, who were taking horses back home from the pasture. She steered clear of them and averted her eyes from them; she did not reply anything to their questions and teasing or she just briefly said, “I’m making my way!” when they asked her, one after the other, “Paraska, whereto?” She was walking so briskly, she was as fast as lightning. Along her way, people stopped and looked at her in surprise.

When she came rushing in the pasture, blushing and panting, shepherds got scared when she approached them. When they first saw her in the distance, they all cheered up and started thinking what to say to her when she arrived; and they wanted to say various things. But when she came closer to them, none of them dared to tell her what he had intended, and instead they all greeted her nicely: “Good morning, Paraska! What brings you here?”

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Translation 4

Edo Popović. 2007. *Oči*. Zagreb: Naklada OceanMore
pp 23-28

And how do you see that in their eyes?, I asked.

Easily, said Zdena. If you take a closer look, you'll see that they smile with their eyes, and their face looks a bit silly.

Hm, I said suspiciously.

Give it a try, you ain't got nothing to lose, said Zdena. And don't give up. If it doesn't work out with the first one, you'll find someone else. Just don't be shy or anything. You know, you'll get nothing handed to you on a silver platter.^{xxxix} But let's get down to work, hand me a wrench.

I tried out Zdena's recipe. I tried it out a couple of times, so I can't say I wasn't persistent. Every other attempt was worse than the previous one. Something was wrong. It seemed that girls saw the exact same thing on my face, what Zdena had said I should have expected to see on theirs.

Why are you grinning like an idiot?,^{xxxix} said one of the girls when I got into her way and looked her in the eyes.

I didn't have much luck with other girls either. If there was a sparkle in their eyes, it indicated their malice:

What the hell are you looking at, Kalda, what's bugging you?

Or: What are you gaping at, you dummy^{xxxix}?

Dummy, that was what they called me. I wasn't good at having a conversation, as I've already said. I was usually silent in other company and I listened to what others would say. I mean, why waste words if you don't have anything to say.

So I gave up on boobs.

It was a problem I couldn't have handled at that time. So I went back to more familiar ground: comics and books. They weren't puzzling. Everything about them was in order and when things got complicated, there was always someone who would solve the problem. Ray Carson, for instance. "Sitting up straight in the saddle on a white horse, the lone rider was watching the scorching prairie. He knew the wilderness in all its peculiarities and timidity. He was the best among the prairie scouts..." While reading, it appeared to me that it all made sense. Not just what I was reading about, but other things as well: my neighbor's dog barking at a mailman, my neighbor barking at her dog, worms in our garden that are eaten by birds, and cats that eat birds. And Italians who, I read it somewhere, eat those cats. And those guys sitting on the terrace of the Bosnia Inn, one of whom, while I was passing by once, asked: Is that Kalda's boy?, and the other one shouted: Hey kid, has your pop come home?, and I went down the street, then

turned around, took a stone and threw it at them with all my strength, and they jumped up swearing while the stone hit the table; and I just stood there and looked at them. One of them laughed and said: Yes, that's Kalda's boy.

However, Ray Carson could solve everybody's problems, except mine. I was still on my own. I was minding my own business and mastering my observation skills. I tried to notice people who were moving toward me before they noticed me. It was important to spot them first and read their facial expressions. That way, I could work out a tactic, predict their moves, and lead a safer life. I used the art of watching mainly as a defense mechanism against others. Against those guys at the terrace of Bosnia Inn. Or against Trunk^{xxxiv}, the main bully in Dubrava, who walked down the street like a gorilla and thought every eye contact was a challenge to fight; thus, leading him to attack immediately. So, it was wise to pass by him meekly while looking aside. Okay, I have to admit that Trunk didn't beat up kids, but still, it was good to practice for the future. In front of the Brotherhood cinema, there were many Gypsies and other bummers, whom it was good to spot first and go around them or else you could, for example, say goodbye to both your money and the movie, *The Sons of Katie Elder*. I wasn't a wimp, but I also wasn't eager to get into a fight, I tried to avoid fighting whenever I could. I was a natural-born observer: my observation skills were excellent and I was the first to spot something. When you have this ability then you have to be crazy to end up in a fight.

6

Where in^{xxxv} the fuck have you been hiding?, said Tamara.

That's the way she is. Tamara won't start a conversation with hi, how are you, does anything hurt you? Head, heart, teeth, liver? She gets right to the point, man, *in medias res*.^{xxxvi} And what could I have said to her about where I had been for the past month.

The truth.

I don't know, I said.

You don't know? You've been gone for a month, I was calling people, going crazy; you could have said you were travelling, you jackass. Where have you been, anyway?

I don't know, I repeated miserably.

Tamara is an expert when it comes to detecting lies. She doesn't even need to look at your face to see that you're beating around the bush – she just needs to hear your voice. That's a

remarkable talent. She figured it out now too. She knew that I wasn't lying, I felt that she figured that out, she was silent; an interlude before her panic attack.

It's nothing, I said, now cheering her up, trying to set things right. I called myself at home too, sent myself e-mails, rang the doorbell, and knocked on the door but nothing happened. It seems I have really gone somewhere. Don't you beat about the bush to me, she said. Can you come over?

Now?

Yes, now.

I don't think I look very presentable, I said.

You'd better be.

Tamara is an Armenian princess, but you won't hear that from her; she doesn't boast about it. Her father Adam Atamian introduces himself as a forest engineer; there are no royal emblems on the tomb of her mother, Kristina, up there on Mirogoj Cemetery; they just don't want publicity and all that, and you know what people are like – always hungry for sensationalism and such things. Tamara never confessed that to me either, but it couldn't have escaped my attention. Her posture, movements, features, eyes, and the tone of her voice – the spitting image of an Armenian princess. Besides, the nature her old man's^{xxxvii} profession caught my eye – he was a forester! Wasn't that von Habsburg's favorite profession? If it was good enough for the Austrian nobility, why wouldn't it be for the Armenian? So they couldn't trick me; the only thing I will never understand is why Tamara married me. I'm not some guy that royals are attracted to. There's nothing on me or around me that could attract an Armenian princess, I'm serious. I look at myself in the mirror every morning, I listen to my own thoughts and so on, and the only rational explanation that I could think of is that princesses have their whims which are impossible to understand. Whatever.

Tamara opened the door to me and looked me over. She seemed content, kissed me on the cheek, and let me in.

Dad and David are outside, she said, and I winced.

But they'll be right back, she added.

I understand, I replied.

You don't understand a thing, she said.

We sat on the terrace, which had been redecorated into a winter garden. There were various plants on the terrace; they all seemed tranquil and content because her old man, besides watering them and spading them up, sometimes talks to them for hours. Hey girl, how's your love life these days, he says to yucca, and she trembles with joy, but who wouldn't. There were framed and signed photos of trees and plants on the walls: common oak, *Atriplex prostrata* and *Marcantia polymorpha*. Everything looked so serene here. Even the hysterically bright red *Atriplex prostrata* radiated with calmness. This must be what Heaven looked like; only fucking animals were missing.

I have no idea, I said, I have nothing to tell you. I just missed out a fucking month.

Shit, said Tamara. Would you like a glass of wine?

So, you lost track^{xxxviii}, said Tamara pouring wine in a thick glass tumbler because she doesn't give a damn about good etiquette.

I don't know, I said. Doctor Galin talks about some kind of a spiral. Something like the spiral staircase, but it's just that you don't live upstairs or downstairs; you whirl at one level. Like, you live your life as usual but your brain doesn't register that. He says it's a consequence of some anxiety-depressive disorder.

Nonsense.

And it's not one of your...

One of my games?

Tamara nodded. I took a little tin box out of my pocket.

Fleur de Savane, said Tamara with a perfect French accent, which is a token of noble descent. Since when have you started smoking that?

A few moments ago, I lit up a cigarillo, blew a puff of smoke, and watched as it rose up toward its brothers in the sky, not even aware of the fact that there was a glass roof between them.

Yuck, it smells so bad.

How can you say that to a flower?, I looked at Tamara. And this is not one of my games, in the end, why would I have made it up?

And what does Galin say, will it happen again?

He doesn't know. To tell you the truth, he also thinks I've made this up.

Holy moley, said Tamara with amazement, things always get complicated for you. Do you remember when you went to the john and that shoe cabinet fell on you?

And that was true.

Or when you bought a small box at that flea market, and there was a live scorpion inside. That was true as well. Tamara kept going on with those stupid situations I had found myself in and who knows when she would have stopped if her old man and David hadn't arrived.

David had a new haircut since the last time I saw him.

Hi dad, he said.

Hi David, I said to him.

We looked at each other with restraint, like two people who'd known each other for a long time but didn't see each other often and didn't have much to talk about. For him, I was more a person in photos that Tamara talked about, something like a character from a comic. A good guy, I suppose, yet only a character named Dad. For me, he was not a character from a comic but a source of discomfort, and therefore I didn't call him my son. No, it wouldn't be fair. Besides, how could an immature child, as Tamara defined me, call anyone his son? Likewise, I'd never called Tamara my wife; not out of fairness or immaturity, but because it sounded vulgar: my wife, my car, my dog. Okay. I looked at David and thought he turned out to be that handsome because he happened unintentionally. That night we didn't have any plans, aspirations or similar; but he must have been conceived precisely that night in the carob forest, where the air was thick with some strange chemistry and bolts of lightning. Tamara's skin was as smooth as liquid silk^{xxxix} and my heart was breaking my ribs. I was feeling awful at that time: I'd had a rough time and it didn't seem that things would look up. But there were moments when I was able to forget some things worth forgetting and other things as well, just like when you use windscreen wiper to get a more clear view: some kind of a milky mist is left, and for a moment you feel like there is a slight chance that something new will appear, something you had never seen, a new perspective that would make your heart beat differently and your muscles tighten with a new excitement.^{xl} And then, Adam interrupted my memory and asked me what I thought about someone going to the world championship.

What world championship?, I asked not taking my eyes off David. Who is off to world championship?

David shrugged his shoulders.

Our football players, of course, said her old man impatiently, we beat Slovenes yesterday, haven't you watched the match?

Oh, that's what all that firecracker noise was about, I said and asked David, Did you watch the game?

Hell no, he said, I played Play Station.

We beat their pants off, said Adam.

For a descendant of Armenian royalty, I said to him, you're a pretty ardent Croatian.

No offense, Kalda, I said that only to start a conversation; I always have problems starting a conversation when it comes to you.

No pressure, I said, the whole life is in front of us.

Besides, he said, that joke about our royal origins – it's stupid. You're boring, you keep repeating that.

Just keep talking, I said, I know well who you are.

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Translation 5

UNHCR Resettlement Handbook. 2011.

pp 31-35

EN	HR	SOURCE
1951 Convention	Konvencija o statusu izbjeglica iz 1951. (Konvencija iz 1951.)	Narodne novine
absorption capacity	apsorpcijska sposobnost	IATE
administrative barrier	upravna prepreka	Gačić
aid	pomoć	Gačić
amnesty	amnestija	Gačić
armed attack	oružani napad	EUR-Lex
asylum	azil	Gačić
capacity-building	izgradnja kapaciteta	EUR-Lex
citizen	državljanin	Gačić
citizenship	državljanstvo	Gačić
civil status	osobni status	UNHCR
country of asylum	zemlja azila	UNHCR
country of origin	zemlja podrijetla	Gačić
crime against humanity	zločin protiv čovječnosti	Gačić
development agenda	program razvitka	EUR-Lex
dignity	dostojanstvo	UNHCR
discrimination	diskriminacija	Gačić
displacement	raseljavanje	UNHCR
donor	donator	Gačić
donor community	zajednica donatora	EUR-Lex
durable solution	trajno rješenje	konzultacija s grupom
emergency relief	hitna pomoć	EUR-Lex
financial support	financijska potpora	Gačić
fear of persecution	strah od proganjanja	EUR-Lex
fear of punishment	strah od kažnjavanja	EUR-Lex
freedom of movement	sloboda kretanja	UNHCR
government	vlada	Gačić
home country	zemlja podrijetla	UNHCR
host country	zemlja domaćin	UNHCR

human rights	ljudska prava	Gačić
humanitarian assistance	humanitarna pomoć	EUR-Lex
humanitarian relief	humanitarna pomoć	EUR-Lex
informed decision	utemeljena odluka	Gačić
insecurity	nesigurnost	Gačić
integrity	integritet	IATE
internally displaced persons	interno raseljene osobe	UNHCR
international community	međunarodna zajednica	EUR-Lex
international legal framework	međunarodno-pravni okvir	UNHCR
judicial system	pravosudni sustav	Gačić
legal safety	zakonska sigurnost	UNHCR
legal system	pravni sustav	Gačić
local community	lokalna zajednica	Gačić
local integration	lokalna integracija	UNHCR
material safety	materijalna sigurnost	UNHCR
material security	materijalna sigurnost	UNHCR
material support	materijalna pomoć	EUR-Lex
national authorities	državna tijela	Gačić
national protection	nacionalna zaštita	EUR-Lex
naturalization	naturalizacija	Gačić
naturalized citizen	prirođeni državljanin	Gačić
NGO	nevladina organizacija	IATE
non-discrimination	nediskriminacija	Gačić
operation	operacija	UNHCR
peace agreement	mirovni sporazum	Gačić
peace process	mirovni proces	European Parliament
peace talks	mirovni pregovori	EUR-Lex
personal status	osobni status	Gačić
personal safety	osobna sigurnost	Gačić
physical safety	fizička sigurnost	UNHCR
physical security	fizička sigurnost	UNHCR

place of residence	boravište	Gačić
prosecution	sudski progon	Gačić
refugee	izbjeglica	Gačić
refugee movements	izbjeglička kretanja	UNHCR
refugee protection	zaštita izbjeglica	EUR-Lex
refugee status	izbjeglički status	UNHCR
reintegration	reintegracija	IATE
repatriation	repatrijacija	Gačić
resettlement	preseljenje	EUR-Lex
resettlement State	država preseljenja	konzultacija s grupom
return	povratak	UNHCR
returnee	povratnik	Gačić
security situation	sigurnosna situacija	Gačić
social services	socijalne usluge	UNHCR
specialized agency	specijalizirana agencija	EUR-Lex
spontaneous return	spontani povratak	EUR-Lex
sustainable return	održivi povratak	UNHCR
Statute	Statut UNHCR-a	Narodne novine
development actors	razvojni dionici	EUR-Lex
UN agency	agencija UN-a	MVEP
UN General Assembly (GA)	Opća skupština UN-a (OS UN)	MVEP
voluntary repatriation	dobrovoljna repatrijacija	Gačić
voluntary return	dobrovoljni povratak	UNHCR
war crime	ratni zločin	Gačić
World Bank	Svjetska banka	Gačić

1.3.3 Dobrovoljna repatrijacija

Dobrovoljna repatrijacija^{xli} povratak je u zemlju podrijetla izbjeglica pod uvjetima sigurnosti i dostojanstva^{xlii}, a temelji se na njihovoj slobodnoj i informiranoj odluci. Kad prevladavajući uvjeti dopuštaju takav povratak, repatrijacija se smatra rješenjem koje donosi najveću dobrobit. Repatrijacijom se izbjeglicama omogućuje da nastave sa svojim životom u poznatom okruženju pod zaštitom i skrbi njihove zemlje podrijetla. Ipak, ako ti uvjeti nisu ispunjeni, povratak^{xliii} može biti neodrživ i izbjeglice mogu tražiti povratak u zemlju azila.

Odgovornosti UNHCR-a da omogući ili promiče dobrovoljnu repatrijaciju proizlaze iz njegova Statuta. Iako se u Konvenciji iz 1951.^{xliv} izravno ne spominje dobrovoljna repatrijacija, na nju se odnose njezine klauzule o prestanku izbjegličkog statusa. Opća skupština UN-a^{xlv} u nekoliko je navrata potvrdila ulogu UNHCR-a u promicanju/omogućavanju dobrovoljne repatrijacije izbjeglica, a prepoznavši važnost održivog povratka proširila je njegov mandat na pružanje pomoći za rehabilitaciju izbjeglica i rješavanje posljedica njihova povratka. Ondje gdje su mir i pomirba trajno uspostavljeni, UNHCR promiče dobrovoljnu repatrijaciju. Ondje gdje su uvjeti manje idealni (npr. ako održivost mirovnog procesa nije osigurana, nego se izbjeglice samostalno vraćaju) UNHCR može omogućiti proces povratka.

UNHCR je sastavio *Priručnik o dobrovoljnoj repatrijaciji: međunarodna zaštita*, u kojem su izložena temeljna načela te *Priručnik za repatrijaciju i aktivnosti reintegracije* za izvođenje operacija. Za vrijeme operacije dobrovoljne repatrijacije UNHCR često potpisuje ugovore s uključenim državama^{xlvi}, u kojima su određena načela i standardi postupanja u toj operaciji.

Procjena mogućnosti

Kod mogućeg trajnog rješenja važno je utvrditi pokazatelje koji određuju može li dobrovoljna repatrijacija biti opcija u bližoj budućnosti ili u dogledno vrijeme. Primjerice, jesu li mirovni pregovori u zemlji podrijetla u tijeku ili postoji mogućnost da će započeti u bližoj budućnosti? Je li bilo spontanih povrataka izbjeglica ili interno raseljenih osoba? Je li se sigurnosna situacija u zemlji podrijetla poboljšala? Jesu li minimalne zaštitne mjere vezane uz postupanje s izbjeglicama po povratku i uvjeti potrebni za promicanje dobrovoljne repatrijacije osigurani u zemlji podrijetla? Je li osiguran nastavak azila za one koji ostaju izbjeglice? Ovi i brojni drugi faktori, kao što je naznačeno u UNHCR-ovu *Priručniku o dobrovoljnoj repatrijaciji*, određuju uključenost UNHCR-a u bilo koju dobrovoljnu repatrijaciju.

Ukratko, UNHCR-ov mandat za dobrovoljnu repatrijaciju uključuje sljedeće:

- provjeru dobrovoljnog karaktera izbjegličke repatrijacije
- promicanje stvaranja povoljnih uvjeta za dobrovoljni povratak u sigurnosti i dostojanstvu
- **omogućavanje** dobrovoljnog povratka izbjeglica kad se on odvija spontano, čak i ako uvjeti nisu povoljni za povratak
- širenje informacija o uvjetima u zemlji podrijetla
- stvaranje poticajnog okruženja za povratak pod uvjetima fizičke, zakonske i materijalne sigurnosti te dostojanstva
- **promicanje** dobrovoljne repatrijacije izbjeglica jednom kad su uvjeti povoljni za povratak
- organizaciju dokumentacije, prijevoza i prihvata povratnika u suradnji s nevladinim organizacijama i drugim agencijama, pod uvjetom da je takva organizacija nužna za zaštitu njihovih interesa i dobrobiti^{xlvi}
- **nadziranje** statusa povratnika u zemlji njihova podrijetla i ako je potrebno, interveniranje u njihovu korist
- prikupljanje novčanih sredstava od^{xlvi} zajednice donatora za pomoć vladama kroz pružanje materijalne i financijske potpore za programe repatrijacije i reintegracije
- pospješivanje srednjoročne i dugoročne pomoći pri rehabilitaciji koju pružaju nevladine organizacije, specijalizirane agencije i bilateralni donatori
- poduzimanje aktivnosti potpore u izgradnji nacionalnih zakonskih i pravosudnih kapaciteta da bi se državama^{xlvi} pomoglo u rješavanju uzroka kretanja izbjeglica.

Osiguranje ispunjenja uvjeta povratka često predstavlja izazov, osobito u prilikama nakon sukoba. Čak i ondje gdje je sklopljen mirovni sporazum može proći mnogo vremena do potpunog prestanka nasilja, ponovnog uspostavljanja uobičajenog političkog, ekonomskog i društvenog života, rehabilitacije pravnog sustava i pravosuđa, poštivanja ljudskih prava te dugoročne stabilnosti. Apsorpcijska sposobnost u zemlji podrijetla također je bitan uvjet.

Dobrovoljni povratak

UNHCR bi se trebao uvjeriti u to da su izbjeglice prošli savjetovanje i svoju odluku o repatrijaciji utemeljili na objektivnim informacijama o prilikama u zemlji podrijetla. Na odluku izbjeglica o repatrijaciji ne smije se utjecati čimbenicima kao što su prilike oko azila u zemlji domaćinu, nedostatku pomoći ili njezinu smanjenju te prijetnjama obitelji ili imovini u zemlji podrijetla izbjeglice.

Povratak pod uvjetima sigurnosti i dostojanstva

U skladu s međunarodno-pravnim okvirom, UNHCR povratak „pod uvjetima sigurnosti i dostojanstva” smatra povratkom u uvjete fizičke, zakonske i materijalne sigurnosti pod potpuno uspostavljenom nacionalnom zaštitom. Izbjeglice bi se u idealnim uvjetima trebali moći vratiti u svoje boravište.

Povratak pod uvjetima sigurnosti: Povratak koji se odvija u uvjetima **zakonske** sigurnosti (kao što su amnestije ili javna jamstva osobne sigurnosti, integriteta, nediskriminacije te slobode od straha od proganjanja ili kažnjavanja po povratku), **fizičke** sigurnosti (uključujući i zaštitu od oružanih napada te puteve bez mina ili barem demarkirana naseljena mjesta) te **materijalne** sigurnosti (pristup obradivoj zemlji i sredstvima za život).

Povratak pod uvjetima dostojanstva: Koncept dostojanstva manje je jasan od koncepta sigurnosti. U rječniku je pojam „dostojanstvo” definiran kao kvaliteta onoga što je „vrijedno časti i poštovanja”. U praksi dostojanstvo označava da se izbjeglice ne zlostavlja, da se mogu bezuvjetno ili spontano vratiti kad se za to osjete spremnima, da nisu proizvoljno razdvojeni od članova svoje obitelji, da državna tijela prema njima postupaju s poštovanjem i u potpunosti ih prihvaćaju te da im se povrate sva prava.

Fizičku sigurnost moraju osigurati državna tijela, kojima može zatrebati podrška međunarodne zajednice. Nesigurnost može biti opća prijetnja, ali na meti mogu biti i određeni povratnici. U takvim bi slučajevima trebalo pomno razmotriti kapacitet državnih tijela za njihovu zaštitu te očuvanje zakona i reda. Uz to, čak i ondje gdje je cjelokupna sigurnosna situacija poboljšana, mogu postojati opkoljena područja u kojima fizička sigurnost ne može biti zajamčena. Primjerice, minirana područja mogu ugrožavati određene lokalitete.

Posebice u prilikama poslije sukoba, pravni sustav i pravosuđe često trebaju biti iznova stvoreni ili reformirani kako bi se uklonile pravne i administrativne prepreke za povratak. Primjerice, trebalo bi osigurati da povratnikov osobni status (uključujući i državljanstvo) bude prepoznat i da se osigura povrat imovine ili, gdje je moguće, adekvatna kompenzacija. Još je jedna vrsta mjere **zakonske sigurnosti** za izbjeglice povratnike amnestija protiv sudskog progona zbog bijega kako bi se, primjerice, izbjegla vojna obveza. Amnestije se odnose na cijeli niz zločina, no počinitelji ratnih zločina ili zločina protiv čovječnosti ne bi trebali biti amnestirani.

Materijalna sigurnost podrazumijeva pristup bez diskriminacije sredstvima za život i osnovnim uslugama, primjerice, hrani, vodi, zdravstvenoj skrbi i obrazovanju. Te usluge moraju biti popraćene sredstvima oslanjanja na vlastite snage kako bi se osiguralo da je reintegracija održiva. Kao što je naznačeno ranije, apsorpcijska sposobnost u zemlji podrijetla uvjet je koji je važno razmotriti (posebice u prilikama nakon sukoba).

Reintegracija

UNHCR uglavnom nastoji osigurati održivu reintegraciju kroz pružanje kratkoročne hitne ili humanitarne pomoći. Važna je poveznica između humanitarne pomoći i dugoročnog rada na razvoju. UNHCR stoga nastoji koordinirati svoj rad s drugim agencijama UN-a i razvojnim dionicima država, kako bi olakšao prijelaz između pružanju pomoći i razvoja, dijelom i putem pristupa „4R”: repatrijacija, reintegracija, rehabilitacija i rekonstrukcija. Iako UNHCR predvodi u aktivnostima vezanim uz repatrijaciju, druge agencije UN-a i Svjetska banka uključeni su u početne etape povratka. Time se osigurava da prvotna nastojanja budu integrirana u programe razvitka i da se potrebe povratnika očituju u dugoročnijim planovima.

UNHCR-ova pomoć za individualnu dobrovoljnu repatrijaciju

Neke države preseljenja imaju procedure i financijska sredstva za pomoć izbjeglicama pri dobrovoljnoj repatrijaciji. Sjedištu UNHCR-a trebalo bi se obratiti za savjet i potencijalnu pomoć u pojedinačnim slučajevima izbjeglica, koji žive u zemljama u kojima ne postoje posebna sredstva namijenjena za dobrovoljnu repatrijaciju i gdje izbjeglice nemaju pristup financijskim sredstvima, uključujući i pomoć nevladinih organizacija i drugih dionika.

1.3.4. Lokalna integracija

Lokalna integracija pravni je, ekonomski i sociokulturni proces, čija je svrha pružiti izbjeglicama stalno pravo na boravak u zemlji azila, a u nekim situacijama i u vidu prirodnih državljana. Lokalna integracija slijedi nakon formalnog odobrenja izbjegličkog statusa, bilo na individualnoj osnovi ili *prima facie*, te pomoći pri naseljavanju, kako bi izbjeglice mogle samostalno živjeti unutar zajednice.

U Konvenciji iz 1951. osmišljen je okvir za zaštitu izbjeglica koji pridonosi lokalnoj integraciji u zemljama azila. Logika okvira Konvencije sastoji se u tome da bi s protjecanjem vremena i kako njihove veze s državom domaćinom postaju sve snažnije, izbjeglice trebale moći uživati širi opseg prava. U tom smislu, Konvencijom iz 1951. izbjeglicama se daje čvrsto uporište s kojeg oni postupno mogu vratiti socijalnu i ekonomsku samostalnost kako bi nastavili sa svojim životima. To između ostalog uključuje pravo na slobodu kretanja te pristup tržištu rada, obrazovanju, zdravstvenoj skrbi i drugim socijalnim uslugama. Konvencijom iz 1951. posebice je reguliran je olakšani postupak naturalizacije u zemlji azila.

Proces lokalne integracije

Ako je lokalna integracija ostvarivo rješenje, ona iziskuje (i) pristanak zemlje domaćina te (ii) poticajno okruženje koje se gradi na onome što izbjeglice donose sa sobom; ovi faktori zajedno implicitno pridonose prevenciji daljnjeg raseljavanja. Lokalna integracija treba se promatrati kao postupni proces koji se odvija kroz tri međusobno povezane dimenzije:

- **pravnu:** izbjeglicama se postupno dodjeljuje sve više prava (sličnih onima koje uživaju državljani¹), što na kraju dovodi do stalnog boravišta i u nekim slučajevima do naturalizacije
- **ekonomsku:** izbjeglice postupno postaju manje ovisni o pomoći zemlje azila ili o humanitarnoj pomoći i sve se više sami izdržavaju te pridonose lokalnoj ekonomiji
- **socijalnu i kulturnu:** interakcija između izbjeglica i lokalne zajednice izbjeglicama omogućava sudjelovanje u društvenom životu nove države bez straha od diskriminacije ili neprijateljstva, te bez da su dužni napustiti vlastitu kulturu.

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ⁱ After discussing the issue of currency conversion with other colleagues, we arrived at the decision that the price should be left in dollars and not converted into Croatian Kuna. The whole book is aimed at American population and includes some specific data reflecting American attitudes. We decided to keep the orientedness towards the US society in our translations as well, and therefore, it was only natural to keep the price in dollars.

ii I decided not to translate the phrase “punch to the gut” literally in the given context and instead tried to find an equivalent Croatian phrase. The phrase “Punch to the gut” literally translates into “udarac u trbuh” which is not an adequate choice in the sentence. At the same time, the Croatian phrase I chose, “težak udarac”, seemed as a more idiomatic expression than “punch to the gut”. In the end, I opted for “težak udarac” because it keeps the idea of a “punch”, while metaphorically emphasizing the severity of the situation.

iii I decided to change the sentence structure and divide the complex sentence into two separate sentences to enable reader to grasp the idea more easily. I divided the source language sentence with its subordinate clauses and a sentence embedded between hyphens. In the target language, the embedded sentence stands on its own.

iv In this example, the author uses feminine gender for an unspecified person. The usage of the personal pronoun “she” instead of “he” in a general example is somewhat uncommon in English, even though, some feminist translation theories encourage the deliberate usage of “she” where “he” is usually expected. However, I do not think that this was the author’s intention, so in my translation I opted for the masculine pronoun “he”, since it is very uncommon to use “she” in Croatian when speaking generally.

v In the source text the crystal ball is an idiomatic expression for a means of predicting future events. I decided to paraphrase the idiom, rather than translate it literally. Since there is no similar idiomatic expression in Croatian, paraphrasing the idea can help the reader grasp the intended meaning easier.

vi Health class is a culturally specific item and as a school subject it is not taught in Croatian schools, or more accurately, was not taught until very recently. Nowadays, there is a subject called “zdravstveni odgoj” which is the Croatian cultural equivalent for “health class”. However, I decided to translate “health class” as “biologija”, because topics now covered in “health class” have been taught in biology up until very recently. Choosing “biologija” over “zdravstveni odgoj” was simply motivated by the fact that “zdravstveni odgoj” is a fairly new concept which has not yet been firmly rooted in Croatian culture and therefore, less readers would be familiar with it.

vii The register used in this book is characteristic of English-language popular science literature, or in this case, the self-help genre. Popular science texts are written stylistically less formally and are intended for a general audience. Therefore, it is not uncommon that the author addresses the reader directly or gives examples from the real life in order to support a thesis. She sometimes also uses colloquial and informal expressions to make the text more enjoyable. However, it is not common to find colloquialisms in Croatian popular science books. They tend to be written more formally than their English counterparts. In this specific instance, the informal exclamation “heck” is used to emphasize a statement or show surprise. My translation choice “doista” is not completely interchangeable with “heck” and the two terms do not share the same meaning, however, “doista” can also signify slight surprise and emphasize the previous statement. “Doista” is more formal, but for the reasons stated above I think it is suitable to translate “heck” as “doista” in this instance.

viii My first translation of “snack cart” was “kolica s užitnom”, a calque which only complicates the meaning of the whole sentence. So, I decided to use metonymy in the translation. The author used the concept of the “snack cart”, or a physical object which stands for the concept of having a “snack” or a quick bite. Therefore, I decided to translate the gist of the meaning using only “užina”.

ix As mentioned before, the style of the text is informal, which is not common in similar Croatian texts. This part of the text represents an instance of style shifting in which casual style of narration transforms into text message register. It is characterized by ellipsis (“Bet” instead of “I bet”) and slang expressions (“u” which stands for “you”, “r” which stands for “are”). In this specific instance the text addresses the reader very directly and casually, which is, after all, a characteristic of text messages. However, in Croatian non-fiction books, such informal messages are unusual. Therefore, I decided to keep the informal tone of the message by using “kladim se da” but paid attention to grammar rules.

x In the source sentence the “brain” is treated as a direct object, whereas in the target text the “brain” becomes a subject. Moreover, the imperative mood in the English sentence is transformed into conditional sentence in Croatian. This was done to avoid sentences such as “Recite svome mozgu da”, which sound unusual in Croatian, because they would imply that the brain is a conscious living being and not an organ in the human body.

xi In this sentence, I translated the pronoun “they” as “njezini pripadnici”, thus changing the unit rank form word into phrase in the source text. In the source text, the pronoun “they” clearly refers to “the upper class” but in the target text, it would be unclear whom I was referring to, if I literally translated “they” as “oni”. Mostly for the reasons of semantic clarity, I opted for “njezini pripadnici” to indicate that I was referring to the upper class.

xii In this context, I decided to paraphrase the noun “outsiders” instead of using the Croatian loan word “autsajder” because “autsajder” is a very informal word and using it here would not be stylistically appropriate. For this reason, I chose to paraphrase the noun “outsiders” with the phrase “pripadnici drugih klasa”. That way, I accentuated the difference between the members of the upper class and other classes without the unnecessary stylistic mark.

xiii I decided to use “addition” as a translation procedure in this sentence. Deberett’s Peerage and Baronetage is a book that Croatian readers are most likely not familiar with, so in order to avoid misunderstanding, I added the noun “knjiga” in front of the book title. That way, I explained what Deberett’s Peerage and Baronetage is without affecting or altering the intended meaning of the sentence.

xiv In a draft translation, I translated the phrase “mapping of the class system” as “mapiranje klasnog sustava”, since in sociology articles in Croatian the verb “mapirati” is a commonly used term. However, in the end, I decided to translate the verbal noun “mapping” as a noun “mapa”, rather than “mapiranje”, since there is a term “sociološka mapa”, which corresponds to the English term “social map”. The translation procedure used here was, according to Catford, transposition.

xv “Registrar General’s Office” is a culture-specific item and therefore has no equivalent expression in Croatian. After an online discussion on Omega, my colleague and I agreed to paraphrase the term. Therefore, we conveyed the gist of the meaning by defining and describing this culture-specific item.

xvi In this sentence, I decided to translate the relative clause “those who contested the idea” using the noun “protivnici”. I therefore reduced the number of elements of the phrase to one word in the target

text. I decided to use unit shift as a translation procedure precisely to reduce the number of sentence elements and make the long sentence more comprehensible.

xvii In this instance, I did not translate the phrase “more complex than this” literally, but instead, using a clause “nego što se činilo na prvi pogled” to create more coherence between this paragraph and the paragraph before. More precisely, in the previous paragraph I translated the phrase “on the face of it” as “na prvi pogled” and by using the same phrase in this paragraph, I created a stronger link between the two paragraphs and marked that they are semantically interrelated.

xviii A “barrister” is a type of lawyer who can present cases in the higher courts. The legal profession is typical of common law jurisdictions. Since Croatian legal system is based on the civil law tradition, there is no such profession in Croatia. Therefore, “barrister” cannot be translated literally. I decided to translate “barrister” as “odvjetnik”, which is the only term in Croatian used for legal representatives in court. In other words, I replaced the specific source text item with a target language item which is similar, although not exactly the same.

xix I decided to divide the long and complex sentence into two separate sentences. After dividing it into two sentences, I paraphrased the first clause “especially within a polity” into “posebno zato što je državni poredak” to create stronger cohesion between the two sentences and indicate that the second sentence elaborates the message from the first in more detail.

xx In this example, I connected the two separate sentences into one to mark the link between them. I used colon both to connect them into a meaningful whole and create a pause between them to indicate their separateness and emphasize the second part, which carries the more important information.

xxi The writer often uses three periods in the text, sometimes even where it is not grammatically necessary to use them. As a punctuation mark, three periods usually indicate hesitation or uncertainty. In this sentence, the writer uses three periods before a quotation mark, which is superfluous, since the quotation mark already indicates uncertainty. Therefore, I decided to omit the three periods in the translation and I kept only the question mark. I decided to stick to my choice throughout the text, so I consistently replaced three periods with a full stop or another punctuation mark.

xxii The archaic and regional Croatian word “banjak” refers to the spacious area behind the oven where people used to sit and children used to play. The word “banjak” is characteristic of a specific regional language variety. Therefore, I decided to translate it into English using a paraphrase, and thus explain to the potential reader the meaning of the word.

xxiii I opted for a semicolon in this case, since the only other option was to divide the sentence into two separate ones. Leaving the sentence as it is written in the source text, and not making any changes in the target text, would create misunderstanding. Moreover, even though a comma splice is acceptable in Croatian, it is considered a stylistic error in English. Thus it was necessary to use either a dash or a semicolon. I decided to use a semicolon. By using semicolon instead of full stop, I retained the closer connection between the two compound sentences.

xxiv After the discussion on Omega, most of my colleagues agreed that they should retain diacritic marks in Croatian names. However, I disagreed with them regarding Janoš's name. As I already stated on the forum, Janoš is a Hungarian name and it is originally written with the letter “s”. Since I think that it is much easier for a reader to correctly pronounce the Hungarian variant, I decided to give it precedence over the Croatian name.

xxv On the forum, my colleagues and I noticed that there is a difference in the text between two synonymous words, namely, “bircuz” and “krčma”. Both synonyms are used to refer to the same “tavern” in the village, however, the word “krčma” is usually used by the narrator and the term “bircuz” is used by Paraska. I noticed that the narrator uses “krčma” as a more neutral term, while “bircuz” has more negative connotations. Therefore, I wanted to mark the difference between the two words. I used the neutral term “tavern” for “krčma”, and I premodified it with the adjective “filthy” to indicate Paraska’s opinion about “bircuz”, which Janos frequented.

xxvi I did not translate the sentence literally, because the sentence functions as a proverb. I thus tried to replace it with an English proverb that has a similar meaning. I opted for the proverb, “There is no harm in wine.” which conveys the gist of the meaning.

xxvii The writer often uses dash to indicate a longer pause between clauses. In some instances, he even uses a dash where he should have used a full stop. These two sentences are such an example. According to present-day style guides, it is more common to use a full stop to indicate a longer pause; therefore, I replaced the dashes in the text with full stops. Occasionally, I used a different punctuation mark, according to stylistic and textual requirements.

xxviii Although “valjušci” and “trganci” do not have the same pasta shape and are not the same pasta type, I decided to translate both terms with the term “finger noodles”. It is a common English translation for “valjušci”, which is in turn the Croatian equivalent of the German word “Schupfnudeln”. The term “Schupfnudeln” or “finger noodles” is a superordinate term, and it can refer both to “valjušci” and “trganci”. Moreover, Paraska also uses the two terms interchangeably in the original text.

xxix In this instance, I decided not to translate the word “opanci”, so as to keep the cultural and historical flavor. To explain to the reader the meaning of the word, I added a footnote.

xxx The sentence was a bit confusing in Croatian when I first read it. After doing some research, I realized that by saying “čula je sate” the narrator in fact meant that Paraska heard the clock striking midnight. Striking clocks strike once at one a.m., twice at two a.m., continuing in this way up to twelve times at noon and midnight. Since it was already nighttime and Paraska heard the clock striking for a long time, I realized that the clock struck midnight. In the English translation, I paraphrased the rather odd Croatian sentence, changing the subject from the abstract concept (hours) into a concrete object (clock). The essence of the meaning was conveyed because the both concepts create the same mental image – the flow of time.

xxxi I decided to use a euphemism for the sentence, “Ništa ti neće samo uskočiti u ruku, pa ni vlastiti pimpek.” By using the euphemism, I deprived the text of a specific stylistic mark and made crude language more polite. At the same time, I thought that translating the subordinate clause would serve no purpose in this sense, and the whole sentence would sound even more vulgar and inappropriate than the Croatian original sounds. By using the idiom “on a silver platter,” I conveyed the gist of the meaning and kept the metaphorical nature of the sentence. Both the source and target language sentence convey the same meaning: in order to achieve something, one has to make an effort and not just sit and wait.

xxxii After discussing the issue of punctuation with my colleagues on Omega, I decided to keep the original punctuation from the source text. In other words, I did not use quotation marks to introduce direct speech, instead I only separated direct speech from the narration by using commas. As I have stated on Omega, I think it is important to keep the distinction between Kalda’s thoughts and actual

events unclear. The blurry transition from Kalda's thoughts into reality is one of the strongest stylistic markers, and also serves another vital function: to characterize Kalda, the main character.

xxxiii Kalda's nickname in the original text is "Mutavi", which is an insult colloquially used for a person who is unintelligent or ignorant. However, "mutavi" has another meaning – it refers to people who cannot speak. The origin of the insult "mutavi" stems from the fact that in the past those who could not speak were considered unintelligent. Kalda got the nickname because he was usually silent in company but also because other people considered him a bit dull. The aforementioned reasons affected the choice of an English translation equivalent for the nickname "Mutavi". I opted for the nickname "Dummy", because it is an insult and also comprises all the important connotations that are mentioned above.

xxxiv I decided to translate the nickname "Surla" as "Trunk". The Croatian nickname characterizes the bully as someone who is strong and powerful, so I wanted to keep the allusion in the translation. In English the word "trunk" creates positive ambiguity because in this context, it can be interpreted in two different ways. "Trunk" stands both for the nose of an elephant, as well as the human torso. Both meanings depict the character as a robust and dominant person.

xxxv In the original text, Tamara says, "Jebote pa gdje si se djenuo?" thus combining a swear word "jebote" with a more poetic or archaic word "djenuo". The swear word does not have a particular semantic purpose, and here it is more of a prop word. At first, I wanted to translate the sentence as "Where the fuck have you been hiding?" thus omitting the preposition "in" as a mark of casual and informal style. However, as already mentioned, the word "djenuo" is characteristic of a more formal and literary style, so I decided to keep the preposition "in" in the English sentence. That way, I combined casual speech with a marker of more formal style.

xxxvi I divided the sentence into three shorter ones to avoid comma splices and possible misinterpretation. However, I decided to keep enumeration and multiple commas, which I think, are important to accurately describe the situation and Tamara's overall character. Moreover, multiple commas are the indicators of the author's style of writing. They also create uncertainty about what is happening in Kalda's head and what in actual reality.

xxxvii In the original text, the author calls Adam, Tamara's dad, "stari Adam". The nickname "stari" in Croatian points to the fact that the person is, besides being someone's parent, considered old and somewhat silly. There are similar expressions in English for parents (old folks), however, it is not the right choice in the given context. I decided to choose another expression, namely, "old man", which refers to someone's father or husband. Here, however, I could not have used "my old man" because Adam is not Kalda's father. Therefore, I decided to paraphrase "stari Adam" as "her old man" referring that way to the fact that Adam is Tamara's dad and also keeping the stylistically more appropriate expression.

xxxviii I paraphrased the word "pomračenje" from the original text as "so you lost track", thus indicating that Kalda has no recollection of the past events. The word "pomračenje" metaphorically indicates the same idea – Kalda was "in the dark" and could not remember anything from the past month. However, I decided not to use the phrase "in the dark" because it is not as straightforward as "losing track". Moreover, by using the expression "losing track", the metaphorical nature of the sentence is preserved.

xxxix In this example, I decided to paraphrase the clause "Tamara je bila tekuća svila" as "Tamara's skin was as smooth as liquid silk", because I think that the literal translation of this sentence would only

cause confusion and misunderstanding. If I had translated it as, "Tamara was liquid silk," the sentence would have sounded awkward in English. Therefore, I assumed that Kalda was referring to Tamara's skin when he compared her to liquid silk.

xl The sentence in the source text occupies a whole paragraph, so I divided it into five shorter sentences in the target text. Croatian sentences are usually, due to their syntax, longer and more intricate than their English counterparts. However, this sentence is very long, even for Croatian standards. The sentence is so long because it depicts Kalda's stream of consciousness. If I had literally translated the sentence into English disregarding syntactic rules, the sentence would have been very difficult to understand to an English-speaking reader. While comma splices are acceptable in Croatian, they are not stylistically appropriate in English. Therefore, I decided to divide the sentence into several parts using different punctuation marks to divide sub-clauses.

xli Repatriation can be translated both as "repatrijacija" and "povratak u domovinu". I chose the term "repatrijacija" for two reasons. Firstly, "repatrijacija" is a legal term, whereas "povratak u domovinu" is a description. Secondly, my portion of the text deals with a specific form of repatriation which is called "voluntary repatriation". Since the Croatian translation of the term "voluntary repatriation" is "dobrovoljna repatrijacija" I decided to use the term "repatrijacija" consistently throughout the text and not mix it with the phrase "povratak u domovinu".

xlII In the official documents of UNHCR, I found that the phrase "in safety and with dignity" is translated either as "u sigurnosti i dostojanstvu" or as "pod uvjetima sigurnosti i dostojanstva". Since "u sigurnosti i dostojanstvu" seemed a bit vague in this sentence, I opted for the other option. I thus paraphrased the original English phrase into a lengthier, but in my opinion, more easily comprehensible Croatian phrase.

xlIII The plural noun "returns" in the source text stands for the return of any refugee, or in other words, it functions as a generic term. In Croatian, however, the plural form of the noun "povratak" would not have the same, generic role. Therefore, I decided to use the singular form of the noun to convey the intended generic sense from the original text.

xlIV In various official documents, I found that there are two names which are used for the convention from 1951, namely, "Konvencija o statusu izbjeglica" and "Konvencija o pravnom položaju izbjeglica". After a lengthy discussion with my colleagues on Omega, we opted for the name "Konvencija o statusu izbjeglica iz 1951.", since that is how the title of the convention is translated on the official UNHCR web page. However, we had to decide what to use for the abbreviated title, since it is more frequent in the source text than the full title. We discussed whether to add the noun "godine" in the abbreviated title or to just state the year. In the end, we decided to use the shorter title, "Konvencija iz 1951.", because it is used in text of the convention. Moreover, "Konvencija iz 1951." closely resembles the English original, so this way little is lost in translation.

xlV I omitted the abbreviation "GA" in the target text. Even though there is an abbreviation for the "General Assembly" in Croatian (OS UN), I decided to translate just the full name of the institution and omit the abbreviated form. The decision to omit the abbreviation was based on the fact that the abbreviation is very rarely used in Croatian texts, as opposed to their English counterparts.

xlVI In English versions of the UNHCR documents, the term "States" is always capitalized, however, in Croatian documents this is not the case. In a forum discussion, my colleagues and I decided not to capitalize the Croatian translation "države". Moreover, we decided not to further describe "države" as, for instance, "države članice", because the term is commonly connected to the terminology of the

EU and it could be misinterpreted. Therefore, the final decision was to simply translate “States” as “države”.

xlvi I changed the syntactic structure in the sentence. If I had literally translated the sentence without changing the syntax, it would have been difficult to grasp the interrelatedness of the terms. To make the sentence sound less staccato in Croatian, I placed the clause “u suradnji s nevladinim organizacijama i drugim agencijama” after the list of actions to be made. Moreover, I had to keep the noun “organizaciju” at the very beginning because of consistency with the rest of the list.

xlvi The passive construction I opted for in my translation is not the best solution according to many Croatian linguists. However, there were few restrictions in the sentence that did not allow me to change the syntactic structure. Namely, the subject in the sentence – the verbal noun “prikupljanje” had to be placed at the beginning. Since “funds” or “sredstva” are “raised from the donor community”, there was no other option than to use the preposition “od” to indicate their connection and the fact that “zajednica donatora” is the object.

xli At first I did not differentiate between the terms “state” and “country”, as in the phrases “country of origin” or “resettlement State”. In other words, I translated both “state” and “country” as “zemlja” because I found that the term “zemlja” is more frequent than “država” on the official web page and in the documents of UNHCR. However, my colleagues pointed out that we should differentiate between the two terms. Therefore we reached a unanimous decision to translate the term “country” as “zemlja” and “state” as “država”.

I According to English-Croatian Dictionary of Law and International and Business Relations, the term “citizen” can be translated into Croatian as “državljanin” and “građanin”. In this context, I decided to translate it as “državljanin”, rather than “građanin”, in order to emphasize the difference between the status of “citizens” and “refugees”. The term “građanin” can sometimes be replaced with “državljanin”, however, “građanin” carries a strong connotation to the idea of civil rights. At the same time, “državljanin” simply stands for a resident of a particular country. By using the term “državljanin” in the target text, I wanted to accentuate the difference between residents of a country and those who are not residents, in other words those who seek refuge in a foreign country. If I had used the term “građanin” I would not have pointed to the same idea.