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# Contents

# Editorial

This is the 8th issue, no. 2 of *Styles of Communication*, the international journal which is published annually by the Faculty of Journalism and Communication Studies (University of Bucharest, Romania) in cooperation with the Committee for Philology of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Wrocław Branch, Poland. From 2009 to 2014, *Styles of Communication* was published by the "Danubius" University of Galați, Romania.

The main purpose of *Styles of Communication* is to show the unity existing within global diversity. As communication implies, besides the transfer of information to others and the decoding of the others' messages, the production of meaning within (non)verbal texts/objects is closely connected to interculturality, creativity and innovation and it needs a refining of styles in order to avoid misunderstandings.

This journal is a plea for interdisciplinarity as its aim is to include different perspectives on cultural studies, coming from different fields, such as linguistics, semiotics, literature, political studies, communication, public relations, anthropology, translation studies, cultural studies and so on.

*Styles of* Communication is indexed by Index Copernicus, Genamics Journal Seek, EBSCOhost databases, and it is recommended by the Polish Ministry of Science and Higher Education.

This issue is focused on translation approaches and visual approaches to movies, on social values of public relations and on the theoretical framework of new technologies in journalism.

We would like to see this journal as an ongoing project in which future issues may contribute to the exchange of research ideas representing broad communication -oriented approaches.

**Camelia M. Cmeciu**
**Piotr P. Chruszczewski**

# Translation of Neologisms and Culture-Bound Items Based on *The Witcher*: A Sample Introductory Analysis

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**Abstract:** The subject of the investigation is the translation of neologism and culture-bound items based on the first chapter of the third book of *The Witcher Saga*, entitled *Baptism of Fire*. The analyzed fragment abounds in neologisms and nomenclature; therefore, the processes of word formation are briefly described. Furthermore, some of Hejwowski's ([2004] 2009, pp. 76–83) procedures are cited to present methods of dealing with the creativity resulting from word formation processes. It is shown that a translator, when translating culture-bound items, is not always able to find an equivalent in the target language and may try either to describe a certain phenomenon or to use a literal translation. The way in which neologisms are coined in a fictional novel may differ from the coinage of words in the standard language; nevertheless, the word formation processes are the same as in Standard English or Standard Polish. Moreover, there is still little evidence of what makes a borrowed word catch on in the standard language.

**Keywords:** morphology, neologisms, word formation processes, productivity, translation procedures, *The Witcher Saga*.

## 1. Introduction

When comparing two individual texts, especially in two different languages, it is valid to use research on contrastive grammar, which aims to present the differences and similarities between two or more languages and to provide a model of comparison. Moreover, contrastive grammar determines which elements are comparable, and defines what is identical, different, or equivalent (Fisiak et al., 1978, p. 15). However, "(…) the equivalence of constructions is determined by a bilingual person's competence which in practice amounts to translation and paraphrasing" (Fisiak et al., 1978, p. 16). Borrowings from English are incorporated into Polish by bilingual scientists and musicians through slang and jargon (Mańczak–Wohlfeld, 1995, p. 16). Words are transferred by means of international cooperation, exchange of information, and the use of various technologies. Moreover, the development of social media contributes to the changes taking place in the Polish language. The vocabulary used by journalists is having an impact, especially on the language used by young people. New words are adopted first by bilingual individuals who try to imitate the donor language as faithfully as possible; subsequently, the loan words are accepted by the rest of the community. Gradually, loan words are adopted at the following four levels: graphic, phonological, morphological, and semantic (Mańczak–Wohlfeld, 1994, p. 97). It is worth adding that often the graphic systems of two different languages are very similar. Nonetheless, the process of adopting a new word may be misleading, as some pairs of words from two separate languages may look alike, but in fact be totally different in meaning. This phenomenon is called *false friends*, and occurs not only between different languages but also between different dialects of the same language (Chamizo–Domínguez, 2012, p. 2). The term describes two words which are graphically and phonetically the same or very similar, but have different meanings. False friends may pose difficulties for translators, scientists, and students of foreign languages, because it is easy for them to believe that the term from the other language is equivalent to the term from the native language.

## 2. Word Formation Processes in English and in Polish

Nowadays, the tendency to change English words using Polish derivations is a popular phenomenon in the Polish language: for instance, the word *zdabingować*, where the Polish prefix *z-* and suffix *-ować* are used. The tendency to create new words is especially popular among internet bloggers, using English words and adding derivations. For instance, the Polish prefix *de-* and the suffix *-ać* are added to the word *shake*: *de-shakewować*,[1] which is supposed to mean *to stabilize;* however, the spelling of the English word is completely preserved.

Often, the names of brands become general terms for any version of a given product (Yule, [1985] 2006, p. 53). The process of the invention of a new word is called coinage: for instance, *google, jeans, Tesla, aspirin, Space X.* However, the process of borrowing, that is, the taking over of words from other languages, is one of the most common sources of new words in English. The English language has borrowed many words from other languages, such as *croissant* from French or *piano* from Italian (Yule, 2006, p. 54). Borrowings from English are incorporated into Standard Polish as a result of technical development and media, for instance: *skajskrejper, krosant*, *dżins*, *spam*, *szejk*, *adidasy*, *wideoblog*, and *mafinka*. Additionally, there is a special type of borrowing, called a calque, which is a process in which the direct translation of a word occurs. For instance, the English word *skyscraper* was translated into French as *gratte-ciel*, which literally means *scrape-sky*. In Dutch the word was translated as *wolkenkrabber*, literally meaning *cloud scratcher*, and in German as *Wolkenkratzer*, literally meaning *cloud scraper* (Yule, [1985] 2006, p. 54). Another common mechanism of word formation is compounding. Compounds are combinations of two separate words which produce an independent form (Yule, [1985] 2006, p. 66), for instance, *notebook*, *jazzman*, *facebook*, and *snapchat* in English, *długopis*, *cudzoziemiec*, *grzybobranie*, and *Polskibus* in Polish. Blending, meanwhile, is the process of combining two separate forms to produce a single new term (Yule, [1985]2006, p. 66). English examples include *frienemy* from *friend* and *enemy* and *smog* from *smoke* and *fog.* In Polish, *gripex* and *Polbus.* The process of reducing a word to a shorter form is called back-formation, for instance, *babysit* from *babysitter*, or *kempt* from *unkempt.* However, new words may also be coined when a

[1] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3aJpyoZBH0Q. Retrieved March 23rd , 2016.

word of more than one syllable is reduced to a shorter form (Yule, [1985] 2006, p. 55). This process is called clipping; for instance, in English, *lambo* from *lamborghini*, *ad* from *advertisement*, *vlog* or *vblogg* from *video blog*, and *B'more* from *Baltimore*; in Polish, *Krk* from *Kraków* and *Wro* from *Wrocław*. Another process is conversion, which is a change in the function of a word class without reduction (Yule, [1985] 2006, p. 67). This process occurs mainly when nouns come to be used as verbs, for instance: *to key* somebody's car; *to clown* somebody, which means to laugh at somebody; or *to google* – or, in Polish, *szejkować* or *blendować*. Acronyms are also sources of new words: *NATO* from North Atlantic Treaty Organisation or *LA* from Los Angeles, or, in Polish, *KOD* from *Komitet Obrony Demokracji*, *KORWiN* from *Koalicja Odnowy Rzeczypospolitej Wolność i Nadzieja*, or *nk* from the website *nasza-klasa*. Interestingly, word formation processes are often used in political campaigns through the use of blendings (*Bronkobus*), compounds (*Szydłobus, Dudabus*), or acronyms. However, in some cases, several word formation processes are applied; for instance, the name of the party *KORWiN* can be considered either an acronym or as a blending with emphasis on the form *win*.

However, derivation, achieved by means of affixes, is considered the most common word formation process to be found in the production of new English words (Yule, [1985] 2006, p. 67). Interestingly, the suffix *-er* is used to indicate a profession; for instance, *a breaker*, which describes a person who is performing a breakdance, or a *witcher*, where the suffix *-er* identifies either a male version of a witch or a profession as well. However, in the *Witcher Saga*, the processes of derivation and back-formation occur when it is a question of the names of inhabitants of certain places. *Riv* in the Polish version is a citizen of *Rivia*, which in the English version is changed into *Rivian*. In Polish, when creating a name of a citizen, back-formation is usually applied, for instance *Serbia–Serb* or *Rivia–Riv;* however, in English, the process of derivation occurs: *Serbia–Serbian* or *Rivia–Rivian*. Nevertheless, it is difficult to diagnose which factors contribute to the way a word is adopted, and determining which version is correct may not be easy; for instance, the borrowing *to google* can be translated into Polish as *guglować*, *guglić*, or *guglać*.

## 3. *The Witcher* as Research Material

*Chrzest ognia* by Andrzej Sapkowski is a collection of short stories published in 1996; however, the first English edition, entitled *Baptism of Fire*, was not published until 2014. The uniqueness of *Baptism of Fire* as well as of the whole saga is its Slavic character. No popular texts celebrate Slavic nature in the way Sapkowski's ([1996] 2014) saga does. One can say that the text is difficult to understand for non-Polish readers, because Slavic literature is not popular worldwide; however, *The Witcher* is considered to be a worldwide phenomenon, as the English edition was placed on the *New York Times* bestseller list in 2015.[2] However, it is the game based on the saga that promoted and

[2] http://www.nytimes.com/best-sellers-books/2015-06-14/mass-market-paperback/list.html. Retrieved March

popularised the book.

Undoubtedly, Sapkowski's *The Witcher* is a huge phenomenon; both the books and the game have their own faithful audiences. However, there are certain difficulties with the translation of culture-bound items that occur in the text. The action takes place in the Middle Ages in certain undefined Slavic territories. For instance, when it comes to the presentation of the world, the forest, plants, and animals presented in the book are endemic to the Slavic lands. However, in the English translation, the forest loses its original character, and speakers of the English language may understand it as a mediaeval forest from *Robin Hood* rather than a Slavic forest. In such a culture-bound text, it is easy for a translator to use an adaptation or literal translation; however, it may be that neither of these procedures is the best solution.

Due to the process of domestication, the text may become an adaptation rather than a translation (Venuti, [1995] 2008, p. 273). To avoid this, the individuality of cultures should be manifested. However, it is difficult to translate culture-specific concepts and not be literal, because only those who actually know the culture can understand what the text is about (Adamczyk-Garbowska, 1988, p. 8). The way the translator tries to solve the problems may be interesting, since the solutions or procedures applied in the process of translation can always be called into question.

## 4. A Sample Introductory Analysis

The text of *The Witcher* abounds in neologisms and culture-bound items which provide interesting material for analysis. The creativity of the writer and the translator in creating new words depends on word formation rules. Moreover, a variety of procedures, divided into several categories, were applied by the translator of *The Witcher*. Hejwowski ([2004] 2009, pp. 76–83) described nine procedures used to translate idioms and culture-bound items, five of which can undoubtedly be found in Sapkowski's ([2014] 2015) *Baptism of Fire*. These procedures are: functional equivalent, descriptive equivalent, syntagmatic translation without explanation, transfer without explanation and transfer with explanation.

### (1) Functional equivalent

ST[3]: *A pogłoski o niebywałej odporności i wytrzymałości wiedźminów też nie były widać wyssane z palca* (Sapkowski, 2014, p. 16).

TT[4]: *And the rumours about the exceptional resistance and endurance of witchers were also clearly no mere myths either* (French, [2014] 2015, p. 10).

In the example the functional equivalent, *mere myths*, to the idiomatic phrase *wyssany z palca* is used.

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23rd, 2016.

3 ST- Source text

4 TT- Target text

ST: *Uczyła się strzelać ze zwykłych jesionowych i cisowych, ale prędko zrezygnowała z nich na rzecz refleksyjnych laminatów, jakich używały driady i elfy* (Sapkowski 2014: 6).

TT: *She had learned to shoot using ordinary ash and yew bows, but soon gave them up for composite reflex bows, of the type elves and dryads used* (French [2014] 2015, pp. 1–2).

The translation of *refleksyjny laminat* into reflex bow is a partially literal translation; *laminat* is not translated literally into *laminate*[5] but into *reflex bow*, which is a functional term in English.

ST*: Żeby do wszystkich biesów poszedł – warknęła Milva, podciągając obciążony sakwą i myśliwskim nożem pas. – I ty też idź do biesa, Aglais* (Sapkowski 2014: 10).

TT: '*To go to hell,' snapped Milva, lifting her belt, from which hung a heavy purse and a hunting knife. 'And you can go to hell, too, Aglaïs.'* (French [2014] 2015, p. 5).

*Idź do biesa* and *idź do diabła* are equivalents of the expression *go to hell*. A literal translation might be misunderstood by the target version's readers.

ST: *Świat w ogniu, człowiek nie tylko elfowi, ale i człowiekowi wilkiem, brat na brata nóż podnosi* (Sapkowski, 2014, p. 11).

TT: *The world is in flames, humans are preying not only on elves but on other humans too. Brothers are raising knives against brothers* (French, [2014] 2015, p. 6).

The phrase *człowiek nie tylko elfowi, ale i człowiekowi wilkiem* is based on the Polish idiomatic phrase *człowiek człowiekowi wilkiem*. Sapkowski (2014) uses the Polish idiom and adapts it to *The Witcher*'s reality. The translator uses a functional equivalent and adapts it analogically to the book's reality. To *prey on somebody* is to commit a crime against someone. The Polish idiom has no recognised equivalent in English; thus the translator uses a functional equivalent.

ST: *Chybaś rozum straciła, dziwożono!* (Sapkowski 2014: 8)

TT: *Have you lost your mind, dryad?* (French [2014] 2015: 4)

To borrow *dziwożona*, the name of a Slavic demon, would be too exotic. The translator decides to use the previously described *dryad* as a functional equivalent. However, *dryad* is not an absolute equivalent of *dziwożona*, since a *dryad* is a Greek nymph. What is more, a degree of modulation occurs here, as an exclamatory sentence is transferred into an interrogative sentence.

ST: *A co to on mi, brat albo swat?* (Sapkowski, 2014, p. 9)

TT: *And who is he to me? My own flesh and blood?* (French, [2014] 2015, p. 4)

The functional equivalent of the sentence is used, additionally, the structure of the source text is transferred.

ST: *Kawał chłopa, pomyślała odruchowo, choć chudy, ale jedna żyła... Łeb biały, ale brzuch płaski niby u młodzika, widno, że trud mu za uchem, nie słonina i piwo…* (Sapkowski, 2014, p. 9).

TT: *A strapping lad, she had thought, thin, yet sinewy … His hair's white, but his belly's as flat as a young man's; hard times have been his companion, not lard and beer*

[5] Overlay (a flat surface) with a layer of plastic or some other protective material, source: http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/laminate. Retrieved March 23rd , 2016.

... (French, [2014] 2015, p. 4).

*Trud mu za uchem* is not translated literally but into *hard times have been his companion.* The target expression is equivalent to the source expression.

**(2) Descriptive equivalent:**

ST*: Najlepsze egzemplarze takiej broni, gięte poczwórnie, nosiły wśród elfów nazwę zefhar, taki bowiem runiczny znak tworzyły wygięte ramiona i gryfy łuku* (Sapkowski, 2014, p. 6).

TT*: Milva had owned many bows in her life* (French, [2014] 2015, p. 1).

The translator, instead of translating the very specific vocabulary literally, decides to transfer a very complicated sentence into a simple one.

ST: (…) *zwłaszcza tu, w Brokilonie, mateczniku zwierzyny* (Sapkowski, 2014, p. 5).

TT: (…) *particularly here in Brokilon Forest, which was abundant with game* (French, [2014] 2015, p. 1).

The name of the area called *Brokilon, matecznik zwierzyny* is translated into *Brokilon Forest, which was abundant with game;* this represents usage of a descriptive equivalent.

ST: *Było to oczywiście na Hrakim Bazarze w Cidaris, słynnym z bogatej oferty dziwnych i rzadkich towarów* (...) (Sapkowski, 2014, p. 6).

TT: *It was, of course, at the Seaside Bazaar in Cidaris, which was renowned for its diverse selection of strange and rare goods* (...) (French, [2014] 2015, p. 2).

The translator decides not to borrow the word *Hrakim* but decides to describe it in terms of its location instead. However, the rest of the expression is translated literally.

ST: *Zaopatrzony w wypiętą na precyzyjnie podgiętych gryfach jedwabno-konopną cięciwę* (…) (Sapkowski, 2014, p. 7).

TT: *Equipped with a silk and hemp bowstring* (…) (French, [2014] 2015, pp. 2–3).

The example presents how one word, *jedwabno-konopna*, can be transferred into two separate words. The translator describes the source word using two independent words; in effect, the meaning is preserved.

**(3) Syntagmatic translation without explanation**

ST: *Łuk pochodził z dalekiej Północy* (Sapkowski, 2014, p. 7).

TT: *The bow came from the Far North* (French, [2014] 2015, p. 2).

ST: *Kalece, który okazał się wiedźminem, znanym driadom jako Gwynbleidd, Biały Wilk* (Sapkowski, 2014, p. 9).

TT: *A cripple who had turned out to be the Witcher, known to the dryads as Gwynbleidd: the White Wolf* (French, [2014] 2015, p. 4).

Both of these examples present a syntagmatic translation, a word-for-word translation where the translator transfers words literally, without explanation.

**(4) Transfer without explanation**

ST: *Zaraz po przyjeździe poinformowano ją, że Aglais pilnie oczekuje jej w Col Serrai*. (Sapkowski, 2014, p. 8).

TT: *Immediately on her arrival, she had been informed that Aglais needed her urgently in Col Serrai* (French, [2014] 2015, p. 3).

ST: *W Aedirn trwa wojna! W Brugge, w Temerii i w Redanii zamęt, piekło, wielkie łowy!* (Sapkowski, 2014, p. 9)

TT: *A war is raging in Aedirn! Brugge, Temeria and Redania are reduced to havoc, hell and much slaughter!* (French, [2014] 2015, p. 4)

Both these examples present the procedure used most often in the translation of proper names; as opposed to *Far North* or *White Wolf*, where the translator decided to apply syntagmatic translation without explanation, these examples of exotic names such as *Aglais*, *Col Serrai*, *Aedrin*, *Brugge*, or *Temeria* are borrowed.

ST: *Milva używała zefharów przez ładnych kilka lat i nie sądziła, by mógł istnieć łuk, który je przewyższał* (Sapkowski, 2014, p. 6).

TT: *Milva had used zefhars for several years and couldn't imagine a bow capable of outclassing them* (French, [2014] 2015, pp. 2).

*Zefhar* is a neologism functioning as an noun with all derivatives in both the Polish and English versions.

ST: *Czterysta novigradzkich koron. Rzecz jasna, nie miała przy sobie tej niebotycznej sumy - w targu poświęciła swój zerrikański zefar* (...) (Sapkowski, 2014, p. 7).

TT: *Four hundred Novigrad crowns. Naturally, she didn't have such a titanic sum on her; instead she had given up her Zerrikanian zefhar* (…) (French, [2014] 2015, p. 2).

Usually, in descriptions of the names of currencies, an adjective is used, for instance, English crown or American dollar. In Polish as well: *polska złotówka, amerykański dolar,* and, in Sapkowski's (2014) book, *novigradzka korona*. However, in the target text it is translated into *Novigrad crown* instead, in an attempt to create an adjective by adding suffix *-ian* or *-ish* which might have resulted in a neologism such as *Novigradian* or *Novigradish*. However, in the translation of the neologism *zerrikański zefhar,* the translator decides to create an adjective by adding suffix *-anian*.

**(5) Transfer with explanation**

ST: (…)*pęk sobolowych łupieży i przecudnej roboty elfi medalionik, koralową kameę w wianuszku rzecznych pereł* (Sapkowski, 2014, p. 7).

TT: (…) *a bunch of sable pelts, a small, exquisite elven-made medallion, and a coral cameo pendant on a string of river pearls* (French, [2014] 2015, p. 2).

*Elvenmade* is a compound of the words *elf* and *made*, which indicates that the medallion was created by an elf; however, the source text does not say who made the medallion, only who owns it.

ST: *O wydarzeniach, jakie miały miejsce w pierwszy lipcowy nów księżyca na ostrowie Thanedd, Milva wiedziała, Scoia'tael mówili o tym bez przerwy* (Sapkowski, 2014, p. 10).

TT: *Milva knew about the events which had taken place during the first July new moon on the Isle of Thanedd; the Scoia'tael talked about it endlessly* (French, [2014] 2015, p. 5).

The translator decided, once the name *Thanedd* had been translated as *the Isle of Thanedd*, to keep that version throughout the text, even though the Polish version varies:

both *wyspa Thanedd* and *ostrów Thanedd* are translated into *the Isle of Thanedd.*

*ST: Wystrzelona z jej wielorybiej pięćdziesiątki piątki strzała* (…) (Sapkowski, 2014, p. 7).

*TT: An arrow shot from her whalebone fifty-fiver* (…) (French, [2014] 2015, p. 3).

*Wielorybia* is transfered into *whalebone,* as a literal translation might be misunderstood, while *from her whale fifty-fiver* would sound ambiguous.

## 5. Conclusions

This analysis of *Baptism of Fire* presents a variety of neologisms and idiomatic phrases. Sapkowski (2014) often uses words which have no English equivalents; in effect, the target text is not as rich as the source text. Furthermore, in the translation of most idioms, either recognized or functional equivalents are used. Vocabulary associated with archery, well-developed sentences before battles, and short, action-packed sentences full of descriptions of moves in the battles are typical of this book. When it comes to the translation of proper names, the Polish names are translated literally; however, the more exotic ones are preserved in the source form with English derivations. Moreover, when it comes to the names of places, the source text neologisms are often either translated literally or by means of the process of borrowing.

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# The Last Gender Picture Show to Closure
## *Buffy the Vampire Slayer*

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**Abstract**: This work presents in (and especially on one) detail what it means to practice gender analysis as formal image analysis in the context of television shows. The chosen example for that is the closing scene of "Buffy the Vampire Slayer" (USA 1997-2003). This television show engages in a highly self-reflexive manner with common pop cultural representations of gender, which becomes particularly prevalent and radically condensed in the series finale.
**Keywords:** gender, television show, closure, action-image, affection-image.

### 1. Previously on „Buffy the Vampire Slayer"

Buffy Summers, a delicate blond high school student, does not merely struggle with the typical horrors of being a teenager. She was also given superpowers by the Watcher's Council, in order to hunt and take down vampires and other demonic creatures in small-town Sunnydale, California – a constellation that serves as point of departure for the TV show *Buffy The Vampire Slayer* (short: *Buffy*), which aired in the US between 1997 and 2003.

After 144 episodes and twelve successful attempts at averting the apocalypse, the show ended with a simple question: "Yeah, Buffy, what are we gonna do now?"[1] The question remained unanswered. But not everyone was at a loss – some recipients knew exactly what to do, and focused on practicing exegesis. By now, *Buffy* is probably one of the most intensely analyzed US television shows of all times. Entire conferences, online journals and the discipline of *Buffy Studies* are dedicated solely to the exploration of the *Buffy* verse. Within this circle, a debate about the question of feminism and gender erupted quickly, culminating in the "Gretchen question:" Say, as regards gender, how you feel.

The different parties represent two basically irreconcilable positions: For some, *Buffy* is a perfect example of questioning fixed gender roles, of undermining or deconstructing patriarchal structures (i.e. Gwyn, 2008; Daughtery, 2002). For many of them, Buffy's life represents the ideal of successful feminist liberation, the transition from naïve, other-directed blonde to confident, grown woman (i.e. Levine, 2007). For others, the series is the exact opposite (i.e. Spicer, 2004; Middleton, 2007): In particular the protagonist Buffy Summers, they argue, is staged as object of the voyeuristic male

[1] For a detailed list of all apocalyptic threats, see "Apocalypse" in *Buffyverse Wiki 2016*.

gaze as she stakes vampires in tight leather clothing, or is being tortured by the First Evil: "not to mention [her] hair that has grown blonder and blonder" (Wilcox/Lavery, 2002, xviii). These critics suggest that ultimately, *Buffy* is just another text reaffirming a male-dominated power structure.

To put it briefly: While some celebrate the show for its subversion of stereotypical gender roles during prime time, others claim that despite the consistent demonstration of *girl power*, *Buffy* is still conforming to dominant patriarchal structures. A third group refuses to pick a side, and reads *Buffy* as a show characterized by conflicting tendencies: "Buffy manages to be feminist and anti-feminist all at once" (Karius, 2011).

As relevant and persuasive these different arguments may be, it is noticeable that the issue of the show's feminist or emancipatory significance is, in most cases, negotiated primarily with regard to character analysis: Does Buffy grow into an independent woman over the course of the series, or not? Does the show treat the same-sex relationship between Willow and Tara differently than the heterosexual couples? How is masculinity represented in the figures of Xander, Buffy's working-class high school buddy, and Spike, the punk vampire? There is something to be said for this approach, mainly because the representation of gender manifests most obviously on the character level. What this approach often neglects to ask is in what *form* it happens.

The question of form is going to be the focus of this essay. It would be impossible to discuss every formal aspect of the show; instead, I am going to focus on one particular episode, the series finale, and more specifically, the final scene before the closing credits.

The narrow focus allows me to make two points in particular: First, I am going to show in detail what it means to practice gender analysis as image formal analysis in the context of television shows. Second, the TV show *Buffy* engages in a highly self-reflexive manner with common pop-cultural representations of gender, which becomes particularly prevalent and radically condensed in the series finale.

## 2. Action- vs. Affection Images

*Buffy* ends, as mentioned above, after 7 seasons and 144 episodes, with a close-up on Buffy's face (Fig. 1). Once more, Buffy and her friends have prevented the apocalypse. However, Sunnydale, the small town providing the main setting for all 7 seasons of the show, is completely destroyed. Buffy and some of her comrades barely make it out in time by fleeing the town in a school bus (Fig. 2a). Finally safe, Buffy gets off the bus and looks down the road leading from town into the Californian desert (Fig. 2b). The others follow and, forming a group around Buffy, look back to the ruins of the town (Fig. 2c). In this shot, the camera slowly transitions from a medium long shot to a medium close-up, zooming in on Buffy, while her friends ask Buffy twice what they should do. Buffy remains silent, smiles, and thoughtfully stares into space (Fig. 1). The closing credits follow.

Fig. 1
Final frame before the closing credits

Fig. 2a-c
Escape from Sunnydale, and looking back

The last shot is so interesting because it combines two types of images that have emerged from the established mode of representation in classical Hollywood cinema, and have since been part of the standard repertoire of cinematic and televisual representation.[2] In the vocabulary of Gilles Deleuze's film theory, these types are called action-image and affection-image (Deleuze, 1986, p. 61ff). The action-image is characterized, as the term suggests, by its representation of action. The cinematic movement-image is translated into action. We see characters in action, which is integrated in the narration and advances the plot, causing a change of situation that in itself leads to more action, and so on. The framing is usually chosen in order to create a sense of realism that does not disrupt the fictional illusion, but rather affirms it. Deep focus is typical for the action-image, and it is usually a medium long shot or medium shot, in order to make actions and changes in situation easily visible. The affection-image, on the other hand, is characterized by a disruption of the narration. The affection-image is removed from the narrative context,

[2] For a detailed account of the development and establishment of formal patterns in classical Hollywood cinema, see Bordwell/Staiger/Thompson, 1985.

and there is no spatial relation between the filmed objects. Therefore, the image appears two-dimensional. The object in focus is shown in close-up or extreme close-up. The typical affection-image is of purely aesthetical value: The object on the screen is either supposed to affect the spectator because of its aesthetic qualities (not because of its narrative function), or the displayed object, for example a face in close-up, shows affect itself (like awe or desire), which in return is supposed to affect the viewer.

However, action-image and affection-image do not appear separately, quite the contrary. According to Gilles Deleuze, the combination of both images in correlation with a third type, the perception-image, forms a causal sensorimotoric sequence that constitutes the mode of narration of classical cinema (Deleuze, 1986, p. 155ff).

Perception, affect, and action are connected and form variations of causal chains,[3] but another aspect is important in this context: While the aforementioned types of images are interrelated, there are clear distinctions in form and function. It is precisely this difference that allows for a connection of film analysis and gender analysis. In particular affection-image and action-image in cinema and television are highly gendered and serve the representation of masculinity and femininity. This assumption can be confirmed by relating Deleuze's theory of affection-image and action-image to Laura Mulvey's 1975 foundational text of feminist psychoanalytic film theory. In "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema", Mulvey shows that classical Hollywood movies are characterized by a relatively simple opposition: on the one hand, the male active protagonist who drives the action, on the other the passive woman who functions as a catalyst of action, but does not act herself, and merely serves as object of voyeuristic pleasure, in order to affect the male protagonist (and the viewer).

Precisely this narrative character-motivated opposition can be linked to the formal opposition between action-image and affection-image. The affection-image focuses on a part of the female body (usually the face) in close-up, reduces the depth of field and thus possesses purely aesthetic value (Fig. 3a). The action-image, on the other hand, shows the male protagonist acting within a frame that is defined by depth of field and a long or medium shot (Fig. 3b).

[3] A simple example: From afar, the sheriff notices the cattle thieves heading toward 'his' town (perception-image); an expression of surprise transforms his features which the spectator sees in close-up (affection-image); the sheriff draws his gun, shown in a medium close-up, and shoots, while the rustlers are riding into town, firing off shots (action-image) ... This basic constellation can be varied by altering the sequence of the three images (first a close-up on his face, then a shot of the thieves etc.). What's important is that there is a causal relationship between the images. Modern film, on the other hand, works very differently, according to Gilles Deleuze, because it purposefully breaks the causal sensorimotoric sequence (Deleuze, 1989, chapter 1).

Fig. 3a-b
Affection image vs. action image:
Greta Garbo in the final scene of *Queen Christina* vs.
Paul Newman and Robert Redford in the final scene of
*Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid*

As stereotypical and simplifying this opposition may be, it remains a persistent topos that influences cinematic and televisual strategies up to this day, as can be seen in the way different (sub)genres in television often correlate (or at least have correlated for a long time) with a dominance of one of these types and its gender implications.[4] For example, the Western shows that were particularly successful in the 1960s have mostly male protagonists, and mostly employ the modus of the action-image. In comparison, the telenovela is, with few exceptions, told from the perspective of the heroine. It tells the story of her initially unrequited, but eventually fulfilled love to a man, and is characterized by the affection-image mode.

The so called *women warriors* are a somewhat more complicated case. Since the 1970s, female 'warriors' have begun to populate the television screen.[5] The shows *Wonder Woman* (USA 1975-79), *The Bionic Woman* (USA 1976-77) or *Charlie's Angels* (USA 1976-81) not only introduce female 'warrior' protagonists who represent an inversion of the passive feminine role, but these protagonists are also displayed in the form of both affection-image and action-image. *Wonder Woman* for instance is, just like her male superhero colleagues Superman or Batman in cinema and television, shown in action-images, but – unlike her male counterparts – she is also presented as an object of the gaze in affection-images.

This double visual logic is particularly apparent in *Xena: Warrior Princess* (USA 1995-2001), a show that aired around the same time as *Buffy*. As the subtitle suggests, Xena is warrior *and* princess. Xena is shown in many battle scenes as warrior, in the

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[4] For the different television genres see Mittell, 2004; for the relationship between television (genres) and gender see Joyrich, 1996; for the hybridization of genres since the 1980s (at the latest) see Edgerton/Rose, 2005.

[5] For a more detailed discussion see Early/Kennedy, 2003. In cinema, this kind of female protagonist had developed much earlier in the so called serials (a series of movies connected as episodes by a larger narrative structure): "The serials of the following years [since 1912!] are almost *exclusively* adventure or mystery stories with *female* protagonists, which have skills similar to James Bond in later decades" (Hediger, 2002, p. 103; emphasis added by SG).

mode of the action-image. In this regard, the series does not differ much from *Hercules: The Legendary Journeys* (USA 1995-99), the show whose spin-off *Xena* is. In other scenes however, unlike her mythological counterpart Hercules from the series of the same name, princess Xena is depicted in revealing outfits as the object of the voyeuristic gaze in affection-images (Fig. 4).

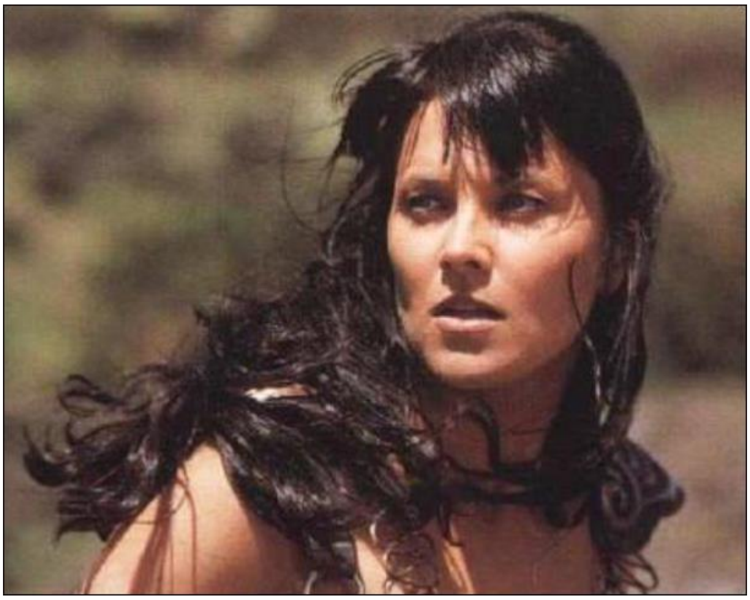

Fig. 4
Xena, warrior princess in affection-image

Such a constellation can also be found in the case of vampire slayer Buffy, who is similarly shown in both modes.[6] In the show's very first episode, "Welcome to the Hellmouth", the last shot of the opening credits, a structurally extra-diegetic space, is marked clearly as affection-image. It shows Buffy in a dimly-lit medium close-up. Briefly, the image is frozen and, interestingly, signed in capital letters with the name of the object's (male) creator: "CREATED BY JOSS WHEDON" (Fig. 5a). Shortly after, when Buffy meets the vampire Angel for the first time, "Welcome to the Hellmouth" shows a fight scene that introduces Buffy as *woman warrior* with superpowers in action-image mode (medium long shot, deep focus, a diegetic plot twist, see Fig. 5b).

[6] This seems particularly obvious, since from the very beginning, *Buffy* is a hybrid genre of horror (vampires) and teen flick, the latter of which usually takes place at a high school and deals with the worries, sorrows and relationships of teenagers. From the very first episode, Buffy embodies the hybrid: (former) cheerleader, a blond, delicate girl who worries about her looks and the next date at day; hunter who stakes vampires at night. This kind of genre hybrid has become very common since the 1990s, see Ross/Stein; for the hybridization of television genres see Edgerton/Rose 2005.


Fig. 5 a-c
Buffy, once in affection-image, once in action-image,
and Spike in affection-image

The double logic that also characterizes other *woman warrior* shows is introduced and established at the very beginning of *Buffy*. What distinguishes this show from *Wonder Woman* or *Xena* is the extension of the double visual logic to the other gender: Male protagonists in *Buffy* do not just fight (mostly with Buffy), but are also put on display as objects of the voyeuristic gaze, according to the logic of the affection-image. In particular vampire Spike is frequently shown (half)naked and in affection-images (see, for instance, Fig. 5c).

This means, among other things, that *Buffy*, at least on a formal level, references the logic of mass-medial representation, but does not radically undermine it. The distinct order of affection-image and action-image is maintained (and not replaced by other types of images, or deconstructed). However, it is crucial that the way affection-image and action-image are used for characterization is *anti-essentialist*, because their use is dependent on the situation and gender-neutral.

## 3. Closure

Let us return to the last shot of the Buffy finale, before the final closing credits (Fig. 1). Formal closure strategies in television shows[7] often have in common that at the end of the final episode, the camera zooms out of the site of action. The shot keeps getting longer, from medium close-up to long shot, shot from bird's eye view. The spectators leave by literally putting distance between themselves and the site of action. This leave-taking strategy is common and relatively independent of genre.[8] The form of farewell can be explained by referring to a third type of image introduced by Gilles Deleuze, which has been only briefly mentioned so far. The *perception-image* is neither

[7] For a discussion of the term closure: "Closure is therefore best understood as something we look for in narrative, a desire that authors understand and often expend considerable art to satisfy or frustrate. […] In fact, narrative is marked almost everywhere by its *lack of closure*. […] If expectations are fulfilled or questions answered, we say that closure occurs" (Abbott, 2000, p. 57ff). For a general discussion of finales and closure strategies in television shows see Grampp/Ruchatz, 2014.

[8] This is not the case for the linking of *perception-images* with a preceding affection-image or action-image in series finales. Melodramatic genres tend to link affection-image and perception-image; western, crime and horror, on the other hand, usually link action-image and perception-image.

about the representation of action, nor the representation or stimulation of affect, but rather about the perception of a situation. Either something is perceived subjectively from the perspective of a protagonist, or, more relevant in this context, it is perceived objectively from a distant position (often a long shot, or a bird's eye shot) (Deleuze, 1986, p. 71ff). Such an objective, slowly retreating perception-image is often chosen to mark the finale of a television show. The viewer leaves the site of action, says goodbye. This option was used in two shows that both aired in the late 1990s, around the same time as *Buffy*, and possess structural similarities and similar gender constellations: the aforementioned *Xena*, and *Charmed* (USA 1998-2006), a show that very successfully told the story of three magically gifted sisters over 9 seasons.

*Xena* ends with a tracking shot in the previously explained perception-image mode. Right before this shot, Xena's long-term companion Gabrielle is shown mourning Xena's death. The scene is shot in affection-image mode, forming an antithetic sequence with the final shot: From an affection-image showing a longing, mourning face, the episode cuts to a perception-image that gradually edges away from the recipient. The finale of *Charmed* shows a very similar combination of affection-image and perception-image. At the end of the last episode, the three magic sisters and some of their relatives are shown in the form of photographs that appear on screen as a series of affection-images. Afterwards, the camera retreats from the family home and, in one continuous tracking shot, shifts into bird's eye view. In this scene, too, affection-image and perception-image form a sequential connection.

The final scenes of both *Xena* and *Charmed* have been discussed here in detail to show how different the *Buffy* finale is in comparison. Let's return to this scene one more time: After Buffy's escape from Sunnydale is shown in typical action-images (fig. 2a), the show shifts into perception-image mode: The spectator follows Buffy's gaze to the horizon of the Californian desert (Fig. 2b), then Buffy and her friends are shown looking back to Sunnydale after their lucky escape (Fig. 2c). What follows is a tracking shot towards Buffy, which stops somewhere between a medium close-up and a close-up (Fig. 1); then, the closing credits.

One difference between this shot and the final frames of *Xena* and *Charmed* is that *Buffy* does not end with a tracking shot moving away from the site of action; instead it closes in on Buffy's face. But her face does not fill the entire frame, and deep focus is not completely eliminated (in the background, the school bus and part of Faith's face are still clearly visible).

However, this last shot does not just differ from the shows *Xena* and *Charmed* with their final perception-images, it also stands out from other conventions of representation. In the final shot of the movie *Queen Christina* for example, Greta Garbo's face fills almost the entire frame (Fig. 3a). There is no deep focus, and the film ends with a typical affection-image. *Buffy* also differs from the finale of the Western *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid*, which closes with a typical action-image (fig. 3b): The heroes are desperately trying to shoot their way to freedom. The space is clearly structured, the action advances the narration toward the finale, shot in a medium close-up. The *Buffy* finale, on the other hand, shows a hybrid type that combines the characteristics of action-image and affection-image. The final shot includes traits of the affection-image (the smiling, seemingly affected face), and the action-image (deep focus, the injury above the right temple indicating a recent fight). More exactly: The shot is situated *between* action-image and affection-image. The framing is somewhere between a close-up and a medium close-up. Parts of the surroundings are still visible, but Buffy's face dominates the frame; there is deep focus, but the focus is not as clear as it could be.

Thus, the last shot should be read as a formal symbolic condensation of the show's general premise: Over the course of the series, Buffy is assigned both typically female and male connotated characteristics. However, Buffy's characterization is not merely a consequence of plot-related attributes, but also a result of formal means: She is displayed in both affection-images and action-images. At the very beginning of the show, two distinct modes of representation are established that permit Buffy (and other characters, male or female) to act and affect over seven seasons; in the finale, these two fundamental modes of representation are linked together symbolically to condense Buffy's characterization in one single image.

However, this correlation has further implications: Not only are two dominant (and gendered) pop-cultural types of images displayed and linked to characterize Buffy's function, but her characterization also leads beyond the frame into the indefinite or indeterminable.

This reading is further supported by the developments that happen simultaneously with the connection of the two image types in the final scene of *Buffy*. Buffy does not answer the question that two different characters direct at her: "Buffy, what are we gonna do now?" The question remains unanswered. Furthermore, the setting for the last frame, the bright desert, is very untypical for the show. Most of the time, *Buffy* takes place in Sunnydale, usually at night. The town with its relatively simple structure (school, cemetery, night club, etc.) provides a clear topological order. The images of the town and its inhabitants are mostly *saturated*, which means that either the frame is populated by numerous objects and characters, or a detail, like (part of) a face, takes up most of the frame. In comparison, there are hardly any rarified frames – images that show hardly any objects or characters, and remain relatively empty.[9] One of these rare exceptions is the final scene, when Buffy stares into the desert (fig. 2b). The image is literally emptied, and directed at the open horizon of the *desert*.

In the last sequence of *Buffy*, three different aspects correspond on three separate levels:

1. On the level of verbal communication: Buffy does not respond to the question directed at her.

2. On the level of setting: The desert outside town is shown in rarified perception-images.

[9] The opposition of saturated vs. rarified is likewise borrowed from Gilles Deleuze's film-theoretical vocabulary (Deleuze, 1986, p. 12ff).

3. On the level of gendered image types: The final shot is a hybrid of affection-image and action-image.

What all these levels have in common (and this is exactly why they correspond with each other) is that they express openness and indeterminacy. They are liberated from the conventions of pop-cultural narration and gender representation (affection-image vs. action-image; questions are answered), or even the self-imposed rules of the series itself (the clear topological order of the setting Sunnydale).

This formal emancipatory movement corresponds with the main theme of the show, the quest for an independent, self-determined life, and the question what it means to live it (in particular also outside of stereotypical, essentialist categories of gender). Such a positioning, however, comes with a price: Absolute emancipation, radical individualization and singularity are impossible to represent directly; they can only be hinted at *ex negativo*, for example in hybrids of former orders of representation, empty images, unanswered questions, open horizons, indeterminacies. Radical emancipation, individualization and singularity are impossible to narrate and compose in a structured imagery, in particular in the context of a television show. That's why the *Buffy* finale is so radical: the ultimate destruction of (gendered) dichotomous order also implies the end of narratibility.

In that regard, choosing the desert as the setting for the finale of a television show seems plausible: the desert is the epitome of non-culture, of a loss of history (Harber, 2016), of radical indifference, and, so to speak, the site of radical emancipation from any regulating norms and dichotomies. Ultimately, in the desert, all differences – including gender differences – disappear; but not in a television show. Consequently, Buffy smiles, and disappears. Closing credits.

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# The Fuss about the Pooh
## On Two Polish Translations of a Story about a Little Bear

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**Abstract:** *Winnie-the-Pooh,* a literary work published by Alan Alexander Milne in 1926, has been appreciated by readers worldwide for nearly a century. The story about a little bear and his companions, it originally conquered the hearts of readers in the book version, then became one of Disney's best adaptations, one that has never been forgotten by its audience. Thanks to its many translations, *Winnie-the-Pooh* has become known all around the world. The story is rather difficult to translate, for Milne demonstrated great creativity in naming his characters and various places. The text contains many ambiguous expressions, and the majority of the dialogues are characterized by the presence of many intentional language errors made with the aim of amusing the reader. Various neologisms, metaplasms and onomatopoeias serve as names of characters. The name of the eponymous bear, "Winnie-the-Pooh," serves as a good example of the difficulty of translation, for *Winnie,* a diminutive form of *Winifred,* is a female name, whereas the bear is male. The *Pooh* part has also caused many problems for numerous translators. There are two Polish translations of the story. In 1938 Irena Tuwim published a translation entitled *Kubuś Puchatek* that Polish readers immediately fell in love with. In 1986 Monika Adamczyk-Garbowska published her translation of the story, *Fredzia Phi-Phi*. The second translation attracted many negative comments and contemptuous reactions. Many readers disliked *Fredzia Phi-Phi,* as it was seen as a crime against the excellent first translation – which, however, happened to contain many mistakes and strayed far from the original text. This article deals with an analysis of both Polish translations of selected names and words from *Winnie-the-Pooh.*
**Keywords:** translation, translation techniques, equivalency, adaptation, Winnie-the-Pooh, retranslation.

The story about a little bear and his friends, brought to life by Alan Alexander Milne in 1926, is a book for children and their parents that achieved great success and has been translated into many languages, including Latin and Esperanto. *Winnie-the-Pooh* (1926) and its sequel *The House at Pooh Corner* (1928) have been enjoyed by children for nearly a century. In 1960s the Walt Disney Company obtained all rights to the stories written by Milne. From that point on, the little bear in a red shirt, carrying a jar of honey, acquired a symbolic status; his image is often used in the manufacture of various items for children such as games, toys, clothes, school supplies, cosmetics, and even food. In other words, Pooh is everywhere, but it is worth emphasizing that this is not exactly the same bear created by Milne as the book's protagonist. His companions have also undergone some changes at Disney's hands. Many young readers do not realize that Pooh did not use to wear a red shirt, as he existed only in black and white drawings.

For Polish readers, *Winnie-the-Pooh* achieved notable success shortly after its publication. It was due to Tuwim's excellent Polish translation that Pooh became one of the favourite characters of children in Poland. Tuwim, in her translation entitled *Kubuś Puchatek* (1938), had a fairly determined goal: *Winnie-the-Pooh* was to be domesticated and assimilated as much as possible into the Polish language and culture for the benefit of young readers. Following her initial conception, Tuwim implemented many effective measures that resulted in the creation of a favourable translation. Some characters were given new names, varying from their original counterparts. The language became oversimplified; some fragments from the text were omitted and new fragments added.

Nevertheless, the resulting translation was assimilated into Polish culture to such an extent that when another Polish translation appeared, one much closer to the original, Polish readers were unable to accept it. In 1986 Monika Adamczyk-Garbowska published the second Polish translation of *Winnie-the-Pooh*, entitled *Fredzia Phi-Phi*. This translation was the antithesis of Tuwim's, but at the same time much more faithful to the original. The publication of Adamczyk-Garbowska's translation provoked a variety of reactions among Polish readers as well as theorists of translation (see Lem, 1992; Stiller, 1991). It was wondered how the adorable name *Kubuś Puchatek*, so perfectly suited to the little bear, could have been transformed into the awkward and strange-sounding *Fredzia Phi-Phi*. It seemed that *Fredzia Phi-Phi* and his creator Adamczyk-Garbowska would have to fight for the understanding and approval of readers. Adamczyk-Garbowska was often severely criticised. Stanisław Lem (1992, pp. 11–14) made some controversial comments about her work; as Lem claimed, Tuwim's elegant and easy-to-read text had been "castrated" by Adamczyk-Garbowska. Further on, Lem (*ibid.*) indicated that cases in which a translation can be considered superior to the original are extremely rare, with Tuwim's *Kubuś Puchatek* serving as a great example. Lem (*ibid.*) expressed his disapproval of Adamczyk-Garbowska's work in unusually harsh terms: "(…) I would murder this lady who transformed the name Kubuś Puchatek into Fredzia Phi-Phi with a dull knife for what she has done with this book (…)." Robert Stiller (199, pp. 134–160) also commented contemptuously on the second Polish translation: according to him, Adamczyk-Garbowska "(…) made a fool of herself (…)" when she decided to publish her version. Adamczyk-Garbowska supplied the translation with a preface in which she explained the reasons she decided to take the risk of publishing her work. She expressed her attitude in the very first sentence of the preface ([1986] 1990, p. 5): "I am extremely nervous about giving *Fredzia Phi-Phi* to readers." Adamczyk-Garbowska knew that *Fredzia Phi-Phi* would spark a great deal of controversy, which nevertheless did not prevent her from showing the book to the public. Adamczyk-Garbowska (*ibid.*) indicated:

> (…) *Kubuś Puchatek* substantially differs from its English precursor. Irena Tuwim wanted to make the original text familiar to the reader, so she transformed it so as to suit it to the Polish canon of children's literature. The style of the text was changed. In the Polish text there are many hypocorisms and diminutives not present in the original text. The characters speak childish language; some fragments were omitted and new ones added. Many ambiguous elements became unambiguous. Milne's *Winnie-the-Pooh* is a book addressed not only to children but also to adults. *Kubuś Puchatek* should be considered as an adaptation, not a translation in the full sense of the word (…).

Adamczyk-Garbowska decided to share her interpretation of *Winnie-the-Pooh,* because in her opinion Tuwim's *Kubuś Puchatek* differed greatly from the original. In fact, Adamczyk-Garbowska, who was to become the target of many unpleasant comments and was misunderstood by the great majority of readers, was the first to carefully analyse Tuwim's translation (Woźniak, 2012, pp. 115–134). Her analysis proved that *Kubuś Puchatek* contained many mistakes and oversimplifications: "(…) this best-known and beloved translation by Irena Tuwim is at the same time full of mistakes that mainly result from insufficient knowledge of the English language (…)" *(ibid.)*. Tuwim worked with the intention of producing a good translation, introducing many changes that, in the final evaluation, paid off. Translation is a process characterized by considerable uncertainty. There are no given guidelines on how to translate or on how to evaluate the results. These two versions of *Winnie-the-Pooh* represent opposing approaches to translation. It is worth analyzing what translation techniques were applied by the translators, both of whom worked with definite goals.

In *Winnie-the-Pooh*, some of the characters have interesting names, as in the case of the main character, Pooh. Names are often difficult to translate if they have no equivalents in the target language. It was no challenge to translate the name *Rabbit*, which has its recognized equivalent in Polish, *Królik*; the name appeared in both Polish translations in this form. The following table presents certain selected names of characters and places from the book *Winnie-the-Pooh* and their counterparts in both Polish translations.

| Alan Alexander Milne<br>*Winnie-the-Pooh*<br>([1926] 2005) | *Kubuś Puchatek*<br>([1938] 2006)<br>Translation:<br>Irena Tuwim | *Fredzia Phi-Phi*<br>([1986] 1990)<br>Translation: Monika Adamczyk-Garbowska |
|---|---|---|
| Christopher Robin | *Krzyś* | *Krzysztof Robin* |
| The swan Pooh | *Puchatek* | *Łabędź Phi* |
| Winnie-the-Pooh | *Kubuś Puchatek* | *Fredzia Phi-Phi* |
| Piglet | *Prosiaczek* | *Prosiaczek* |
| Rabbit | *Królik* | *Królik* |
| Heffalump | *Słoń* | *Soń* |
| woozle | *łasica* | *łysica* |
| wizzle | *lis* | *łesica* |
| Eeyore | *Kłapouchy* | *Iijaa* |
| The Hundred Acre Wood | *Stumilowy Las* | *Stuakrowy Las* |
| Kanga | *Mama Kangurzyca* | *Mama Kanga* |
| Baby Roo | *Maleństwo* | *Mały Gurek* |

Table 1.
A comparison of two Polish translations (names)

*Krzyś* is a diminutive of Polish *Krzysztof*, a recognised equivalent of *Christopher*. The technique of using a recognised equivalent is one of the most basic and most favoured translation techniques, often mentioned by various theorists (see Newmark 1988; Hejwowski [2004] 2009). Tuwim ([1938] 2006, p. 6), in her translation, omitted the second part of the name of the character, *Robin*. Krzysztof Hejwowski ([2004] 2009, pp. 76–83) enumerates omission as a translation technique, but, according to him, it is a rather unacceptable solution. Adamczyk-Garbowska ([1986] 1990, p. 10) translated the name much more accurately:

*Christopher* appeared as *Krzysztof*, an application of a recognised equivalent without any further changes. *Robin*, the second segment of the name, is transferred into Polish. Transference is a translation technique classified by Peter Newmark (1988: 81–90) and also mentioned by Hejwowski ([2004] 2009, pp. 76–83) in his set of translation techniques under the name of *reproduction*. The swan *Pooh* appears in the introduction to *Winnie-the-Pooh*, in which Milne explains to the readers the origins of the name given to the eponymous bear: "(…) you may remember that Christopher Robin once had a swan (…) and that he used to call this swan Pooh (…)" (Milne [1926] 2005). Thus the bear received its name from a previous friend of Christopher Robin. Tuwim ([1938] 2006, p. 6) translated the name of the swan as *Puchatek*, omitting the first part. Interestingly, Tuwim *(ibid.)* added her own bit of information to the preface to *Kubuś Puchatek*: she indicated that the swan was named Pooh because it was covered with down. The Polish equivalent of *down*, i.e. the soft feathers of birds, is *puch*. By adding this information to the preface, Tuwim most likely wanted to give readers a clue why the eponymous bear from the Polish translation has the name *Puchatek*. In the original text, the situation is utterly different; *Pooh* has nothing to do with avian down. It seems that Tuwim successfully managed the situation, but the question is whether a translator has the right to change the author's vision. Adamczyk-Garbowska ([1986] 1990, p. 10) translated *Swan Pooh* as *Łabędź Phi*. *Łabędź* is a recognised equivalent of *swan*; the change of *Pooh* into *Phi* may be considered to be reproduction. Adamczyk-Garbowska ([1986] 1990, p. 6), in her translator's preface, comments that in translating *Pooh* she chose the most approximate equivalent in terms of meaning and sound. At this point the meaning of the name *Pooh* is worth analysing. In her preface, Adamczyk-Garbowska *(ibid.)* informed the reader that *Pooh* in the original text stands for the sound one makes when an animal, such as a swan, does not react to one's call. In other words, *Pooh* stands for a human expression of irritation. From this perspective, *Phi* may be said to be a recognised equivalent of *Pooh*. Tuwim ([1938] 2006, p. 6) did not translate the name of the swan *Pooh*; instead, she created a new name, utterly different from the original. The name *Winnie-the-Pooh* has already been partly explained with regard to Adamczyk-Garbowska's translation. The part requiring explanation is *Winnie*, that is, a diminutive form of the feminine name *Winifred*. The name has a Polish equivalent, *Wenefryda*, and *Fredzia* is its diminutive. In translating the name, Adamczyk-Garbowska ([1986] 1990, p. 10) used two recognized equivalents. The problematic issue consists in the fact that, although these segments are appropriately translated, they are not euphonious in Polish, especially to the ears of very young readers.

Another obstacle to Polish readers accepting *Fredzia Phi-Phi* is the existence of the adorable name *Kubuś Puchatek*. The bear, although male – for Milne always uses the male pronoun *he* when referring to it – has a female name. Tuwim ([1938] 2006, p. 6), in her translation, changed the female name *Winnie* into the male name *Kubuś*. *Kubuś* is a diminutive of *Jakub*, a name whose English equivalent is *James*. Such a radical change of names does not qualify as equivalency, but can be described as adaptation. By changing the names, Tuwim deprived her Polish text of the ambiguity that is considered by readers from all over the world to be a major asset of Milne's story. At the same time, she gave the bear a name that the majority of Polish readers fell in love with. *Piglet* and *Rabbit* (Milne [1926]

2005: 20) are simple names that were replaced with their equivalents in both translations: *Prosiaczek* (Tuwim [1938] 2006, p. 7, Adamczyk-Garbowska [1986] 1990: 11) and *Królik* (Tuwim [1938] 2006, p. 16, Adamczyk-Garbowska [1986] 1990: 17), respectively. *Heffalump* (Milne [1926] 2005, p. 20) is a neologism that serves as a name for a creature physically reminiscent of an elephant. The name was probably created so as to suggest a word produced by little children when trying to pronounce the word *elephant*. Adamczyk-Garbowska ([1986] 1990, p. 23) recreated this game of letters in Polish, creating the name *Soń*, whereas the correct word is *słoń.* Tuwim ([1938] 2006, p. 22) made no attempt to follow Milne's vision, translating the name as *Słoń*, a major simplification. The names *woozle* and *wizzle* (Milne [1926] 2005, pp. 34, 40) are metaplasms of the name *weasel*. Adamczyk-Garbowska ([1986] 1990, pp. 33, 37) faithfully recreated the metaplasms, using the names *łysica* and *łesica*, whereas the correct Polish equivalent is *łasica.* Tuwim ([1938] 2006, pp. 33, 37) replaced the first metaplasm with the correct Polish equivalent *łasica*, the second as *lis*, which is Polish for *fox*. Repeatedly, Tuwim simplified the changes Milne had introduced for a certain purpose. *Eeyore* (Milne [1926] 2005, p. 44) is the name of the ever-sorrowful donkey; the name Milne created is an onomatopoeia, representing the sound donkeys make. Adamczyk-Garbowska ([1986] 1990, p. 41) created an equivalent onomatopoeia in Polish: *Iijaa*. Tuwim's ([1938] 2006, p. 41) name for the donkey was most probably based on the illustrations by Ernest H. Shepard that adorn the original text. Tuwim's *Kłapouchy* – a literal English translation would be *with ears drooping* – is an excellent solution that must be regarded as an adaptation. *The Hundred Acre Wood* (Milne [1926] 2005, p. 48) is the name of the forest where all the characters live. Adamczyk-Garbowska ([1986] 1990, p. 44) translated it accurately from the original; Tuwim ([1938] 2006, p. 43) changed *acres* into *miles*. Nevertheless, the two translations are very similar. *Kanga* (Milne [1926] 2005, p. 90) is a name for a female kangaroo, one of the main characters of the story, who comes to the forest with her child *Baby Roo*. Tuwim ([1938] 2006, p. 79) transformed *Kanga* into *Mama Kangurzyca*, where the word *mama* stands for *a mother* and *kangurzyca* is the counterpart of a female kangaroo. Tuwim added the first part of the name, *mama*, which is absent from the original name. *Kanga* is an Austrian word for *kangaroo* and *Kangurzyca* may be said to be more or less equivalent. Adamczyk-Garbowska ([1986] 1990: 79) transferred the name *Kanga* into Polish, but also added the *mama* part, creating the name *Mama Kanga*. In the name *Baby Roo* (Milne [1926] 2005, p. 90) the second segment *roo* is the third syllable of the word *kangaroo*. Adamczyk-Garbowska ([1986] 1990, p.79) followed the author's vision and created the name *Mały Gurek*, in which *Gurek* derives from the Polish word *kangurek,* which stands for a small kangaroo. Adamczyk-Garbowska *(ibid.)* transformed the first part, *baby*, into the adjective *mały*, which in English means *small*. Her translation of the name may be said to be based not only on equivalency but also on synonymy, a translation technique first classified by Peter Newmark (1988, pp. 81–90). Tuwim ([1938] 2006, p. 79), in her translation, again demonstrated her creativity in coining names: *Baby Roo* was transformed into the adorable-sounding *Maleństwo,* which in English means *a little something.* Even though the Polish counterpart may be considered very creative and successful, it must be regarded as an example of adaptation.

The following table compares the translations of selected items from *Winnie-the-Pooh*.

| Alan Alexander Milne<br>*Winnie-the-Pooh*<br>([1926] 2005) | *Kubuś Puchatek*<br>([1938] 2006)<br>Translation: Irena Tuwim | *Fredzia Phi-Phi*<br>([1986] 1990)<br>Translation: Monika Adamczyk-Garbowska |
|---|---|---|
| a gun | *fuzja* | *strzelba* |
| condensed milk | *marmolada/słodka śmietanka* | *mleko skondensowane* |
| measles and buttered toast | *obwarzanek lub jakkolwiek bądź* | *różczyka czy grzanki z masłem* |
| bath | *cebrek* | *kąpiel* |
| medicine | *tran* | *lekarstwo* |

Table 2.
A comparison of two Polish translations (selected items)

*A gun* (Milne [1926] 2005, p. 14) is a firearm; the Polish word *strzelba* used in Adamczyk-Garbowska's ([1986] 1990, p. 18) translation is its recognized equivalent. Tuwim ([1938] 2006, p. 17) used the word *fuzja*, which is not often used in present-day Polish, but colloquially also means *a gun*. *Condensed milk* (Milne [1926] 2005, pp. 26, 51) and *mleko skondensowane* are equivalents and have exactly the same meaning. Tuwim ([1938] 2006, pp. 27, 47) translated the term interchangeably as *marmolada* and *słodka śmietanka. Marmolada* stands for English *marmalade* and *słodka śmietanka* is equivalent to *sweet cream*. It is not clear why Tuwim decided to change these terms in her translation. Presumably, in her view condensed milk was unknown to young Polish readers; marmalade and sweet cream were more familiar. From this point of view, it may be assumed that Tuwim applied the technique of using functional equivalents. The concept of functional equivalency was introduced by Eugene Nida and Charles Taber in 1969, and was later repeated and further developed by other translation theorists (see Newmark 1988 and Hejwowski [2004] 2009). The combination of the words *measles and buttered toast* is used in the text in a specific situation: "(…) for Owl, wise though he was in many ways, able to read and write and spell his own name (…) yet somehow went all to pieces over delicate words like measles and buttered toast (…)" (Milne, [1926] 2005, p. 48). The combination *measles and buttered toast* was given by Milne *(ibid.)* as an example of difficult words to spell and pronounce. In her translation, Adamczyk-Garbowska ([1986] 1990, p. 44) changed *measles* into a different disease, *German measles*, as the Polish equivalent of *measles* is *odra*, which, due to its simple spelling and pronunciation, would not suit the author's vision; however, *różyczka,* or German measles, perfectly suits his intention. Here, Adamczyk-Garbowska *(ibid.)* employed the concept of dynamic equivalency. As to the expression *buttered toast*, Adamczyk-Garbowska *(ibid.)* used the recognised equivalent *grzanki z masłem.* Tuwim ([1938] 2006, p. 44) changed the order of the elements in the expression and translated the *buttered toast* as *obwarzanek*, which in English means *a kind of a bagel.* At this point Tuwim succeeded in staying close to the author's intentions, as the word *obwarzanek* may be said to be difficult to pronounce, especially for children. The way Tuwim *(ibid.)* decided to translate *measles* is rather unusual, as she used the expression *jakkolwiek bądź*, meaning approximately *one way or another* in English. Probably, Tuwim wanted to find an expression that would suit the situation, one that would be problematic in terms of spelling and pronunciation. To some extent she was successful, but she also introduced a major change. *Bath* (Milne [1926] 2005: 106) and *kąpiel* (Adamczyk-Garbowska [1986] 1990, p. 91) are one-to-one equivalents; hence Adamczyk-Garbowska faithfully translated *bath* as *kąpiel*. Tuwim ([1938] 2006, p. 92) used the word *ceberek*, a diminutive form of the word *ceber*, which in English means a big bucket that may serve for washing. Here again, Tuwim based her translation on one of the illustrations from the original text, in which Baby Roo is standing next to a big bucket. The interesting issue here is why Tuwim decided not to use the word *kąpiel*, which would be completely unambiguous for young readers. *Medicine* (Milne [1926] 2005, p. 106) and *lekarstwo* (Adamczyk-Garbowska [1986] 1990: 91) are also exact equivalents. Tuwim ([1938] 2006, p. 93) replaced *medicine* with the word *tran. Tran* is fish oil, which, at the time *Winnie-the-Pooh* was published in Poland, was commonly given every morning to children in kindergartens. It can be assumed here that Tuwim applied a functional equivalent.

Following this brief evaluation of selected names and words and both of their Polish translations, certain conclusions may be reached. Monika Adamczyk-Garbowska expended a great deal of effort to stay faithful to Milne's vision of *Winnie-the-Pooh* and tried to avoid the mistakes committed by her predecessor, Irena Tuwim, who in order to create a pleasing translation for children oversimplified her text and changed many things. The translation techniques applied by Adamczyk-Garbowska were based mainly on recognised equivalency. Where it was possible, the translator replaced English words with exact equivalents, as in the case of such words as *bath*, *gun*, *medicine*, *condensed milk*, etc. In translating the names of characters and places, Adamczyk-Garbowska always attempted to recreate the processes followed by Milne in their creation (see *Winnie the Pooh*, *Heffalump*, *Eeyore*). Tuwim, by contrast, simply adopted the majority of the names or used functional equivalents. The question is which of the two translations is superior. This issue may be considered from a different perspective: the translation performed by Tuwim is pleasing, but Adamczyk-Garbowska's is the correct one. Tuwim's version of the story cannot be considered a translation in the full sense of this concept. *Kubuś Puchatek* is an adaptation of *Winnie-the-Pooh*, and it is worth emphasising that it is an excellent adaptation. Assuming that adaptation transcends translation, Adamczyk-Garbowska's version may be defined, strictly in terms of translation, as the obvious choice between the two. *Fredzia Phi-Phi* would probably enjoy more recognition if not for the earlier *Kubuś Puchatek*, which stole the hearts of its readers and has been enjoyed ever since its publication. As a translator, Adamczyk-Garbowska did not deserve the comments that she attracted, as her aim was to give Polish readers a more faithful version of Pooh. At the close of her translator's preface, Adamczyk-Garbowska (1988) stated:

> (…) in conclusion, I want to underline that it is not my intention to question the undoubted advantages of *Kubuś Puchatek. Fredzia Phi-Phi* and *Kubuś Puchatek* are two different characters. Nobody knows who *Winnie-the-Pooh* would prefer to be. It is possible that he would like to be someone else entirely (…).

Adamczyk-Garbowska did not create *Fredzia Phi-Phi* to impose it on readers, her sole aim was to introduce a fairly new figure and to offer readers a chance of meeting the bear in the new, more close to the original, version. Yet, her intention was not understood and provoked more negative reactions than one would expect.

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# The Social Value of Public Relations in the Romanian Book Sector

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**Abstract:** The aim of the present article is to identify the social and cultural value of Public Relations in the Romanian book sector. Our approach overpasses the functionalist perspective of Public Relations as an organizational discipline and considers Public Relations as a discipline that institutionalizes relationships and discourses that are commonly practiced in the society by mutual and tacit agreement. We investigate the current communication practices used by three Romanian publishing houses in order to generate and to increase the symbolic value of the book. In order to analyze the uses and practices of Public Relations of generating literary sociability at the level of Romanian society, we analysed the communication management through owned new media (websites, blogs, Facebook) that three of the publishing houses in Romania have developed since their foundation. We analyzed the conversational competency in the online environment, using a complex methodology: starting from three Romanian publishing houses, selected on the basis of dimension, financial capacity and consumer perception of reputation, we have analyzed the content produced on the main owned-media channels used for public communication (websites, blogs, social media pages and accounts – Facebook, Twitter) between June – October 2014. We also analyzed the quality of interaction, by taking into account the number of positive reactions to a post, the number of replies and the number of comments.
**Keywords**: book, symbolic good, public mandate, literary sociability, publishing houses, public relations.

## 1. Introduction

Books have always been seen and perceived as highly symbolic goods, by being historically included in high culture (Gans, 2008) as a type of dominant culture (De Certeau, 1980). A literary field is the creation of modern societies whose level of crystallization depends on two main factors: the degree of economic liberalism and the degree of political liberalism (Bourdieu, 2012 [1992]). Books have been integrated into a production and marketing system, therefore becoming a cultural mass good and generating a symbolic network populated by specific actors. In the same study, Bourdieu considers that the roles of these entities are to maintain the symbolic capital of books, through cooperation and fair competition, and by creating spaces and means of literary sociability.

Just as A. Rogojinaru considered (2015), Public Relations has been historically linked to the business sector, more specifically in the corporate practice of the private industrial trusts or companies. At the level of its applied legitimacy, “PR always served as an instrument of the liberal economy and private business, being meant to assess the business performance in society or in particular public spheres (by means of different types of profitability: financial, social, relational etc.)” (Rogojinaru, 2015, p. 25). A second perspective is brought to light, and that is the perspective of Public Relations as the discipline that investigates publics, public sphere and public opinion. Rogojinaru states that the process of appropriating Public Relations as a tool for business as singular and dominant paradigm in understanding its role impoverishes the interpretation of any public event of interest for our discipline.

Our approach will comprise both dimensions, even if they could be perceived as being antithetic. We will investigate in the present article the role of Public Relations, starting from its role as an organizational discipline and as an instrument for the publishing houses' business performance in the society to the function of Public Relations as a discipline which, by its social and philosophical nature, can generate and enhance public participation towards a societal need.

Pierre Bourdieu, in a study suggestively named "The production of belief: contribution to an economy of symbolic goods" (Bourdieu, 1980), acknowledges another relevant trait to the artistic goods universe: the co-existence of two logics, the economic and commercial one, and the anti-economic logic, performed by disinterested behaviors towards the mechanics of the first logics. From this antinomy, yet reciprocal, the symbolic capital is put forward: "«Symbolic capital» is to be understood as economic or political capital that is disavowed, mis-recognized and thereby recognized, hence legitimate, a «credit» which, under certain conditions, and always in the long run, guarantees «economic» profits. (…) In short, when the only usable, effective capital is the (mis)recognized, legitimate capital called «prestige» or «authority», the economic capital that cultural undertakings generally require cannot secure the specific profits produced by the field (…) unless it is reconverted into symbolic capital." (Bourdieu, 1980, p. 262). Therefore, the sociologist continues, the best solution that an author, a literary critic or editor can use in the economy of symbolic goods is to become a relevant name with a distinguishable reputation, that to be defined as a capital of consecration. Reputation, with discourse, story and image, builds a unit of meaning of the public man that can be retraced in a historic manner (Rogojinaru, 2013).

## 2. Related Work and Problem Statement

The Public Relations discipline, by its social fundaments and functions, consolidates the social value of books and, therefore, by its instruments, it creates and develops a public space that encourages interaction and relations between various agents of the editorial book sector. The field has generated two dominant logics of production that have been developed around the book: the activity of material fabrication of the object-book and the activity of producing the value for the fabricated object. In this sense and following the perspective of Public Relations as a business discipline, we state that Public Relations is valuable in order to sustain the second logics of action. Just as two other cultural theoreticians considered, "today, an editor or a director of a cultural review has to appear as totally something else than a simple executive, to be publicly recognized as a valid cultural agent and it is extremely important that it should be built a space, inseparably literary and editorial, inside of which this recognition could be possible and effective." (Durand & Winkin, 2000, p. 440). And, yet, our perspective does not reduce

Public Relations to an instrumental function; we consider that its role in the literary field and for publishing houses, as key actors, is fundamental in the meaning of "institutionalizing relationships and discourses that are commonly practiced in the society by mutual and tacit agreement" (Rogojinaru, 2013).

Our interest is to identify and analyze the complex ways in which communication (specifically Public Relations) generates social value to the book. Accordingly to Oana Boca-Stănescu (2014), publishing houses are business with a specific regime, because their activity and mission imply a substantial public mandate to a societal level, mainly the social and cultural impact to a society. Producing value to and for books is a two-way process, manifested univocal or simultaneous. First direction is the focus towards itself, meaning through a process of positioning that generates intrinsic value to the product (a positioning of branding format); the second direction implies an organizational effort to generate value through a focus towards its audiences, and that is the process of gaining and generating intellectual capital.

The first direction of the process for generating value to books is the most frequent domain of communication that private sector develops, namely branding. This aspect is consolidated by two relevant aspects: the main trends in corporate and private communication in Romania and the classifications of Romanian publishing houses made by practitioners taking into account the dominant format of organizational branding. The first dimension is presented by Adela Rogojinaru (2009, p. 606) who considers that „the private corporate groups and organizations admit public relations practice more and more as an integrated strategy for learning and development. Two dimensions seem to be at issue: programs of corporate identity, by using blended public relations and advertising techniques or even more integrated programs of branding campaigns, and reputation management, making reference to crisis public relations and issues management, concepts which are applied with the same meaning as in the international literature (see Haywood, 2005)". The technical level is dominated by two instruments that have a long standing tradition in Romania, namely media relations and events management.

Our second objective is to reveal the complex value of Public Relations for today's Romanian book sector, by investigating, in depth, the current stage of PR on Romanian book sector. Our main dimension of analysis refers to the value of Public Relations as a discipline that facilitates dialogue and generates symbolic value to the book-object in the Romanian cultural space.

## 3. Concepts and Terms

The relationship between branding, the value of brand and the reputation of an organization is one of complementarity and inclusion. There is a very rich literature that has the purpose of clarifying the differences between the concepts of image, reputation and brand; we consider useful for our study the differentiation that Tom J. Brown, Peter A. Dacin, Michael G. Pratt and David A. Whetten propose as such: a) the intended image is represented by „mental associations about the organization that organization leaders want important audiences to hold”; b) the construed image is formed by „mental associations that organization members believe others outside the organization hold about the organization”; c) reputation means „mental associations about the organization actually held by others outside the organization” (Brown; Dacin; Pratt; & Whetten, 2006, p. 102). The construed image holds on specific symbolic pillars, the same images that the organization includes in the branding process: history, leaders, authors, coordinators of collections, translators, collections. The symbolic level is extremely important for this organization, the branding process having the specific role of enhancing the prestige (as reputational dimension) of all the persons representing the publishing house. We may consider that the individual prestige becomes an extremely important and relevant dimension of the organization’s construed image and reputation. The link between reputation and the external perceptions of a corporate brand holds in the relevance of non-economic portion of reputation. Just as Fombrun (1996) considers, the cultural components are, for external audiences, much more relevant than the financial power and authority; the cultural components are values such as credibility, reliability, trustworthiness, and responsibility. We will also show that for most of the audiences, in the case of two of the publishing houses under analysis, the cultural values were so much more relevant, that the financial and economic power was for many audiences irrelevant or unknown.

The reputation of an organization is highly challenged by the appearance and the use of new media, specifically by the social media. Rogojinaru considers as extremely relevant and important the paradigmatic shift that new media, and more specifically social media, have generated in terms of reconfiguring the public sphere. As Adela Rogojinaru pointed out, “in opposition to that belief, the digital sphere could be defined as unlimited but not entirely open, nor more democratic if compared to the conventional territories ; its e-citizens are more inclined to express their opinion much more in the form of beliefs and less by critical arguments. The cognitivist approach of managing public communication seems to be dethroned by a relativistic one, which gives exclusive importance to the free expression of the local values of these virtual communities (or tribes)” (Rogojinaru, 2015, p. 50).

In the same study, A. Rogojinaru (2015) advances a typology of e-publics as popular publics which is extremely relevant for the way in which organizations interact with e-publics through social media. The first category is represented by the «prosumers» or the digital producers & consumers, meaning publics that produce information *per se* or sustain information industries; they are active audiences, seeking continuously information or producing it and they are, possibly, the single real public in the digital sphere. The second category is represented by the buzz creators. They are classified taking into account the conversational influence they have on their peers and social networks: there are *Alphas*, meaning informed, attentive and innovative persons, as well as influencers and *Bees*, rapid adopters and connecters («bees are your broadcast platform», Salzman et al., 2003, p. 51). Buzz creators are the conversational publics whose role is to create an atmosphere and to initiate relationships. Another type of digital public are the twitters and the respective followers (on tweets), meaning conversational publics whose role is to respond and create reputation. They represent, as A. Rogojinaru considers, probably one of the most effective forms of digital endorsement; also subcategorized in «top fans», «promoters» or «evangelists» (Comm & Burge, 2003, p.

125). There are also the blogger and the blog «visitors» (commentators of news defined by the newsworthy character of their visit, significant in business blogging), the activists (or the *media publics* as they presence is connected to pseudo-events and large media coverage), the non-publics or traffic users (commentators with no conversational stake, whose presence is inconceivable in classic tales and stories or conventional storytelling) and the «I» public, specific to large networks of friends like MySpace, Facebook, or LinkedIn, or to individual non-corporate bloggers, they define and promote their own profile, write for massive audiences, solitary people sharing the illusion of being heard by vast populations in the virtual space.

Likeability is a concept used traditionally in organizational communication literature as an individual attribute. The relationship between likeability, trust and reputation describes a process of interpersonal perceptions: "Trust, then, can be assessed on the basis of personal interaction, and is limited to a specific small group of people; the larger this group, the fewer personal relationships employees have established that impedes knowledge sharing (Connelly & Kelloway, 2003). Reputation can signal an assessment based on trust, made by others, as an indication of whether trust should be extended. Likeability, however, is the strongest predictor of whether an individual will accept the implicit assessment of trustworthiness provided by reputation, because individuals who are concerned with being likeable, are motivated to compensate against charges of being untrustworthy by keeping promises (Miller & Myers, 1998; Miller & Major, 2000). Together, a likeable person is expected to be trustworthy, and to develop a reputation for being trustworthy, and thus to both encourage and participate in knowledge transfer." (Serenko, Bontis & Hardie, 2007, p. 616).

We consider that the same process and relationships between concepts can be applied to organizations, specifically in the digital communication using social media channels. Social media channels encourage a socializing and informal communication, therefore the audiences that use them are the «I» publics (Rogojinaru, 2011) who define and promote their own profile, write for massive audiences, solitary people sharing the illusion of being heard by vast populations in the virtual space. Thus, organizations become likeable through a savvy digital communication strategy and, through its social responsible actions, trustworthiness.

As our study will show that each publishing house uses a specific format of digital communication, creating and enhancing certain roles of digital publics. We will therefore identify the dominant format of digital communication taking into account the main role of Public Relations, namely that of addressing specific issues.

## 4. The Outline of Research

The research was carried out between June and October 2014 and aimed to profile the way that publishing houses in Romania address their audiences and value the role of Public Relations. In order to do so, we analysed the communication management through owned new media (websites, blogs, Facebook) that three of the publishing houses in Romania have developed since their foundation. We tried to analyze the conversational competency in the online environment as well.

### *4.1. Three Case Studies*

We have selected three publishing houses, based on key criteria that are presented as relevant for any approach that would aim profiling an organization (Vlăsceanu, 2003; Gagnon, 2005): dimension, financial capacity and consumer perception of reputation. We consider these are the key criteria that could support a comparative analysis of multiple dimensions of the online communication management. Romanian book sector and literary field are mainly composed of medium-sized publishing houses (Radu et al., 2013), stock-joint companies. Our three selected publishing houses differ in terms of dimension, financial capacity and consumer perception of reputation.

Humanitas Publishing House is currently a unit of a greater editorial holding which comprises legally independent small firms, but with obvious existent links: Humanitas Publishing House, Humanitas Fiction Publishing House, Humanitas Multimedia Publishing House, the Society of Distribution Humanitas Bookstores, Humanitas Digital. Founded in 1990, right after the 1989 Revolution, by a privatization process of a state publishing house (Political Publishing House), Humanitas is one of the private publishing houses that has succeeded to develop a successful business model and to become, also, a leader of book market. The Humanitas Holding currently reports the biggest profits from sales and is continuously capable of integrating significant changes that the book sector has been challenged with during last decades. For 2013 (the last financial year for which the Humanitas Holding has declared its profit), Humanitas Holding has reported a sales figure of 7.35 million euros, with 8.4% more profit than the last financial year. From this turnover, the Humanitas Publishing House only has reported a sales figure of 3.23 million euros, with a 7.8% increase than 2012.[1]

Nemira Publishing House is a middle-sized firm, with limited responsibility. This organizational format implies the existence of a small number of associates (individuals or legal entities) and it can be managed directly by these associates, but it can also trade stocks becoming a joint-stock company. In the case of Nemira Publishing House, it has been founded in 1991 by a Romanian writer and it is currently owned and managed by his family. Nemira also integrates a national distribution chain, currently seven Nemira bookstores placed in the most important towns in Romania. The sales figure reported for 2013 (the last financial year for which the firm has reported the turnover) is almost 1.500.000 euros, considering the fact that in 2009, the publishing house had to go through a restructure internal process, due to the international financial crisis.[2]

Vellant Publishing House is a small-sized firm, with limited responsibility. A very young publishing house, being founded in 2008, Vellant has reported in 2013 a turnover of almost 93.950 euros, with five employees, of which one is an officer in charge with Public Relations and events management.[3]

[1] Barbu, P. (2016). În 2013, cifra de afaceri a grupului editorial Humanitas a crescut cu 8,4% / In 2013, the turnover of Humanitas Holding raised with 8.4%, Forbes Romania. Retrieved June 12, 2-14 from http://www.forbes.ro/2013-cifra-de-afaceri-editurii-humanitas-crescut-cu-78-21247

[2] Doingbusiness.ro (2015), Nemira Publishing House SRL, Financial Analysis for 2009-2013. Retrieved February 21, 2016 from http://doingbusiness.ro/financiar/raport/1385838/nemira-publishing-house-srl/

[3] Doingbusiness.ro (2015), Vellant Publishing House SRL, Financial Analysis for 2009-2013. Retrieved February 21, 2016 from http://doingbusiness.ro/financiar/raport/974077/editura-vellant-srl/.

### *4.2. Online Analysis and Reputation as Indicator of Institutionalization*

We investigated the online owned media, providing an analysis of the organizations' format of online communication and of the degree of interaction that the organization engages through these channels. For each publishing house, we first identified the organizational channels used for public communication (websites, blogs, social media pages and accounts – Facebook, Twitter). We used as first research method the content analysis as we considered it relevant for establishing the main type of communication (asymmetrical or symmetrical), the online channels being interactive by nature. We also analyzed the quality of interaction, by taking into account the number of positive reactions to a post, the number of replies and the number of comments.

At this level, we applied a *functional benchmarking* as a process and method to achieve a comparative picture of the corporate *conversational* competence in dealing with critical issues for the Romanian book sector. We chose to use an assessment grid[4] in order to select the comparable processes, both *quantitative* indicators that increase and enhance organizational *visibility* (the number of positive reactions to a post, the number of replies and the number of comments), and *qualitative* indicators to measure: the degree of *innovation* in public relations processes (strategic vision, complexity of tactics, the influence of involved entities, the pertinence of channels), and the *reputational* strengths of the company (brand equities, level of public trust and publics' closeness to organization, etc.).

## 5. Analysis of Results

### *5.1. Linking Online Communication and Organization's Profile*

Our field of analysis is represented by the online owned media, specifically corporate media channels (websites and blogs) and social media channels owned and managed by the three selected publishing houses. The choice of the online environment for this analysis lies on the heavy use of owned online media (organizational websites, organizational blogs and organizational social media channels), a use that could reflect a mature phase of communication management. The blending of traditional techniques or strategies with online engagement and even the replacing of certain communication dimensions that used mainly direct and interpersonal communication methods with online mediated forms of interaction is a key finding that we could observe in the case of all publishing houses under analysis. In analyzing the online communication, we were interested in three indicators: the organizational visibility, the degree of *innovation* in public relations processes and the *reputational* strengths of the company.

[4] First developed and used by A. Rogojinaru, A.-L. Zaharia & Raluca Moise (2015). Using benchmarking to evaluate public relations effectiveness through social media. In A. Rogojinaru (Ed). *Public Relations: A revolutionary discipline* (pp. 67-85). București: Tritonic.

As first finding, we could observe that based on the internal organizational structure and the leadership nature, the publishing houses integrate the online communication into the holistic communication strategy. Our second finding is that based on the value that organizations attribute to their own history (incorporating history as a value of organizational culture), the reputation (in terms of legitimacy) is relevant for their audiences. We consider that the reputational level is the most relevant and includes the two previous indicators, therefore we will proceed by analyzing the relationship between the existent online channels (as owned media) and the quality of use of these channels taking into account the first two indicators: visibility and degree of innovation.

### *5.2. Consolidating the Organizational Reputation - Humanitas Holding*

Humanitas Holding owns and manages an impressive online network: three organizational websites and 14 Facebook pages. One website presents the holding, one website presents the Publishing House and one website presents the Humanitas Bookstores, including an online bookshop. The online network also includes 14 organizational Facebook pages: the online newsroom of Humanitas Holding, each sub-entity of Humanitas Holding addresses digital audiences in a segmented way (Humanitas Publishing House, Humanitas Fiction, Humanitas Multimedia, Humanitas Bookstores), almost every Humanitas bookstore has a Facebook page. This impressive number of Facebook pages owned and managed by Public Relations specialists would generate the impression of a very conversational format of digital communication that the organization performs.

Our analysis took in consideration only the website of Humanitas Holding, the website of Humanitas Publishing House and the Facebook institutional page and posts referring to Humanitas Publishing House activity: Humanitas Book Store.

We consider, after analyzing the digital content published by the organization on the website and the Facebook pages, that the organization develops a monologue type of communication, lacking the enhancement of conversation and the involvement of the e-publics in the life of organization. The organizational website respects the requirements in terms of communication functions that the Public Relations responds to: “an organization’s website is the basic foundation block for projecting a favorable image, building trust and establishing credibility.” (Wilcox, 2009, p. 18).

For the Humanitas Publishing House, the organisational reputation has been built upon the image of its director, a renown philosopher, Gabriel Liiceanu, and on the foundations of an ideological involvement of its director in the civic movements that defined the Romanian society during its transition. Gabriel Liiceanu is a reputed and consecrated philosopher, writer and intellectual that has founded, in 1990, with other Romanian intellectuals, the first independent NGO, the Group for Social Dialogue whose purpose was to sustain the function of critical societal thinking and action. The Group for Social Dialogue edits a monthly cultural review that sustains the broad attitude and perspective of the Group. These extended social values and traits that Gabriel Liiceanu has acquired after the 1989 Revolution have consolidated the organizational reputation of

Humanitas Publishing House. Gabriel Liiceanu has consolidated the image of the intellectual publicly involved and engaged responsibility which is rooted in the Socratic era and has a contextual enhancement and specificity after the fall of communism in Romania; if the Western 60's saw rising "the type of politically and morally activist, left-wing intellectual, who had an impact on public discourse and protest far beyond the borders of classroom and campus (…)" (Zanker, 1995, p. 1), due to the historical specificities in Romania, the rising intellectual after the Revolution was actually right-wing focused, believing in its social role as a model for other social classes and categories. Thus, Gabriel Liiceanu founded the Humanitas Publishing House which is Western-continental influenced (based on humanities and philosophical translations and publications) and he developed a valid and reputed school of thinking in the Romanian cultural field. He published Romanian authors who could strengthen his view of what the publishing house should have become. These authors were intellectuals integrated in the same school of thinking and they become real cultural brands. Gabriel Liiceanu's continuous presence in the public space and sphere raised the organization's credibility, visibility and positioned it as a model of business in the book sector.

Facebook pages sustain this vision and this type of organizational culture; the monologue format of digital communication that I have mentioned before is visible through content that emphasizes the organizational images. For example, the Facebook posts are not mainly informative, but formative and educational, representing either quotes from books or famous authors, fragments of media interviews that well-known authors or translators have had in cultural mass-media. The digital communication uses the symbolic dimension of individual prestige in order to generate and enhance organizational reputation.

For example, the Facebook page Humanitas Book Store has a current number of 22.336 likes. We have analyzed its content and the level of engagement during 5 months, during June and October 2014 (Table 1). We have used as engagement indicators the number of posts, the number of replies, the number of comments (of which are them are positive) and the number of shares.

| **Engagement / Months** | June | July | August | September | October |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Number of posts | 17 | 5 | 3 | 11 | 8 |
| Number of replies a post | 360 | 120 | 92 | 327 | 259 |
| Number of comments / positive reactions | 4 / 4 | 0 | 1/1 | 4/4 | 1/1 |
| Number of shares | 58 | 53 | 36 | 61 | 81 |

Table 1.
Humanitas Book Store Facebook page –
Types of engagement (June-October 2014)

Our main results show that there is a strong unbalance between the production of online communication and the needed engagement from their online audience. The online audiences react strongly and positively through replies (likes) and shares, which is a strong signal of their need and desire of engaging with the brand. Analyzing the relationship between the content and the reactions of online audience, we could notice the highest level of engagement (through shares or replies) being manifested in the case of those posts presenting or promoting a Humanitas brand author (such as Mircea Cartarescu, Horia Roman Patapievici, Gabriel Liiceanu etc). Also, the visual content had the most impact (videos from book fairs, photos from book fairs, book covers, events posters).

The consumer audiences that are activated through the online owned media are the Alphas, the Bees, the blogger and the blog visitors and, when addressing specific social issues, activists. We analyzed the flow of a shared post and we could observe how a Facebook post announcing a public reading hosted by one of the most relevant Romanian authors and reputed Humanitas author, Mircea Cărtărescu, has generated shares from Alphas who had a relevant number of influenced persons (the bees) who, at their turn, diffused the post in an informal way. We could also identify as digital audience for the online communication that Humanitas Publishing House challenges the blogger and the blog «visitors»; the main events having as headlines the main Humanitas authors always generating news in the online media and in-depth interviews with authors. We can therefore consider that the organization uses the main actors of the process of diffusion, and unfortunately it is not interested in generating and encouraging reaction and interaction.

### *5.3. Building a Reputation - Nemira Publishing House*

For Nemira Publishing House, its founder has also been a known writer of theater plays who also had the public function of the general director of the national television. Valentin Nicolau is not known as an intellectual, but more as a public man and entrepreneur. The organization did not use the reputational capital of his owner in a public manner. At Nemira, since its foundation, well reputed Romanian writers and intellectuals have started their career. At the present moment, the publishing house has developed a business strategy that is based on specialized collections, aiming niched audiences, which is a fact sustained by the impressive portfolios of organizational websites and blogs. The main organizational websites are designed as marketing tools, as virtual or electronic bookstores and on these websites a visitor could not find detailed information about the organization. Instead, Nemira Publishing House owns and manages a media website, an online newsroom apart from the main organizational websites. The network of blogs comes to develop a constant interaction with the readers, creating therefore virtual spaces where the readers and the fans of a certain literary genre already form communities. This strategy is extremely efficient, as the organization facilitates, through a specific online space, the interaction and socialization between the fans of a certain literary genre (like science-fiction) or of a certain title (like translated bestsellers, as it is the example of the series *Game of Thrones*). Facebook pages sustain the same high level of interaction and engagement with their digital publics. Just as Humanitas, Nemira also owns and manages an impressive number of Facebook pages: the organizational one, the online newsroom, the Facebook accounts of some of the Nemira bookstores and the Facebook account of Nemira community of readers (the book club).

We analyzed for 5 months (June-October 2014) the Facebook institutional page, Editura Nemira, with a current number of 57.333 likes (Table 2).

| **Engagement / Months** | June | July | August | September | October |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Number of posts | 39 | 47 | 63 | 51 | 48 |
| Number of replies a post | 2568 | 2172 | 6626 | 2357 | 1557 |
| Number of comments / positive reactions | 47 | 64 | 76/75 | 54 | 24/24 |
| Number of shares | 101 | 338 | 301 | 71 | 124 |

Table 2.
Editura Nemina Facebook page –
Types of engagement (June-October 2014)

Our first results show us a very powerful and diverse content from a visual point of view (photos from book fair, book covers, tweets captures from authors' Twitter accounts, images from movies based on books translated and published at Nemira). Also, the posts are carefully conceived, as they do not look alike, addressing specific topics of interest for audiences and using different styles of communication (content marketing). We also noticed that the Nemira publishing house engages its online audience through its Facebook page by asking members from the audience to fill in a satisfaction questionnaire, therefore asking for their opinions regarding a specific collection. In terms of the quality of their audience, fans' comments are content-related, meaning they refer very often to the content of books, revealing really savvy and interested fans of a certain author or a certain literary genre.

The main format of the digital communication is very different in terms of interaction and engagement of audiences. The first finding is that the content is different and adapted to audiences' needs, informational or socializing expectations. The informative function is present, just as was the case of Humanitas, many posts being newseries (information about collections, promotions or book launches). This informative communication is always completed and improved by an interactive and community driven accent; many posts focus on finding consumers' opinions about certain titles or authors, or even involving audiences in the process of decision-making regarding the cover for a title.

The digital consumers that Nemira Publishing House address through its online network are the communities of fans of specific literary genres which are included in the twitters and the respective followers (on tweets), meaning conversational publics whose role is to respond and create reputation. Even if Nemira does not manage a Twitter account, the communities of fans of certain titles and literary genres, who interact through Nemira blogs or Facebook pages represent, probably one of the most effective forms of digital endorsement and can be subcategorized in «top fans», «promoters» or «evangelists» (Comm & Burge, 2003, p. 125). In the campaigns of branding a collection or a title, the publishing house also addresses to bloggers and the blog «visitors». Another type of audiences, maybe the most relevant for the relational marketing approach, is the «I» public who defines and promotes their own profile, writes for massive audiences, solitary people sharing the illusion of being heard by vast populations in the virtual space.

### *5.4. Positioning on the Market - Vellant Publishing House*

Vellant Publishing House is a young publishing house, developing a strategy of positioning through differentiation from the others publishing houses. Its brand statements published on the organizational website refer to the organization as marginal and encouraging marginal culture and reading interests; its dominant format of communication is represented by basic marketing, lacking the dimensions of relational or interactive potentialities. The publishing house translates books that encounter a diversity of reading interests and it did not develop a focused strategy of branding titles or collections. It is more relevant because it also publishes young Romanian writers and, therefore, it addresses young consumers. Its online communication is based on the organizational website, which functions exclusively as a virtual bookstore, a Facebook page where the newseries about promotions, discounts are dominant and a Twitter account where the communication is not adapted, the content being almost identical to Facebook content.

We analyzed for 5 months (June-October 2014) the institutional Facebook page of Vellant Publishing House, a page with currently a number of 2.290 total likes and without any activity for 2016 (Table 3).

| **Engagement / Months** | June | July | August | September | October |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Number of posts | 3 | 3 | 1 | 4 | 10 |
| Number of replies a post | 43 | 14 | 6 | 20 | 99 |
| Number of comments / of which positive reactions | - | - | - | - | 3/3 |
| Number of shares | 1 | - | - | 1 | 2 |

Table 3.
Vellant Publishing House Facebook page –
Types of engagement (June-October 2014)

In terms of its online visibility, Nemira Publishing House has the greatest number of fans on Facebook, followed by Humanitas but it has the lowest degree of visibility. We can observe from the data presented above that in terms of online content production (the number of posts), Nemira Publishing House (Table 2) leads with a relevant communication in terms of topics and style of communication, addressing the appropriate audiences. Also, if we analyze the production of online content and the reactions of Facebook audiences (in terms of replies), Nemira Publishing House is also leading the online communication by creating relevant engagement with their audiences and by generating real interest from their consumers. We also analyzed the degree of visibility in function of qualitative indicators - the quality of interaction, and the order remained the same. The organization's conversational capacity defined by the constitution of communities and relational groups, the organization's ability to create and encourage the literary sociability (in the online environment) depends, as we have already seen, onits identity, image (intended and construed) and reputation.

### *5.5. Reputation as a Relevant Indicator of Public Relations Institutionalization in the Book Sector*

A third finding of our research was that the online communication of each publishing house reflects the stage of its organizational development and the focus on a specific component of the organizational reputation; Humanitas consolidates its reputation already established and legitimized by its audiences, Nemira focuses on consolidating the organizational brand, emphasizing brand values, and Vellant focuses on building an organizational image.

The analysis of the online communication allowed us to understand how the publishing houses address their online audiences' expectations. We have described so far why and how publishing houses are businesses with a specific regime, their activity and mission implying a substantial public mandate to a societal level, mainly the social and cultural impact to a society. We have also affirmed that producing value to and for books is a two-way process, manifested univocal or simultaneous, the first direction being a positioning through the format of organizational branding. The second direction supposes an organizational effort to generate value through a focus towards its audiences, and that is the process of gaining and generating intellectual capital.

We already mentioned that a publishing house's public mandate requires the increase of cultural societal level and, more specifically, the increase of educational degree of reading. This societal holistic responsibility is reaffirmed by the Publishers's Association in Romania, on its website: "The Association's mission is to promote especially quality book reading and writing, to facilitate readers' access to books, from a material and informational point of view, therefore contributing to a free ideas circulation, as well as to the inclusion of Romanian culture and language into the global circuit of values."[5]

This responsibility becomes difficult when a society goes through a cultural crisis

[5] The Status of Romanian Publishers' Association, art. 5. Retrieved February 12, 2015 from http://www.aer.ro/AER_Asociatia_Editorilor_din_Romania-4-1.

due to the transitional status that becomes almost an *état de lieux* in Romania. For almost 10 years already, there has been identified the formation of a public opinion regarding the low and decreasing degree of reading at young people, especially highschool students. The dominant discourse accuses the loss of interest in reading of young generations and, associated to their educational trajectory, the loss of relevant competencies. An important entity in the production of this discourse are Romanian publishing houses and the Publishers' Association in Romania which frequently publish the results of sales following national bookfairs and the results of quantitative studies made by the Association in partnership with private actors. The quantitative data that are always highlighted in the discourse regarding the decreasing interest of young people towards reading emphasize the stage of book production, the stage of sales and the stage of consumption.

To address this transitional and, yet, alarming situation that deepens progressively, Romanian publishing houses have developed platforms that target the young segment of market (through specific products and services) and have planned and implemented social responsibility campaigns that have as broader objective the increase of interest for reading fiction books. There are only two research studies carried out that evaluate the efficiency of measures taken by the publishing houses in terms of initiating specific products and services and to encourage youngsters' interest for reading. A. Buzatu (2014) identified the possible limitations of the current dominant discourse and measures taken by the publishing houses and their distributors concerning. Therefore, she considers that the current solutions are not efficient and they do not respond to the actual and real public's problems. The growing visibility of books (by an increasing presence of books in supermarkets), the amplification of the current discussion about the dramatic decrease of book consumption and the technical solutions taken to make the product more aesthetic (covers more appealing, multiplying the material book support etc) and the marketing campaigns of books as added value to another product lack, in the practitioner's opinion, credibility and efficiency when addressing the decreasing teenagers' and youngsters' interest in reading.

From this point of view, both Humanitas and Nemira publishing houses practice a really careful strategy regarding the quality of books (at technical and material level), including the digitalization of books (as we have already mentioned, Humanitas Group has an legally independent division that offers digital products and services – Humanitas Multimedia). Buzatu considers that the efforts performed by the publishing houses to respond to such issues, strictly from a business point of view, are not sufficient. She also offers communication strategies that would be more efficient, from her perspective: to enhance the direct utility of books in the daily life, to improve the skills of storytelling and the emphasis of the social value that reading has for teenagers' socializing life. Actually these are communication strategy axis that are used in order to plan a campaign (Gregory, 2010) and we cannot qualify these solutions as strategic organizational strategies that could respond to the problems Buzatu raised.

We agree with the practitioner's analysis of measures that the publishing houses took and implemented, with no relevant success for teenagers and young people, but we do not consider the solutions she advances for the problems identified as being relevant. The problems are of business and marketing nature, the solutions she advances are possible axis of communication in the planning of campaigns. Therefore, we think that, at the level of products and services that aim a younger segment, the best solutions are, just as we already have mentioned in the introductory part of the article, creating and consolidating spaces of literary sociability. At this level, both Humanitas and Nemira have created, for young people, physical spaces to enhance the socializing dimension of reading; Humanitas has opened, for two years already, a special concept bookstore for young people and Nemira has developed a literary club. At digital level, the creation and encouragement of literary communities is also a dimension of communication strategy that enhances the literary sociability.

The dimension with a greater efficiency is social responsibility; the social responsibility campaigns that are implemented by publishing houses or by other private actors, in partnership with publishing houses, have long-term objectives and make use of various communication strategies. Anca Anton (2014) did a chronological mapping of CSR campaigns implemented by other private actors (specifically corporations from other business sectors) but implemented in partnership with Romanian publishing houses. These campaigns have as objectual referees the book and the act of reading. In her approach, Anton used the classic classification of Philip Kotler and Nancy Lee (2005) into six broad categories: cause promotions, cause-related marketing, Corporate Social Marketing, Corporate Philantropy, community volunteering, socially responsible business practices. Her results are relevant for our analysis. We could observe that the Humanitas Publishing House is the main partner in CSR campaigns developed by companies in telecommunications or banking; its prestige and high reputation (as we have already described previously) attract strategic partnerships with other companies. Also, the dominant two types of CSR practiced by companies from other fields are cause promotions and Corporate Philantropy.

First of all, these results prove the capacity of Humanitas publishing house to engage and to be engaged in strategic partnerships in order to sustain its stakeholders' expectations. Humanitas is not a singular case; most profitable publishing houses (Boca-Stănescu, 2014) initiate or are involved in CSR campaigns that aim to encourage teenagers and youngsters (even children, more recent) to read and to develop this habit. But Humanitas is a special case, because its profitability is actually overpassed by its prestige and reputation in the selection process that companies do when they propose and address an invitation for partnership. It is involved in this type of activity, as organization (Humanitas is a partner in CSR campaigns since 2008) or in initiating CSR campaigns increased the organization's digital likeability.

We analyzed the degree of likeability (organizational visibility and social media attractiveness) of Humanitas and Nemira. Humanitas Publishing House and Humanitas Bookstores developed a CSR campaign (cause promotion) entitled *Blind date with a book.* From our analysis of the online media coverage (including social media), we could find out that the campaign engaged interested users of Booktopia website and that they formed a reading community facilitated by this campaign. The campaign engaged users who were also bloggers who covered the campaign in the online environment. Another CSR platform through which Humanitas Publishing House responds to teenagers' needs and expectations is the national competition "Humanitas in highschools", competition which evaluates the general culture knowledge of highschool students. Based on the results of each edition published on the competition's website and the online communication dedicated through a social media page, we could find that the competition has become a relevant challenge for highschools and teachers, but also for parents and students. This consolidates the organizational reputation that we have already described previously.

Nemira Publishing House is not such a profitable firm as Humanitas, but the publics' expectations are the same if we refer to its public mandate. We have already pointed out that the dominant format of marketing and branding communication has already shown its limitations, because the audiences expect more from each publishing house and that it has a proactive role in the cultural and educational level of young people. The publishing house has launched a CSR campaign entitled "The Super-booksellers" that would consolidate the interaction between the reader and the bookseller. The campaign has been launched at the end of May 2014 and it generated a relevant interest from audiences of bloggers activated in the campaign and from readers and consumers on the Facebook page.

All these examples show the organizational efforts of publishing houses to be market leaders, to sustain their public mandate, their actions generating expectations that extend at the level of entire book sector. Therefore, the medium sized firms, with a long tradition in the Romanian book sector, are expected from their audiences to add social value to their business. It is the process through which market forces are leveraged to speed the transition to sustainability. Yet, we can identify two limitations: all current CSR projects are short-term campaigns that do not ritualize (besides few examples of CSR platforms implemented and developed by Humanitas); their recurrent objective (to generate and increase teenagers' interest in reading and increase educational and cultural level) cannot be achieved with campaigns that can, at the most, generate awareness regarding a certain issue.

These examples also show the organizational efforts to develop a conversational capability in relationship with their audiences and to transform them from digital consumers to digital publics (empowered and engaged). Again, besides few examples, the dominant digital communication is commercial and generates a general impression of an organization un-likeable and not disposed to develop a real dialogue. The impressive number of social media pages (Facebook, for instance) does not trigger implicitly or directly the performance of a digital communication matching the audiences' expectations and users' perception of the channel.

## 6. Concluding Remarks

This paper has reflected on the applied value of Public Relations in the Romanian book sector, emphasizing the role of Public Relations as a discipline that institutionalizes relationships and discourses through mutual and tacit agreement. We investigated the complex ways in which Public Relations is managed in order to produce social value for a fabricated object, namely the book.

Our main hypothesis is that producing value to and for books is a two-way process, manifested univocal or simultaneous. First direction is the focus towards itself, meaning through a process of positioning that generates intrinsic value to the product (a positioning of branding format); the second direction involves an organizational effort to generate value through a focus towards its audiences, and that is the process of gaining and generating intellectual capital.

We have therefore analyzed the online communication of three selected Romanian publishing houses. As our study has shown, each publishing house uses a specific format of digital communication, creating and enhancing certain roles of digital publics. We therefore identified the dominant format of digital communication taking into account the main role of Public Relations, namely addressing specific issues. Thus, organizations become likeable through a savvy digital communication strategy and, through its social responsible actions, trustworthiness.

We can resume our results as follows: 1) based on the internal organizational structure and the leadership nature, the publishing houses integrate the online communication into the holistic communication strategy; 2) based on the value that organizations attribute to their own history (incorporating history as a value of organizational culture), the reputation (in terms of legitimacy) is relevant for their audiences; 3) the online communication of each publishing house reflects the stage of its organizational development and the focus on a specific component of the organizational reputation; Humanitas consolidates its reputation already established and legitimized by its audiences, Nemira focuses on consolidating the organizational brand, emphasizing brand values, and Vellant focuses on building an organizational image.

We could also observe that, for Humanitas, the digital communication uses the symbolic dimension of individual prestige in order to generate and enhance organizational reputation, whereas for Nemira, the focus is on creating virtual spaces where the readers and the fans of a certain literary genre already form communities and Vellant is interested in becoming visible. The reputation becomes the keyword in our analysis and it seems that for the organizations, the value of Public Relations is to generate a strong reputation and the online audiences enhance, by their reactions, this strategy. And yet, the reaction of online audiences also showed us that their expectations towards a more social and cultural proactive role from the organizations is vital. Thus, two actions (with social values associated) have become field practices through Public Relations: enhancement of literary sociability and social responsibility. We can therefore conclude that audiences respond positively to the branding strategy that the organizations have developed, but this format of communication is not sufficient anymore. The audiences expect organizations to become responsible in terms of nurturing their passions and generating literary sociability practices, as well as developing an active role as social actors.

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# Digital Communication versus Traditional Tools.
# Theoretical Trends in the Study of the New Technologies in Journalism

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**Abstract**: The evolution of technology has gradually transformed, over the years, the media organizations worldwide. Media convergence, regarded as a new perspective in journalism, which combines profession, technology and new practices in the newsroom, brought significant changes to the activity and structure of the media organizations. This article provides a qualitative analysis of the theoretical perspectives the scientists chose to apply in their studies of the media organizations adopting and implementing convergence during the period 2003-2013. The purpose of this study is to find out whether the academia and the research community have kept up with the evolution of media technology and to discover the extent to which the transformations to the profession and to the media industry called for new conceptual approaches.

**Keywords**: media convergence, technology, newsrooms, media organizations, mass communication.

## 1. Introduction

This study identifies the main theories that the researchers have used in the last decade in order to illustrate the consequences to the media organizations and media industries by the introduction of new technologies and production routines. Some of the conceptual perspectives belong to the framework of cultural or critical studies, while others come from mass communication theories, especially from the period of limited effects (Baran & Davies, 2000).

This paper analyzes the appropriateness of applying the respective theories on the corpus the particular researchers elaborated, with regard to the technological and political context in which the respective studies were developed. In order to illustrate her point, the author of this article also brings examples of qualitative and quantitative studies where authors chose various theories to apply on their corpus. The aim of this article is to discover whether the theorists of mass communication have adapted to the technological developments that affected the media industry and the academic field of mass communication.

The main hypothesis of this study is that applying the proper theory is essential in investigating a particular phenomenon or field. The author of this article brings various arguments advanced by theorists from mass communication, psychology, economy and sociology. The role and importance of the theoretical framework is emphasized in regard to the adoption of new technologies in the newsroom, especially in the case of media convergence. In this article, media convergence is identified as an undergoing process of mediated technology, a mixture of computers and media industries, a unification of the elements of audio, video and print on a single platform, where the context is generated by both the journalists and the public, facilitated by digitalization (Deuze, 2007).

## 2. The Role of Theory

"A theory is a set of generalizations that are systematically connected to suggest new observations in order to be tested empirically; the aim of theory is to explain and predict" (Shoemaker *et al.*, 2004, p. 112).

Psychologist Kurt Lewin (1945), one of the founders of motivational theories, considered that "nothing is so practical as a good theory" and his statement was adopted both by natural and social sciences researchers (Miner, 2005, p.5; Martin, 2002, p.11). Scientists emphasized the role of theory in channeling the research efforts towards the relevant concepts and in adding value and meaning to their studies.

Theory represents a generalization or a set of assertions defining the relations among classes of variables, which specify the relations among factors or categories of variables (Dubin, 1978; Bowers & Courtright, 1984). Theory is regarded as a conceptual representation or an explanation of a phenomenon through a set of interrelated statements asserting how and why two or more variables are conceptually linked inside a category of objects (Leedy, 1997; McLeod & Pan, 2005). Any organized set of concepts, explanations and principles of functioning of certain aspects of human experience could be considered theory. Theory is an idea explaining an event or behavior, clarifying an otherwise confusing situation, reinstating order over chaos, it directs research focus on crucial aspects, helps the scientists to ignore the minor details or facts that make little difference (Littlejohn & Foss, 2010).

Campbell (1990) defines theory as a collection of assertions, both verbal and symbolic that identifies what variables are important and for what reason, specifies how they are interrelated, and why, and identifies the conditions under which they should be related or not. Sutton and Staw (1995) underline the importance of theory from a different angle, yet the results are similar to those of Campbell. For them, theory is about the connection among phenomena, a story about why acts, events, structure and thoughts occur. It emphasizes the nature of causal relationships, identifying what comes first, as well as the timing of events (Sutton & Staw, 1995, p. 378). A strong theory has the power to emphasize the significant processes in the direction of facilitating the understanding of the reasons for which a certain phenomenon occurs or not systematically. In particular cases theory deepens into studying certain micro processes, extends horizontally to concepts that are similar in signification or attempts to extend vertically in the attempt to explain a complex social phenomenon. Theory is usually linked to a set of convincing arguments that are logically interrelated and has implications that one cannot identify through a superficial observation (Sutton & Staw, 1995)

Baran and Davis (1987) consider that theory can be applied to any set of concepts, explications and principles of significant aspects of the human experience. Berger and Chaffee also found a useful definition of theory as "a set of constructs that are linked together by relational statements that are internally consistent with each other" (1987, p. 101).

Wimmer and Dominick regard theory as a set of interconnected statements, presenting a systematic report of a phenomenon by specifying the relationships established among the concepts previously identified, "an abstract notion formed inductively such as advertising effectiveness and readability"(2003, p.44). Babbie considers theory as a "systematic explication for the observations that relate to a particular aspect of life" (2013, p. 513), while Schutt refers to "a logically interrelated set of propositions about empirical reality" (2011, p. 37). For Poindexter and McCombs theory represents "a set of related concepts, variables, and hypotheses that explain phenomena" (2000, p. 433), while Donovan and Hoover stress the importance of chronology for the study of social phenomena "a set of related propositions that suggest why events occur in the manner that they do" (2013, p. 32).

Shoemaker, Tankard and Lasosa (2004) reduce theory to a rather simple statement, saying that theory is what a particular researcher understands from the manner in which a certain phenomenon or a set of events occur or function. In summary, the main aim of theory is to answer the questions how, when, and why, as opposed to the role of description, of answering the question what (Bacharach, 1989). John Minner employs a definition with application to the theories of organizational culture, according to which theory refers exclusively to "the study of human behavior and the nature of organizations in their natural environment"(Minner, 2005, p. 4).

In summary, the scientists use theory as an organized set of concepts related to a certain aspect of human experience, in order to explain an event or behavior, to clarify a situation, to synthesize data and to point put relevant aspects ant leave out elements that are not significant or useful ( Littlejohn & Foss, 2008; Baran & Davis, 2012). A valuable theory has the power to explain, predict and delight (Weick, 1995).

## 3. Convergence of Communication

The interlocking of computers, information technology, telecommunication networks and the media content generated by newspapers, radio and television gave birth to a phenomenon called media convergence. Convergence is the process of social construction of a new technological system for news production, including not only adopting and adapting digital news production systems and devices, but also redefining work practices and newsroom layouts, rethinking journalistic roles and values, and multiplying publication platforms. It is an innovation process that is locally developed and historically embedded, by merging of journalistic resources, forcing the development of multiple versions of the news for print, television, and the web all within a single news organization. Media professionals are required to extend their skills beyond their traditional comfort levels, sometimes working with people from different professional backgrounds, and generally facing changes in their professional routines and organizational cultures (Boczkowski, 2004; Rabasca, 2001).

The studies of convergence have focused primarily on the technologies, through various digital presentation platforms, or media industries, companies which have merged or formed strategic alliances in order to develop new business models. The definitions of convergence depend on the individual perspective and tend to be as many as the number of persons studying or practicing it. Convergence is indeed a revolutionary form of journalism which is evolving in many parts of the world; therefore it may vary from country to country, from culture to culture both within countries and media companies. It is also influenced by the power of digital technology, and the legal and economic factors in various countries and media trusts. As the multimedia pioneer, John Haile, who introduced convergence at the Orlando Sentinel in 1995, points out, anyone looking at how to practice journalism across multiple media should be looking at the critical need to address the culture of the organization. Success depends, Haile thinks, on having journalists who could think multiple media and who are comfortable working across several media platforms (Haile, 2003). However Professor Larry Pryor, from the University of South Carolina, claims that a definition is essential because a new concept needs a common vocabulary. Otherwise, if everybody has a different idea of what convergence means, it would be very difficult to progress. For Pryor, convergence is what takes place in the newsroom as editorial staff members work together to produce multiple products for multiple platforms to reach a mass audience with interactive content, often on a 24/7 timescale (Quinn & Filak, 2005).

Convergence can also be regarded as a tool in the hands of a more and more fragmented audience. Convergence transforms the consumers of media products from passive readers, viewers and listeners to active audience. They can now get involved in stories because converged communication provides multiple tools to select the level of interactivity while self-directing the content delivery. Media convergence also allows audiences to interact with or even generate mass media content. Thanks to convergence, consumers can now control when, where and how they access and relate to information of all kinds (Sutu, 2011).

Steven Quinn, associate professor at Deankin University in Australia, and Vincent Filak, assistant professor at Ball State University, U.S.A, argue that convergence should be driven by the significance of the news event. Quinn and Filak (2005) reached a simpler definition: convergence is about doing journalism and telling stories using the most appropriate medium for telling the story. According to Quinn and Filak (2005, p.12), the importance of the news event should dictate the depth and type of coverage, and influence the size of the team involved. For instance, multimedia editors and producers will decide on the most appropriate way of covering the event and the content and size of the team. As an example, for an accident with six dead and dozens of casualties resulted from a bus falling off a bridge, in Tulcea, Eastern Romania, on October 1st, 2010, the producers from *Romanian Public Television* decided on the following working scheme: one team made of local correspondent and cameraman in Tulcea, and another one in Bucharest. Along with the reporter and cameraman, the crew in Bucharest included four additional members, the technical crew for the live satellite broadcast. The team in Bucharest transmitted live from the emergency hospital where the victims were brought by helicopter, while the crew in Tulcea recorded pictures and sound for a news report from the location. The multimedia teams provided live and recorded video, audio and on-line content for TVR1, TVR2, TVR3, TVR Info, as well as for the Public Television 24/7 updated website (Sutu, 2013).

## 4. Technology and Media Organizations

Historically, the activities of the media organizations that have been undergoing transformations and facing challenges due to certain economic, social and technological factors urged the researchers to apply wide range theories in their studies. The American and British sociologists in the '70s and '80s, among which the most famous are Gaye Tuchman (1978) and Herbert Gans (1979), used the *news production research* theory placed under the conceptual framework of cultural studies. Their aim was to critically analyze the means through which the journalists cover the international and domestic events. According to their research, the news is selected, produced and published by professionals that work for media organizations and is the result of the efforts of journalists and technicians that respect and abide by institutional procedures and organizational practices. From the conceptual perspective of the *news production research* theory, news is both a social construction and a social resource, (Gans, 1979; Tuchman, 1978; Lester 1975; Fishman 1980; Epstein, 1973; Schlessinger, 1978; Ericsson *et al*., 1987). The ability of providing a basis for social change, of raising important questions about routine news production practices and of studying production of many different types of news are considered strengths of this theory, while the lack of empirical results that can demonstrate its effects on audience and the overly pessimistic view of journalists and their social role are listed as weaknesses (Baran &Davis, 2000).

Referring to more recent studies, the theoretical trends that dominated the research on the effects of the internal and external changes of media organizations were political economy and critical studies, both perspectives provided by the neo Marxist framework. These theoretical approaches were successfully applied on media organizations that were subject to a wide range of transformations, from minor to radical such as flexible work routines, new production practices or the adoption of reflexive corporate culture and the implementation of new technologies (Cottle, 2003; Curran, 2000; McChesney, 2003; McNair, 1998). The *political economy* perspective of communication takes a closer look at the means through which the media industries interact with the capitalist political system, either by promoting or undermining the democratic values. This particular theory focuses on the manner in which the media institutions are politically structured and controlled and seeks relevant connections for the influence of the type of financing on media content (Cottle, 2003; Baran &Davis, 2000). The conceptual component of the critical theories about mass media, applied on media organizations, focused on providing a pluralistic forum of ideas, a space where the opinions of the dominant elites are challenged, rather than reflecting the values of popular culture or the opinions of minorities and vulnerable social groups. Both researchers who applied the *political economy* theory and cultural studies regarded media organizations as business that are differentiated from other institutions through various aspects: they produce and sell merchandises that are symbolic by their nature, while these symbols penetrate the social life and influence the members of the society significantly (Hall, 1980).

## 5. Analysis of Theories Applied in the Study of Media Convergence

For over a decade, the researchers that approached the issues of new technologies and practices in media organizations chose to study various aspects of media convergence from the organizational, technological and cultural perspectives. The structures of power and control in the convergent newsroom were investigated through the conceptual perspective of *feminist theories* (Grant *et al*., 2009). The application of *feminist theories* on the structures of the multimedia newsroom entails a number of options regarding the flow of information versus flow of control and authority in the convergent media organization. While in the traditional newsroom the flow of content is controlled and dominated by competition and structures of power, the convergent newsroom offers more flexibility in that respect. Instead of transferring the organizational structure from the print or broadcast newsroom, the managers in charge with adopting and implementing convergence have the chance to investigate the alternatives that might facilitate the flow of information from the media institution to the public and back. The feminist framework, through its various theories, offers a network of individual and distinct applications regarding the structure of power and domination the process of news production, with the aim of facilitating the awareness and understanding the significant differences that favor change (Grant *et al*., 2009).

The *liberal feminist* theory, originating in the liberalism of Locke and Rousseau, argues against gender discrimination, which is considered to be socially constructed and maintained in the public arena and supports equal rights and chances for men and women (Tong, 1989). The extension of this feminist theoretical perspective to the convergent newsroom translates into a higher degree of fluidity and flexibility of work practices, as opposed to strictness and rigidity of the traditional newsrooms. Therefore, the *liberal feminist* theory opposes the socially constructed norms in the newsroom, especially in the case of the policies of recruitment and selection of personnel, is relevant in the investigation of practices of convergent and multimedia organizations. From a different point of view, the *Marxist socialist* theory argues that the oppression of women is not the result of individual interactions, but rather the consequence of political, social and economic structures. This theoretical perspective focuses on concepts such as capitalism, patriarchal state and the fight against the oppressive production (Saulnier, 1996). By extension, the convergent newsroom offers plenty of opportunities to introduce diverse voice, facilitated by the development and implementation of the new technologies in the process of news gathering, production and distribution. By adopting and using interactive technical facilities, the constant change of information among journalists and the members of the audience, through website, blogs and social media, offers direct feedback and provides a diversity of opinion in the entire flux of production in the convergent newsroom (Grant et al., 2009).

*Multicultural theory*, which belongs to the feminist conceptual framework as well, explores the cultural diversity and the joint efforts of women around the world in the fight against sexism and racism. According to the feminist multicultural theory, each individual feels and understands oppression differently, on their personal manner, influenced by factors such as race, sex, social and marital status, education (Saulnier, 2000). This particular theory can be applied on the newsroom structure as well as on the relationship between the members of the audience and the journalists in the multimedia organizations. The convergent newsrooms bring the advantage of producing informative content which addresses representative communities, as a result of promoting equal access, workforce mobility, and diversity of editorial and technical skills (Rosser, 2005). Instead of transforming the journalist into one man's band, who gathers information and provide content for multiple media, the multicultural feminist theory favors the voices of reporters, editors and producers that bring diverse skills and experiences inside convergent newsrooms (Grant *et al*., 2009).

As a process unfolding throughout a long period of time, technological innovation was studied from the theoretical perspective of *historical institutionalism*. According to this theory, understanding the vision of the managers and the choices the employees make in certain historical moments are essential in order to analyze the process of transformation of a working environment. According to the *historical institutionalism* theory, the relationships at work are the influenced by the interactions between the beliefs of the employees and the actions they choose to pursue in a definite institutional and historical (Hansen, 1998). Nevertheless, the national politics, managerial decisions and the national legislations are important in direct connection with the technological innovation as a process of continuous evolution. The manner in which the new technologies are adopted and implemented at micro and macro level of a company, directly connected with process of reorganizing work procedures and relations, is regarded as a result of the relationships built and developed inside the company throughout its entire history (Marjoribanks, 2003; Hansen *et al*., 1998).

Timothy Marjoribanks uses the theory of *historical institutionalism* to explore the connections between the technological innovation and the institutional reorganization of the News Corporations branches in Great Britain, Australia and the United States, in a qualitative case study, through interviews, field observation and documents analysis. The results of his study show that the routine through which the technological innovations are introduced at News Corporation and the resulting reorganization are directly influenced by the relationships developed at the level of each branch individually as well as by the manner in which other organizations in the media industry adopted and implemented the new technologies. Therefore, Marjoribanks's study shows that the global dissemination of information and communication technology not only generate new industries and job occupation, but also cause a real revolution of work practices inside the existing media industries, their related media products and the work relationships inside media companies (Marjoribanks, 2003).

Lucy Kung-Shankleman also investigated two of the top media organizations in the world, BBC and CNN, going through a period of significant changes and challenges, using the *corporate culture theory*. BBC and CNN have different histories and distinct corporate identities, however both of them perform on a media market affected by fierce competition, accelerating globalization, digitalization and convergence. *Corporate culture* offered Kung-Shankleman the proper theoretical framework to explore the attitudes and values that shape the organizational priorities and the managerial policies, through in-depth interviews with top managers from BBC and CNN. The results of the qualitative inquiry pointed out the strategies employed by each company, with different organizational culture, to respond to the factors that conduct technological, economic or social change. The corporate culture may either function as a brake to accepting new media products or revolutionary work practice, or act as a powerful incentive for organizational energy. In that respect, the organizational cultures inside the BBC and CNN represent the emotional engine that generates successful strategies (Kung-Shankleman, 2003). The *corporate culture theory* was developed by Edgar Schein, referring to the set of principles a group acquired or learnt in the process of external adaptation an internal integration, which functioned so that they were considered valid and consequently passed to the new members as preferred ways of understanding, thinking and acting in connection to any problem encountered by the that group (Schein, 2010).

The professional routines specific to the activities of media organizations have been particularly appealing to the scholars that researched media convergence, as they determine the way specific news are covered when journalists from different media are involved, with different results for print, online or broadcast. Researchers have approached the study of the work routines in convergent media organizations from the theoretical perspective of the *hierarchy of influences on media content* (Keith & Silcock, 2006). According to the theory elaborated by Shoemaker and Reese (1996), what journalists produce in their daily activities is influenced by a series of factors shaped as circles starting from micro and extending to micro levels, for example from individual professional experiences to the social ideologies mass media reflect. Susan Keith and William Silcock (2006) apply the theory of *hierarchy of influences on media content* for the organizations that adopt convergence. Their results stress the necessity to accept and explore the cultural differences between the routines of print media and broadcast and stress them before they turn into significant problems. The stereotypes and conflicts that the media organizations encounter when deciding on the production workflow or allocation of resources and budget may affect the efficiency of media convergence. For instance, if the results of the market research show that the audience is reluctant to accept convergence as it was strategized and presented by the respective media organization, the projected outcome is delayed and causes tensions at micro and macro levels of the company. Keith and Silcock (2006) challenge the reasons behind the managerial decisions for mergers or strategic partnerships, questioning whether they rely on objective necessities and demands of the communities and audiences or simply on the mere reflex of adopting convergence just because all the other media organizations do so.

Introducing the idea that journalism is contextual by its nature, Kunelius and Ruusunoksa (2008) underlined the aspects of power as relevant symbols of the culture of the convergent newsroom, using the conceptual framework of Pierre Bourdieu's *field theory*. This particular theory focuses on two interrelated aspects of culture: change and power; according to field theory, certain aspects such as experience or professional skills, considered as capital of the organization, may grow as a result of the changes in the structure of the field of power. The structural transformations of the cultural field are increasingly affected by "the objective conditions of the field, in relation with the other fields or contexts, however partially influenced by the actions of the individuals that activate in the respective field" (Bourdieu, 2005, p.30). The journalistic field has a structure of its own, enriched with the cultural rituals, professional practices and routines which the journalist-actors bring from the structures where they had previously activated. Therefore, the journalist field stands for much more than the dominant cultural order that was recognized and accepted at a given moment, but also for the potential that each individual brings in the organization, which can always generate unpredictable results. Bourdieu's field theory helps the scientists build a perspective in order to illustrate the context and dominant values, as well as pointing out to the marginal values (Kunelius& Ruusunoksa, 2008).

Daniels found a method to conceptualize convergence as a new way of practicing journalism, under the framework of the *market based model of news production*. The main advantage Daniels cited is the synergy of multiple media in order to provide the information the audience demands (Daniels, 2009). As theory is defined as a set of interrelated statements that show how one or more variables are connected inside a class of objects, the theoretical model of market of news production is suitable to investigate media convergence. This theoretical perspective juxtaposes the purely economic theory that defines news as a commodity, to a mass communication theory – news production in this case. The *market based model of news production* states that the probability that a particular event becomes news is opposite balance with the costs of covering and delivering the information (McManus, 1995). From the economic perspective, the news is considered a commodity which is used to generate profit. On the other hand, from the theoretical perspective of mass communication, the news serves the public interest. McManus mentions the relationship between the media organization as a business and the content of the news production, suggesting that the main objective of the news stories is to explain how the members of the audience live, so that the respective individuals should be able to make informed decisions, especially when it comes to social interest and community issues (Daniels, 2009).

Vincent Filak (2009) employed the theory of *social identity* in order to investigate the newsroom as a working environment. Filak's aim was to understand the dimensions of the newsroom culture and to offer practical solutions to diminish cultural divergences. Media organizations go through major economic and technological transformations in the process of adopting and implementing convergence; one of the major challenges is to make journalists coming from print, broadcast or online to work together under the same roof, in a multimedia newsroom. The previous empirical investigations attempted to identify the ideal ways through which the activity in the newsroom is being carried out, without trying to understand the mechanisms that make the difference between a successful and a struggling team. Filak (2009) considers that without a deep analysis of these mechanisms, any multimedia newsroom implementing convergence is doomed to advance in an unknown territory, without knowing whether the chosen convergence model is the most appropriate for that particular organization. From that perspective, the theoretical framework is essential in identifying and analyzing the manner the organizational culture elements that journalists coming from different media bring to the multimedia newsroom converge or diverge. *Social identity theory* states that the individuals develop and retain multiple self representations and define themselves primarily based on their group membership. Social identity is that specific part of "an individual's self concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group or groups, together with the value and emotional significance of that group membership" (Tajfel, 1978, p.255). Scholars suggest that the improvement of the relationships between the journalists from convergent media organizations, that enter the multimedia newsroom with different social identities, acquired during the professional training and practices in print or broadcast outlets, can only be accomplished thorough high quality contacts. These contacts entail attending events where they prove their professional skills to their peers, formally or informally exchanging information, and openly discussing the fears brought by the adoption and implementations of the convergent operations in the newsroom (Filak, 2009).

Hubbard et al. (2011) applied the theory of *social identity* in order to analyze the role of the prejudices students and professors from communication and journalism colleges in developing perceptions about the importance of the skills journalists need in their everyday work. According to the social identity theory, individuals seek to develop a positive identity by comparing themselves with the other members of the group, and this practice is reflected by the positive differentiation in perceptions, attitudes and behavior (Tajfel, 1978). The students from different media specialties go to common interdisciplinary classes, such as media legislation or media history, however go to separate classes they chose to specialize in, such as broadcast, online or print. This way, the new curricula attempt to avoid the discrepancies in the perceptions of the students about media industry, evident in the case of the single specialty college programs, when they ended up knowing almost everything about a certain discipline and hardly anything about the others. Under the old curricula, the students ignored a great part of the skills and abilities required for a journalist working in a converged environment.

Everett Rogers's *diffusion of innovations* theory, placed under the conceptual framework of limited effects of mass media, is one of the theories many researchers preferred to apply on their studies of media convergence, from the angle of new technologies and work practices (Singer, 2004; Dailey *et al*., 2005b; Dailey *et al*., 2005a; Kornegay, 2009; Wilkinson *et al*., 2009). On a larger scale, the diffusion theory was employed by mass communication scholars when studying the production and dissemination of the news (DeFleur, 1988; Rosengren, 1987). The *diffusion of innovation* theory explains how new ideas or practices are introduced and adopted by individuals, organizations and communities. The people undergo a five step process when adopting and implementing the innovation: awareness, interest, evaluation, trial and adoption. Rogers categorizes the adopters as to their rate of readiness and acceptance of new ideas and objects as innovators, early adopters, early majority, late majority and laggards (Rogers, 2003).

This categorization could be easily applied to the process of adoption of new technologies and working patterns in the newsroom, such as media convergence. The concept of innovation refers to an idea, practice or object that is perceived as new by an individual or other unit of adoption, such as a group or an organization. The perceived newness of the idea for the individual determines the reaction to it. "Diffusion is the process by which an innovation is communicated through certain channels over time among members of a social system" (Rogers, 2003, p. 11). The leaders of the organizations are in charge with the decision of adopting the innovations, and also with deciding if and when the system requires or allows certain radical transformations. So far, the studies that approached the *diffusion of innovations* on media organizations provided important data about the nature of actions and behaviors of the members throughout the process of adoption and implementation of the new practices, norms or technologies. Referring to media convergence in particular, the implementation stage entails a large number of members from the organization, each one of them playing a definite role in the process of adoption and implementation of the specific technological innovation. The implementation leads to acceptance and adaptation to the new conditions and environment, while the organization goes through essential transformations (Van de Ven, 1986). Convergence involves not only the adoption of new technologies that function together, but also the integration of the functions that are generated by the new technologies. By diffusion of convergence, perceived and accepted as innovation, essential transformations occur to the number and nature of the activities of both media organizations and the public. Content creation becomes the responsibility of more actors than during the traditional media period- members of the audience become involved as well- so that certain groups will adopt convergence in the innovation and early stages, while others will go with the late majority. Depending on their flexibility of work practices, some departments or segments of the media organizations will automatically become generators of converged content, while others will implement the innovation gradually, along with the transition from the traditional to the integrated newsroom (Wilkinson *et al*., 2009).

A number of scholars chose to investigate the role of journalists as agents of technological innovation using the conceptual framework of the *actor network theory*- ANT (Spyridou *et al*., 2013; Mico *et al*., 2013). The theory created by Latour and Law suggests that the analysis of the process of technological innovation should be carried out through the transformation the society and technology impose on each other. One of the two key concepts of the above theory, the actor, can take various shapes and identities, from an individual to a work tool or a media organization (Law, 1992). According to the *actor network theory*, the relationships among the actors are simultaneously material (among objects) and semiotic (among concepts), following certain stages, with actors negotiating roles and intentions to accomplish certain results (Latour, 1999). Journalists act as mediators inside the network of human or non human actors, influencing the ultimate objective, which is the creation of the media product, by negotiating with human actors, such as editors, producers, members of the audience, or non-human actors, such as work technologies, skills, practices, rules and routines (Weiss *et al*., 2010). The researchers applied the actor network theory to their studies about the means the journalists used in order to negotiate and influence the process of adoption and implementation of digital technology in their newsrooms. ANT proved its efficiency when applied on the evolution of the relationships of power and control among different actors involved in the adoption of media convergence regarded as innovation (Spyridou *et al*., 2013; Mico *et al*., 2013).

## 6. Conclusions

This article identified the theories applied on the studies on media convergence, employed by various scholars in order to illustrate the effects of the introduction of new technologies and production routines to media organizations and media industry as a whole. A number of these theories come from the conceptual family of cultural and theoretical studies. Other theoretical perspectives explored in this article belong to the conceptual framework of mass communication theories. The scholars who approached the study of media institutions through the theoretical lenses of neo Marxism warned those interested in further research in organizational studies that in between the theoretic concentration of market domination and the discourse of cultural studies there is a middle ground dedicated to organizational structures and work practices. This particular field of study is still to be properly conceptualized and so far has not been researched properly through qualitative and quantitative inquiry (Cottle, 2003; McChesney, 2003).

The researchers acknowledged the influence of new technologies on the activities of journalists, structure and practices of the newsroom, as well as their impact on the social and economic aspects of the media organizations worldwide. However, when studying the various effects of media organizations on the activity of journalists or media organizations, the scholars employed theories that were traditionally associated with sociology or political economy such as social identity, corporate culture or historical institutionalism. Furthermore, even when the researchers chose to apply conceptual perspectives from the field of mass communication to their studies about media convergence, they called for old or theories that were developed in the 1960's, such as diffusion of innovation (Rogers, 2003).

The findings show that although the scientists used various theories in their studies that approached media convergence, their approach was rather traditional. As the media landscape is changing at high speed, due to the adoption of innovative technologies and consequently different practices, routines and production systems, it calls for a new theoretical framework that can better illustrate the transformations. It also calls for bold researchers, willing and able to inductively develop new theories from the data collected from the media organizations going through radical changes. In the future, the new theories have the potential to accommodate the recent transformation in the field of mass communication.

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## Essay

# The Practical Aspects of Video Game Localization

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I have nearly 20 years of experience in the field of professional translation and software localization – particularly in the localization of video games. I worked on more than 200 titles, and it would obviously be impossible to list them all here, but the *Diablo* series[1], *Warcraft 3*[2], *Hearthstone*[3], *Baldur's Gate 2*[4], *Neverwinter Nights*[5], *Dragon Age*[6], and *Battlefield: Bad Company 2*[7] are certainly worth mentioning.

The terms "translation and localization" have been used deliberately, because they are neither synonymous, nor interchangeable. Localization involves the process of translation from the source language to target language, but also many other elements. Theoretically, it would seem that this should not be a complicated process, but reality shows that it is quite the opposite, and that producing a high-quality localization is a path fraught with peril, pitfalls, blind alleys, and unexpected obstacles – and involves a struggle with matter itself. The path may be difficult, but arriving at the destination brings immense satisfaction, and that is what I would like to touch upon in this article dedicated to the practical aspects of video game localization. Inevitably, it is going to be only a brief outline of the problem, presenting the challenges that professionals involved in this field are facing in their work.

In today's world, video games surround us at every turn. Only 30 years ago, they were considered as entertainment aimed at a fairly limited group of computer and new technologies fans, but later on games left their narrow niche and evolved into true electronic entertainment industry, generating more income than Hollywood movies[8]. In addition to standard video games for consoles and computers, there are games meant to be played on mobile devices (smartphones and tablets), or in web browsers, not to mention the increasingly popular board games in all shapes, sizes and types, though they have been present on the market for many years now. The process called "gamification" is becoming ubiquitous in more and more aspects of our everyday lives. Gamification employs game design elements meant to make

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[1] *Diablo* (1996) . Blizzard Entertainment, CD Projekt.
[2] *Warcraft 3* (2002). Blizzard Entertainment, CD Projekt.
[3] *Hearthstone* (2014-2016). Blizzard Entertainment.
[4] *Baldur's Gate 2* (2000). BioWare, CD Projekt.
[5] *Neverwinter Nights* (2002). BioWare, Infogrames, CD Projekt.
[6] *Dragon Age: Origins*. (2009). BioWare, Electronic Arts.
[7] *Battlefield: Bad Company 2*. (2010). DICE, Electronic Arts.
[8] http://www.theguardian.com/technology/gamesblog/2009/sep/27/videogames-hollywood. Retrieved on March 12, 2016.

mundane activities more attractive, and is often associated with advertising or marketing campaigns. We receive points for purchases and services, unlock achievements for physical activities tracked by wearable electronic devices, and are able to interact (and compete) in various ways with people from all around the world. All of those factors have resulted in video games growing increasingly popular, emerging from a kind of ghetto to which they were still consigned a couple of years ago, and becoming an extremely influential medium with millions of players who do not necessarily speak the language in which a game was developed.

## What is Localization?

The vast majority of games available in Poland have been created in English, but other languages include German, Japanese, and Chinese (China is becoming a more and more important market every year). If we want to fully understand the game, to fully assimilate the message conveyed by its creators, it is necessary for the games to be adapted to the particular needs of Polish customers. This, in turn, necessitates the translation of the entirety of the game's text – and it must be noted that video games are getting more voluminous, often reaching a million words. In comparison, J.R.R. Tolkien's famous novel – *The Lord of the Rings* – is "only" 470,000 words long[9]. But that adaptation to the needs of the market does not merely involve translation. The process is much more complex and encompasses many varied elements, which can be collectively referred to as "localization".

Video games are not the only medium that undergoes the process of localization. Generally speaking, websites, software, and other sources that require not only translation of the text itself, but also adaptation of the text to the local market, are localized (taking into consideration a number of aspects: from translation itself, through adaptation, font choice, numerical and date notation, text layout, production of necessary recordings and images, to thorough testing of the finished product). Various elements of localization will be discussed later in the article, but at this point a definition of the notion of localization should be provided. We already know that it is something more than a translation. In order not to complicate matters further, we should adopt the following definition: localization is an adaptation of the product to the linguistic, regional, and technical needs of a given market. The Holy Grail of localization is a situation where the reader does not notice any artificiality in the final text and treats it as if it were originally created in the target language – in short, when a localization is consistent and "transparent" to the end user. (Chojnowski, 2013)

## Elements and Types of Localization

Accordingly, localization should enable its potential recipient to use the end product (in our case – a video game) correctly and without problems. Usually, we are dealing with a

[9] http://loopingworld.com/2009/03/06/wordcount/. Retrieved on March 12, 2016.

source product created in a very different socio-cultural environment, utilizing other sets of notions than the local products. Today, we live in a "global village" and many (broadly understood) cultural phenomena are instantly recognizable throughout the world (for example: *Star Wars*), but a good number of references remain clear primarily to players from the game's country of origin. Hence the need for adaptation, translocation, and sometimes complete transformation of source material into a form that can be understood by the target audience. Achieving such a state requires a labor-intensive process consisting of many stages (Chojnowski, 2013), such as:

- translation of the source text itself, including its cultural adaptation;
- creation of graphics and multimedia elements (e.g. dubbing);
- preparation of printed materials;
- composition of marketing texts associated with the product, taking into account the uniqueness of the local market;
- preparation of an appropriate font set, in order to preserve the Polish diacritical marks;
- modification of the text – especially important when locating Asian comics (e.g. Japanese mangas), which are read "backwards" and from right to left;
- the use of local standards for the notation of dates, numerical values, etc.;
- through testing of the finished product.

While most of the above points are quite clear, the mention of the need to prepare a set of fonts can be surprising. However, it is often the case that Polish special characters are problematic, because developers do not always remember to implement the "Eastern European" standard of character encoding known as ISO Latin 2. And even if the standard is supported by the software, an appropriate set of fonts still needs to be adjusted to it. Ideally, the appearance of such fonts should correspond closely to the appearance of the original set, encoded in the "Western European" ISO Latin 1 standard. It sometimes happens that the Polish version of a game utilizes system fonts, such as Arial, due to the unavailability of appropriate fonts. Substituting other fonts for the original ones can lead to a variety of unexpected problems. In the case of *Diablo* 2[10], the original version of the game used a font called Exocet. During the localization process, it soon became clear that there was no version of Exocet with Polish diacritics. A replacement was found that, at first glance, seemed to look quite similar, and the localization team decided to use it. As it belatedly turned out, despite the new font's overall similar appearance to the original, its line spacing was twice as wide as that in Exocet. As a result, the tooltips and descriptions for items in the Polish version of the game often take up the entire screen space or even more. Figure 1 shows the description of the same item in the original version and in Polish. As shown below, even seemingly simple elements can become a source of serious problems.

[10] *Diablo 2* (2000). Blizzard Entertainment, CD Projekt


Fig. 1
Font comparison between Polish and English version of Diablo 2

Now that some of the components related to localization have been presented, let us take a closer look at the individual elements of the process. There are different levels of video game localization that may be undertaken, and thus one may come across the terms 'full localization' and 'partial localization'. In the case of a full localization, all of the game's linguistic assets are rendered into the target language, including text, voiceover (recorded dialogues and narration), graphics and manuals. *StarCraft 2*[11] is an example of such a localization. Quite literally everything in the game has been rendered into the Polish language – including posters on the walls in the virtual world (Fig. 2) and news tickers displayed during TV shows.


Fig. 2
Localized poster comparison between English and Polish versions of StarCraft

[11] *StarCraft 2* (2010). Blizzard Entertainment, LEM

On the other hand, a partial localization involves the translation (and, possibly, adaptation) of the textual layer of the game only, with the exclusion of voiceover and graphics. This type of localization is much more common due to lower costs and lighter workload involved. Full localizations are far costlier. Recording the voiceover alone can be multiple times as expensive as the translation of the text. The general assumptions behind the localization process, however, remain the same when it comes to both types of localization mentioned before.

## The Localization Process

Market development and the need for simultaneous release of games in various countries have strongly influenced the process of game localization, which is different today from what it used to be several years ago, when localization teams would work on a finished product, which had already been released in Western markets. Then, the game would first be delivered to programmers, who data-mined it for all the necessary materials, such as the texts, images and audio files, as well as fonts, and then the localization team would begin their work on the Polish version. By that time, they would be familiar with the full version of the game and use it as a model and a source of contextual information. Often, the work would last several months, and the Polish-language version of the game would be released long after the original's release date. For example, the global release of *Planescape: Torment*[12] was December 10, 1999, while in Poland the game was published on May 31, 2000 – almost half a year after the English version.

Currently, the entire localization process usually begins well before the release of the game. Sometimes, it can be as early as ten or more months beforehand. The first step to be taken by the localization team when a localization gets the green light is to familiarize themselves with the source product. It did not use to be a problem in the past, when localizations were based on finished games. Nowadays, access to an early version of a game in development is nearly impossible. That is the case mainly for security reasons – the developers do not wish to share any information concerning the game for fear of data leakage, which may have extremely negative commercial results. Therefore, localization teams are often affected by the lack of contextual information – in fact, they receive very limited information regarding the project they are working on. Thus, when we compare game localization process to the process of translating a book, the fundamental difference is that the translator of a book is dealing with an already finished product, and is often in direct contact with the author – something members of localization teams can only dream about most of the time. As a result, the first step in the process of localization is, in fact, reading the text provided, but without accessing the game itself. It could be compared to reading the subtitles for a movie without actually watching it.

The next step is to create a so-called loc-kit, or localization kit. Ideally, it would include all the necessary materials from the game (texts, sounds, textures, images, fonts,

[12] *Planescape: Torment* (1999 [2000]). Black Isle, Interplay, CD Projekt

background information), supplemented by glossaries and style guides need to localize the product – all collected in a single package. Unfortunately, as a rule, the localization team can only count on being provided with texts from the game, often without any additional information that would facilitate their work, which tends to lead to a number of complications during translation (this will be touched upon later in the article).

After receiving texts from the game's developers, it is advisable to start with the creation of glossaries and style guides, especially if several people are involved in the localization project. Nowadays, game localization is so complex a process that the situations where one translator works on creating the entire localized product have become increasingly rare. Most often, there are teams made up of translators, editors, graphic artists, recording specialists, and programmers. That is why such a strong emphasis is placed on the use of uniform terminology by all members of the team.

Having laid the foundations for glossaries and style guides to be used during the translation of particular elements of the game, the most important part of work can commence – the translation itself. It takes up to several months, especially considering the fact that the source texts can be modified all the time by the developers, and are susceptible to change almost until the end of the game development process.

If we are dealing with a full localization (i.e. text, voiceover and graphics are localized), the translation of the initial batch of dialogue script is usually followed by the beginning of recording sessions. At the recording stage, the translation is subject to additional changes and to so-called "dialogization", which involves making the spoken lines sound more natural, synchronizing the timing with the original, and matching the lip movements of characters in the game with new sounds they produce (lip sync, or lip synchronization).

While the translation and recording of texts from the game proceed, translation of graphic elements also takes place, wherein it is necessary to ensure that the target text is as close to the original as possible in terms of the number of characters. Graphic elements are usually subject to strict restrictions on the amount of space they can take up. Since messages in English are usually quite succinct, the translation must also reflect that quality, sometimes at the cost of a slight change in the meaning. For example, in the game *Heroes of the Storm*[13] a small graphical element – doormats – was added by the developers at the doors of houses. Each doormat was decorated with a caption: the first read "WELCOME", the second "KEEP OUT". While the Polish word "WITAJ" is shorter than its English counterpart, and can be easily used, we would encounter issues if we wanted to translate "KEEP OUT" as "NIE PODCHODŹ" or "TRZYMAJ SIĘ Z DALA", which theoretically are the correct equivalents but exceed the character limit. Hence, the idea to use the slightly frivolous "SPADAJ" (Eng. "GET LOST"), which is a perfectly suitable choice considering the game's register (Fig. 3)

[13] *Heroes of the Storm*. (2015-2016). Blizzard Entertainment, CD Projekt.


Fig. 3
Localized graphical elements in Heroes of the Storm

During the translation process, finished texts are regularly sent back to the developers, who implement them in the game and, whenever possible, provide a partially localized version for testing. Currently, testing is usually performed by specialized external teams whose task is to find all the errors, and then submit appropriate reports to the translators, requesting any necessary corrections. Sometimes, the translators themselves also become testers, and since they are already familiar with the text, they are far more likely to notice any errors and shortcomings. The situation is even better when the authors make the tools for implementing translated elements in the game available to the localization team, so that the quality of localization can be continuously monitored in the target environment.

## The Tools

Of course, work on modern technologies requires the use of appropriate tools. It's hard to work with video games without the assistance of computers and specialized software, which greatly facilitate the process, and sometimes are the only reason localization is possible at all. Gone are the times of analogue translation. Today, the translator's work is performed entirely within the digital environment. Although it would seem that the basic translation tools are word processors and editors, that is not always the case. As far as video games are concerned, a portion of the source material is, in fact, stored as text in TXT or DOC formats, which correspond to 'clean' text files or MS Word files, but most often the developers' preferred method of text storage for games are markup languages such as XML[14] (Extensible Markup Language), which enable the presentation of data in a structured way. XML is a language that is platform-independent and very often it is used to create webpages or databases containing text strings from the translated applications or software.

[14] XML Reference - http://www.w3.org/XML/

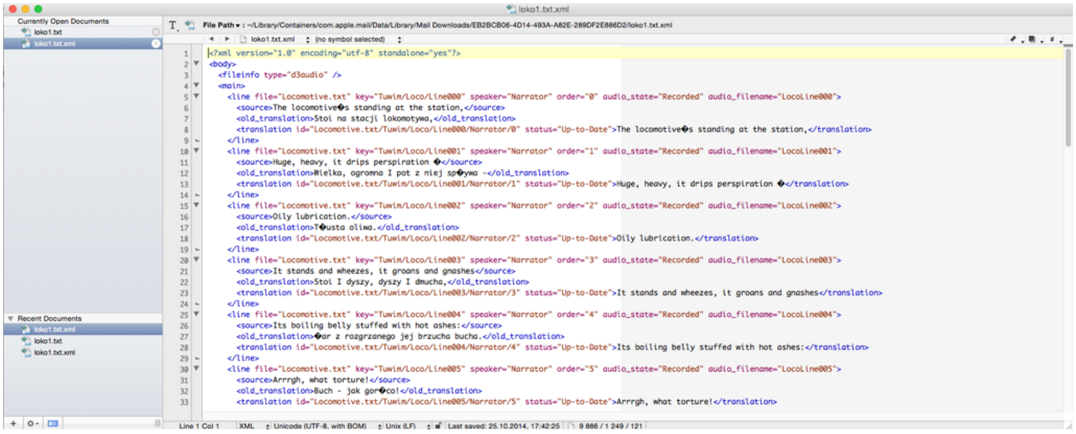
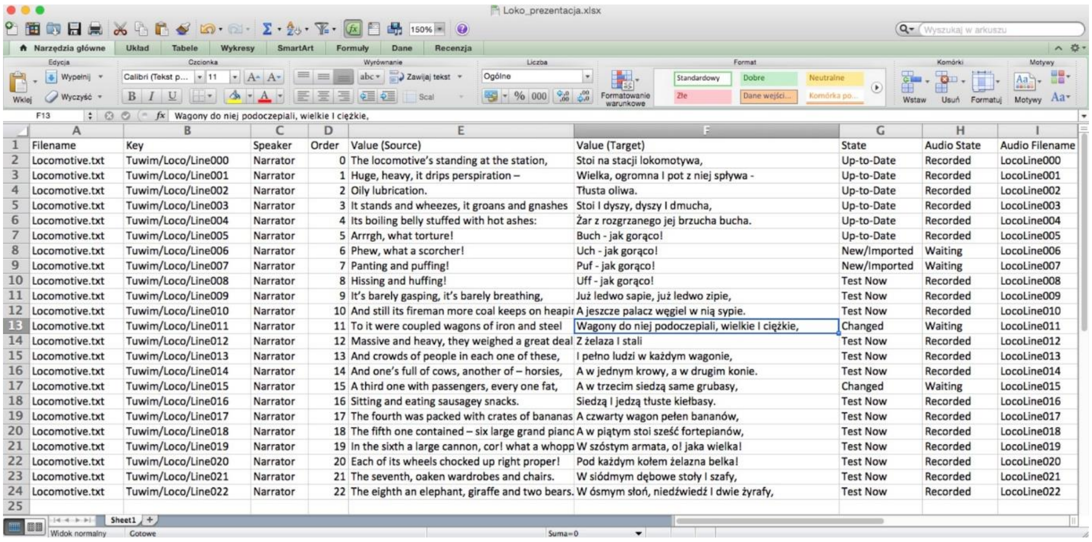


Fig. 4
Sample text from a game stored in XML format

Text stored in this format (as seen in Fig. 4) is not easy to translate because of the huge number of various markers and the need to preserve the characteristic syntax. As such, text is often submitted for translation as an XLS spreadsheet. This type of spreadsheet can take the form of a very simple two-column table with the source text and space provided for a translation. But sometimes the spreadsheet contains also context-sensitive information (Fig. 5), for instance: the number and gender of the speakers or their tone of voice, a character's background, a plot synopsis, or a description of variables.



| Filename | Key | Speaker | Order | Value (Source) | Value (Target) | State | Audio State | Audio Filename |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Locomotive.txt | Tuwim/Loco/Line000 | Narrator | 0 | The locomotive's standing at the station, | Stoi na stacji lokomotywa, | Up-to-Date | Recorded | LocoLine000 |
| Locomotive.txt | Tuwim/Loco/Line001 | Narrator | 1 | Huge, heavy, it drips perspiration – | Wielka, ogromna I pot z niej spływa - | Up-to-Date | Recorded | LocoLine001 |
| Locomotive.txt | Tuwim/Loco/Line002 | Narrator | 2 | Oily lubrication. | Tłusta oliwa. | Up-to-Date | Recorded | LocoLine002 |
| Locomotive.txt | Tuwim/Loco/Line003 | Narrator | 3 | It stands and wheezes, it groans and gnashes | Stoi I dyszy, dyszy I dmucha, | Up-to-Date | Recorded | LocoLine003 |
| Locomotive.txt | Tuwim/Loco/Line004 | Narrator | 4 | Its boiling belly stuffed with hot ashes: | Żar z rozgrzanego jej brzucha bucha. | Up-to-Date | Recorded | LocoLine004 |
| Locomotive.txt | Tuwim/Loco/Line005 | Narrator | 5 | Arrrgh, what torture! | Buch - jak gorąco! | Up-to-Date | Recorded | LocoLine005 |
| Locomotive.txt | Tuwim/Loco/Line006 | Narrator | 6 | Phew, what a scorcher! | Uch - jak gorąco! | New/Imported | Waiting | LocoLine006 |
| Locomotive.txt | Tuwim/Loco/Line007 | Narrator | 7 | Panting and puffing! | Puf - jak gorąco! | New/Imported | Waiting | LocoLine007 |
| Locomotive.txt | Tuwim/Loco/Line008 | Narrator | 8 | Hissing and huffing! | Uff - jak gorąco! | Test Now | Recorded | LocoLine008 |
| Locomotive.txt | Tuwim/Loco/Line009 | Narrator | 9 | It's barely gasping, it's barely breathing, | Już ledwo sapie, już ledwo zipie, | Test Now | Recorded | LocoLine009 |
| Locomotive.txt | Tuwim/Loco/Line010 | Narrator | 10 | And still its fireman more coal keeps on heapir | A jeszcze palacz węgiel w nią sypie. | Test Now | Recorded | LocoLine010 |
| Locomotive.txt | Tuwim/Loco/Line011 | Narrator | 11 | To it were coupled wagons of iron and steel | Wagony do niej podoczepiali, wielkie I ciężkie, | Changed | Waiting | LocoLine011 |
| Locomotive.txt | Tuwim/Loco/Line012 | Narrator | 12 | Massive and heavy, they weighed a great deal | Z żelaza I stali | Test Now | Recorded | LocoLine012 |
| Locomotive.txt | Tuwim/Loco/Line013 | Narrator | 13 | And crowds of people in each one of these, | I pełno ludzi w każdym wagonie, | Test Now | Recorded | LocoLine013 |
| Locomotive.txt | Tuwim/Loco/Line014 | Narrator | 14 | And one's full of cows, another of – horsies, | A w jednym krowy, a w drugim konie. | Test Now | Recorded | LocoLine014 |
| Locomotive.txt | Tuwim/Loco/Line015 | Narrator | 15 | A third one with passengers, every one fat, | A w trzecim siedzą same grubasy, | Changed | Waiting | LocoLine015 |
| Locomotive.txt | Tuwim/Loco/Line016 | Narrator | 16 | Sitting and eating sausagey snacks. | Siedzą I jedzą tłuste kiełbasy. | Test Now | Recorded | LocoLine016 |
| Locomotive.txt | Tuwim/Loco/Line017 | Narrator | 17 | The fourth was packed with crates of bananas | A czwarty wagon pełen bananów, | Test Now | Recorded | LocoLine017 |
| Locomotive.txt | Tuwim/Loco/Line018 | Narrator | 18 | The fifth one contained – six large grand pianc | A w piątym stoi sześć fortepianów, | Test Now | Recorded | LocoLine018 |
| Locomotive.txt | Tuwim/Loco/Line019 | Narrator | 19 | In the sixth a large cannon, cor! what a whopp | W szóstym armata, o! jaka wielka! | Test Now | Recorded | LocoLine019 |
| Locomotive.txt | Tuwim/Loco/Line020 | Narrator | 20 | Each of its wheels chocked up right proper! | Pod każdym kołem żelazna belka! | Test Now | Recorded | LocoLine020 |
| Locomotive.txt | Tuwim/Loco/Line021 | Narrator | 21 | The seventh, oaken wardrobes and chairs. | W siódmym dębowe stoły I szafy, | Test Now | Recorded | LocoLine021 |
| Locomotive.txt | Tuwim/Loco/Line022 | Narrator | 22 | The eighth an elephant, giraffe and two bears. | W ósmym słoń, niedźwiedź I dwie żyrafy, | Test Now | Recorded | LocoLine022 |

Fig. 5
The same text as an XLS spreadsheet

Once the translator has at their disposal the "workable" source material, they can finally put their hand to the metaphorical (or rather – digital) plough, using standard office software, such as Word or Excel. However, their job can be made a little easier. In recent years, specialized software called CAT tools (Computer-assisted translation) has grown in importance, popularity, and functionality[15]. There are many such programs, each of which offers a slightly different approach to the issue of translation, with a rather similar general approach in terms of their methods of operation. Such software makes it possible to import the source file, divides the text into smaller segments the size of which depends on the user – those can be paragraphs, sentences, and even single words – and stores all finished translations in the so-called translation memory (TM). That memory is growing with each entry, and if the translator encounters a passage that is similar to or identical with what is stored in the memory, the program suggests the existing translation. This is especially useful when it comes to translating user interfaces, technical descriptions, ways in which skills work etc. What is more, a good CAT tool enables the storage in the TM of several translations for one segment, so that the translator has options when they wish to diversify different characters' lines. Even when dealing with texts that contain few repetitions, CAT programs allow for a clear segmentation of fragments (Fig. 6), making the text more comfortable to work with. Additionally, through the use of CAT tools, several translators can simultaneously work on a single translation project, each enjoying access to databases created by others, and providing one another with editing remarks, comments, or new items for glossaries.

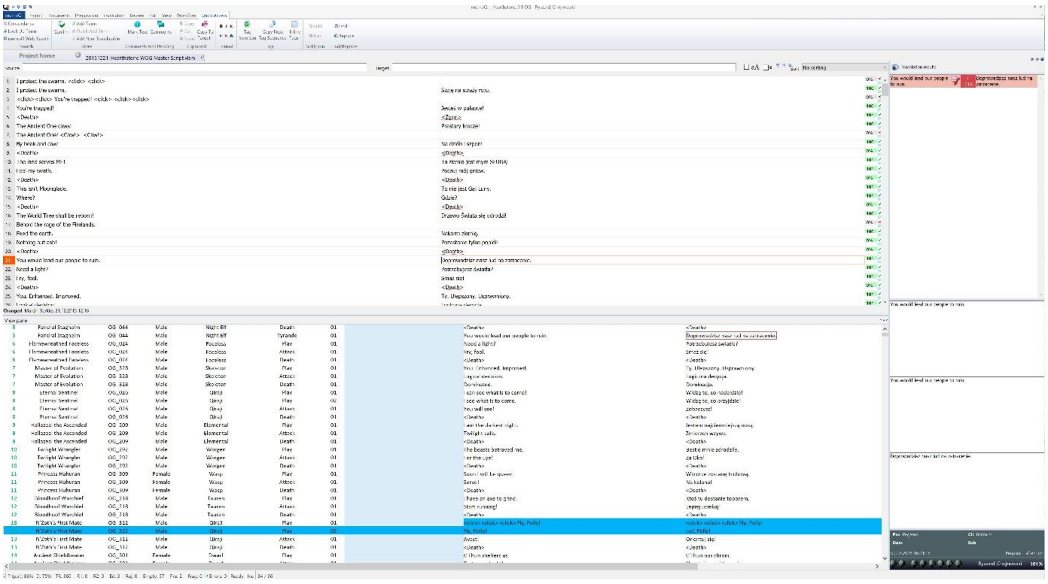


Fig. 6
Sample text presented in memoQ CAT tool

[15] memoQ (2007-2016) Kilgray, https://www.memoq.com; SDL Trados (2000-2016) SDL Trados, http://www.translationzone.com/trados.html; XTM (2002-2016) XTM-International, http://xtm-intl.com.

In addition, translation memories are excellent for tracking changes made to the original text, and applying all the necessary updates. Currently, most games are being continuously developed after their release – there are add-ons, upgrades, bug fixes, modifications, etc. Video games, especially those designed for multiple players, are subject to constant changes and improvements, which often impact existing textual components. When all the texts are stored in the translation memory, introducing updates to the translation becomes significantly easier because the program selects pieces that have been changed, removed, or added. There is no need to translate the entire entry from scratch – the translator only applies amendments as necessary. When there are several hundred such updated skills, a CAT took becomes truly indispensable.

After the translation has been completed, it can be assigned for edition (often multiple times) in the same CAT tool. Finally, when the entirety of the text has been translated, proofread, and edited, it is then exported into to the source format. For instance, if we received the text as an XLS spreadsheet, we need to submit it to the customer in the same spreadsheet – of course, supplemented with the translation. CAT programs offer the option to export and validate the text, thanks to which a clean, complete and error-free file can be compiled. The file is then sent back to the customer.

In addition, teams of translators often develop their own tools for specialized tasks, such as text converters from one format into another. For example, if the game developers provide source texts stored in XML format, which is convenient for them, then – before work on the translation can commence – the text needs to be converted into a more "pliable" format that facilitates segmentation and will be clearer for translators. Most often, the converted text is stored in XLS spreadsheets, then is uploaded to the CAT program, where translation takes place, after which the conversion process is reversed, and ultimately the customer receives a properly compiled file that can be implemented in the game.

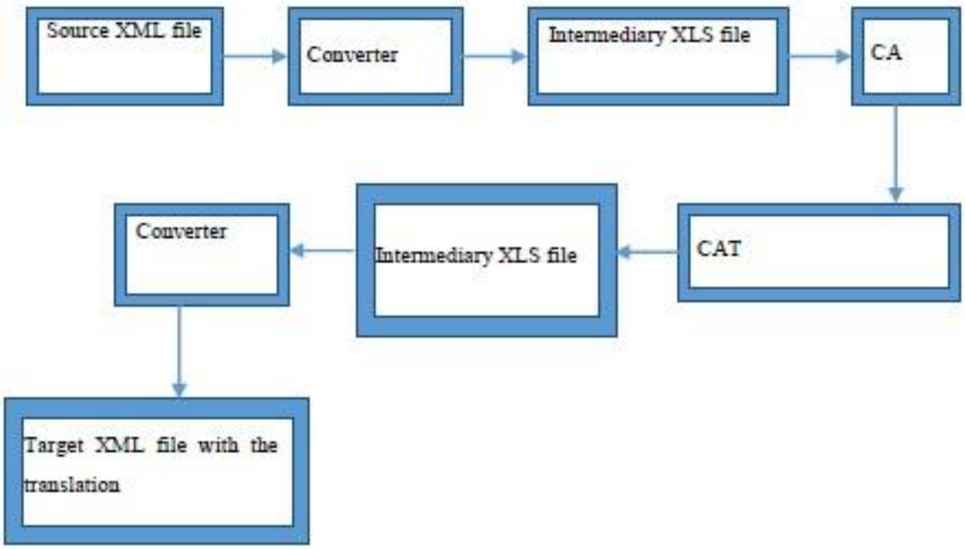



Fig. 7
A diagram showing an outline of the translation process

Sometimes tools for the creation and management of glossaries are also utilized. There are special applications dedicated to that, such as Xbench[16], but this role can be also fulfilled by CAT programs, which allow the user to create and edit glossaries from translation memories. Often, ordinary spreadsheets are used for this purpose (Fig. 8), where the source text is in one column, and next to it we enter its translation, commentary, and the identification of the field to which the entry pertains – for example, the name of skill, the name of location, the type of the item, etc.

| English | Polish | Category | Notes | Date changed | Appearance |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Soulbound | Przypisany do konta | web | | | General Glossary |
| Patch | Aktualizacja | web | | | General Glossary |
| PTR | PST | web | | | General Glossary |
| Public Test Realm | Publiczny Serwer Testowy | web | | | General Glossary |
| Patch Notes | informacje o aktualizacji | web | | | General Glossary |
| Friends | znajomi | web | | | General Glossary |
| redeem code | zrealizuj kod | web | also: wykorzystaj kod (battle.net account -> Gry i kody -> Dodaj klucz gry -> Wykorzystaj kod) | | General Glossary |
| livestream | transmisja na żywo/stream | web | also: live stream | | General Glossary |
| BattleTag | BattleTag | web | | | General Glossary |
| Authenticator | Authenticator | web | | | General Glossary |
| Now Available | już dostępny | web | | | General Glossary |
| LMB | LPM | in game | | | General Glossary |
| RMB | PPM | in game | | | General Glossary |
| - | - | in game | ASCII 45. It should be used as connector between two words (i.e. beta–testy). | | General Glossary |
| — | – | in game | ASCII 151. It should be used as punctuation mark (i.e. LOKALIZACJA – MENADŻEROWIE). | | General Glossary |
| "" | "" | in game | ASCII 34. It should be used only in variables (i.e. <s val="StandardTooltip">). | | General Glossary |
| "" | „" | in game | ASCII 132, ASCII 148. Both should be used in every case when quotation marks are needed except in varial | | General Glossary |
| ' | | in game | ASCII 39. It's a change for Heroes of the Storm for .09 (i.e.: Anub'arak, not Anub'arak). | | General Glossary |
| real money | prawdziwe środki pieniężne | web | | | General Glossary |
| real-money | prawdziwe środki pieniężne | web | | | General Glossary |
| Offline | Niedostępny | web | | | General Glossary |
| Closed Beta | Zamknięte beta-testy | web | ASCII 45 should be used. Changed from "Welcome to Closed Beta"/Witamy w zamkniętych | 20150301 | General Glossary |
| New User Experience | Nowe wrażenia z rozgrywki | web | | | General Glossary |
| New Content | Nowa zawartość | web | | | General Glossary |
| Veteran Edition | Edycja Weterana | web | Added on 20150203 | | General Glossary |
| New features | Nowe funkcje | web | Added on 20150203 | | General Glossary |
| Balance | Stan konta | web | Added on 20150213 | | General Glossary |
| Privacy Policy | Polityka prywatności | web | Added on 20150203 | | General Glossary |
| Terms of Sale | Warunki Sprzedaży | web | Added on 20150213 | | General Glossary |
| Demo | wersja demonstracyjna | web | Added on 20150223 | | General Glossary |
| Accept | Akceptuję | web | UI | | General Glossary |
| Cancel | Anuluj | web | account | | General Glossary |
| Account | konto | web | account | | General Glossary |
| Account in good standing | konto o nieposzlakowanej opinii | web | account | | General Glossary |

Fig. 8
Example of a glossary window

## Types of Text

Those not familiar with the topic might think that there is not too much text to be translated in video games – that the only things to be found there are score values, the amount of energy or magic at the player's disposal, etc. However, as I mentioned in the introduction, there are often games that contain more than a million words. There are also games like the *World of Warcraft*[17], the textual components of which amount to more than 6 million words (mostly due to the fact that the game has been developed continuously for over 10 years now)[18]. This begs the question – what kind of texts can we find in video games? The answer is simple: all of them. The following are some examples of different types of texts found in games:

[16] XBench (2015) ApSIC, S.L., http://www.xbench.net/
[17] *World of Warcraft* (2004-2016). Blizzard Entertainment, CD Projekt
[18] http://us.battle.net/wow/en/blog/12346804/world-of-warcraft-azeroth-by-the-numbers-1-28-2014. Retrieved March 12, 2016.

- Dialogues – they appear in almost every game and, depending on the subject matter and the interlocutors, may concern virtually everything and make use of every register: from solemn speeches, through sublime discussions of aristocrats, to vulgar and coarse taunts of street urchins.

- One-liners – texts of this kind include all brief statements that are not dialogues (e.g. battle cries, comments uttered by the characters, jokes, taunts, warnings or requests). Their characteristic feature is that they must usually be appropriate for many speakers and situations, because video games quite often make use of recycled lines. Developers frequently assume that it is unnecessary to write lines for multiple characters, since one line can be used by a few speakers. This practice definitely saves time, which is extremely valuable during the creative process, but it also causes a lot of problems during translation, which will be discussed later in the article.

- Interface – all the elements of the game aimed at communication with the player – descriptions of the options, settings, on-screen prompts and notifications, and much more. Such texts often have a character limit, since it is strictly defined where they appear, and the text cannot exceed a set number of characters.

- Names – a very broad category, which includes both geographic names, character names, items, areas, and all the objects appearing in the game. It often happens that translation of names requires the creation of neologisms and application of various word-formation processes, especially when in the original we have to deal with adjective-and-noun clusters and complex nouns, such as *Stormwind, Ramshield* or *Puzzleworth,* etc.

- Descriptions – again, a very broad category, which may include, for example, skills, instructions, information on quests, descriptions of objects, places, characters, enemies, as well as bestiaries and databases. Depending on the type of information described, it is necessary to use a different register for the translation – a completely different approach should be taken to the descriptions of combat units than to ancient tomes of magical spells.

- Journals, diaries, logs, books and short stories (no, this is not a mistake on the Author's part) – in video games one can often find journals penned by various characters, as well as literary works that can be both rooted in the fantasy world and famous among its denizens. Therefore, the translator is dealing with a sort of Chinese-box storytelling: they translate the game, constituting in itself a story, which also includes other stories. For instance, in the games from *The Elder Scrolls*[19] series there are approximately 100 various volumes of stories that can be found and read by the player [19].

- Songs, poems, and rhymes – those appear most often in adventure and role-playing games. For example, in the *Bard's Tale* [20] there are a dozen different songs. Many other games feature various rhyming riddles, and even poems.

- System messages – texts that are not part of the interface, which inform the user of potential errors, updates, progress in the downloading of new data, the quality of Internet connection, etc. Often, such messages must fit a well-defined form, depending on the requirements of hardware manufacturers. The slightest deviation from the designated

[19] *Elder Scrolls, The: Skyrim* (2011). Bethesda Studios, Cenega; *Elder Scrolls, The: Oblivion* (2006). Bethesda Studios, Cenega.

templates can lead to the rejection of the translation, and even delay the release of the game. Hence the need for the use of corporate glossaries and style guides during the translation of such texts. However, even with strict adherence to the guidelines, problems may still arise. As an example, let us have a look at the translation of the word "friend" in Polish. According to the guidelines of Sony, in the case of system messages the word should be translated as "przyjaciel". And according to the guidelines of Microsoft, the correct translation is "znajomy". The word occurs in many different messages and terms, such as the "friend list", "add friend", "remove friend", etc. When translating those expressions as "lista znajomych", "dodaj znajomego", and "usuń znajomego", we are acting in accordance with the requirements of Microsoft, but contrary to the requirements of Sony, which may delay the release of the game on the consoles of the latter company. In such a case, the game's developers need to prepare text strings that contain the word "friend" separately for the consoles of both companies, allowing the translators to provide two different translations of the term and thus meet the guidelines of both manufacturers.

- Internal term databases – such as dictionaries of profanities, designed to filter out such content from messages typed by players, and censor them by replacing parts of words (e.g. with asterisks: k***a [f**k]). Interestingly, these databases also contain misspelled words, taking into account the fact that potential users may not be able to spell correctly or want to bypass the profanity filter by intentionally misspelling words. In principle, creating such glossaries is not translation as such, since profanities in different languages are not translatable as one-to-one counterparts. The source texts then become a kind of model, based on which the translator creates a set of phrases that are similar in meaning in the target language. And as the colloquial language is constantly undergoing changes, it is also necessary to update such glossaries with new terms.

- Legal information – a game is not just a source of entertainment. This much is clear when one attempts to read different (and usually verbose) end-user license agreements, and various terms and conditions for the provision of services included with the software, as well as copyright information, and other similar legal documents. Those are standard legal texts, which also must be translated according to the appropriate templates.

If games contain so many wildly different texts, it becomes necessary for the translator to compile and use as large a database of source materials as possible, and have at their disposal any translation aids that would facilitate the process of translation and preparation of the target language version. Video games developed nowadays concern all areas of life and entertainment – hence it would be advisable for a translator to have wide interests and be accustomed to using sources.

## Source Materials

First of all, the primary source materials are always other games, which makes it necessary for video game translators to also be active players. Knowledge of video games is extremely helpful when translating the user interface and system messages, as well as any situations where the translator is faced with the lack of context. For example: knowing what randomly generated item names look like in *Diablo 2*[20] can help understand the mechanisms behind the creation of such names in the next installment of the series. Having played strategy games before can make it easier for a translator to understand the concepts of the 'fog of war', or 'rush' and so on.

Another very important source material is broadly understood culture, especially popular culture, because of the ubiquitous references to various films, TV shows, theater, music, books, graphic novels, other video games, and even Internet memes. In many games one can also come across the so-called *Easter eggs* – hidden jokes, messages, and references to other works, the knowledge of which is useful in the process of translation. For example, in the game *Diablo 3* [22] the player can find pages from a log, which is a reference to the television drama series *Lost,* and after arranging them in the correct order, it turns out that the first letters of each of the entries form the word 'DHARMA', which is the name of one of the organizations in the series. Had the translator not been familiar with *Lost*, they might overlook this hidden joke, which in turn would impoverish the translation.

When discussing the source materials, we cannot overlook specialist literature from various fields, as well as dictionaries and encyclopedias. Many reference materials are currently available in the digital form on various websites, which definitely makes the search for information much easier. The Web can also be a veritable treasure trove of various dictionaries and thesauri, which are constantly updated and expanded with new entries. Particularly useful are the dictionaries of slang, idioms, and colloquial speech, like *www.urbandictionary.com* . When all else fails, and the translator comes across a term that escapes any classification, assistance may be provided by the authors themselves, who sometimes do respond to questions submitted by the localization team. Above all, online search engines might prove to be true life-savers. The Internet is unquestionably a gold mine of information, so mastering the art of the efficient use of search engines is now becoming one of the most important skills in the translator's research toolbox.

## Real Life Examples

### *The Order of Things*

After this insight into the localization process, let us move on to more practical considerations and look at the potential difficulties and traps that await translators during the translation of a video game. The first potential pitfall might materialize itself immediately upon receiving the files for translation. Sometimes, the localization package consists of an XLS spreadsheet containing individual phrases from the game, one after another, like in the figure below:

[20] *Diablo 2* (2000). Blizzard Entertainment, CD Projekt.

| Value (Source) |
|---|
| A third one with passengers, every one fat, |
| And crowds of people in each one of these, |
| And one's full of cows, another of – horsies, |
| And still its fireman more coal keeps on heapir |
| Arrrgh, what torture! |
| Each of its wheels chocked up right proper! |
| Hissing and huffing! |
| Huge, heavy, it drips perspiration – |
| In the sixth a large cannon, cor! what a whopp |
| It stands and wheezes, it groans and gnashes |
| It's barely gasping, it's barely breathing, |
| Its boiling belly stuffed with hot ashes: |
| Massive and heavy, they weighed a great deal |
| Oily lubrication. |
| Panting and puffing! |
| Phew, what a scorcher! |
| Sitting and eating sausagey snacks. |
| The eighth an elephant, giraffe and two bears. |
| The fifth one contained – six large grand piano |
| The fourth was packed with crates of bananas |
| The locomotive's standing at the station, |
| The seventh, oaken wardrobes and chairs. |
| To it were coupled wagons of iron and steel |

Figure 9.
An example of a XLS spreadsheet

The problem is that someone sorted the strings alphabetically, thus making it impossible to determine the order in which they appear in-game, or to understand what their broader meaning and context is. What is missing is some sort of a string ID, which would indicate the element to which a particular line of text refers, and where it should be located. This particular situation actually occurred during the translation of the game *Enter the Matrix* [21]. The lines were sorted alphabetically – a few thousand segments of text arranged in such a way that attempts at their correct identification and translation were utterly futile. Let us imagine any book submitted for translation in such a state. Translation is rendered practically impossible when the original layout of the text is disturbed.

It therefore becomes clear that the textual layer of the game cannot be simply uploaded anywhere into it. Texts become an integral part of the software, and as such must be assigned to the relevant items in the database and have their own IDs which, in addition to making it possible to determine the order of strings or the place where the text is to be displayed, often carry with them the much-needed context information.

Let us have a look at the same text with added information about the identifier of each string.

[21] *Enter the Matrix* (2003). Atari. CD Projekt

| Key | Value (Source) |
|---|---|
| Tuwim/Loco/Line000 | The locomotive's standing at the station, |
| Tuwim/Loco/Line001 | Huge, heavy, it drips perspiration – |
| Tuwim/Loco/Line002 | Oily lubrication. |
| Tuwim/Loco/Line003 | It stands and wheezes, it groans and gnashes |
| Tuwim/Loco/Line004 | Its boiling belly stuffed with hot ashes: |
| Tuwim/Loco/Line005 | Arrrgh, what torture! |
| Tuwim/Loco/Line006 | Phew, what a scorcher! |
| Tuwim/Loco/Line007 | Panting and puffing! |
| Tuwim/Loco/Line008 | Hissing and huffing! |
| Tuwim/Loco/Line009 | It's barely gasping, it's barely breathing, |
| Tuwim/Loco/Line010 | And still its fireman more coal keeps on heapir |
| Tuwim/Loco/Line011 | To it were coupled wagons of iron and steel |
| Tuwim/Loco/Line012 | Massive and heavy, they weighed a great deal |
| Tuwim/Loco/Line013 | And crowds of people in each one of these, |
| Tuwim/Loco/Line014 | And one's full of cows, another of – horsies, |
| Tuwim/Loco/Line015 | A third one with passengers, every one fat, |
| Tuwim/Loco/Line016 | Sitting and eating sausagey snacks. |
| Tuwim/Loco/Line017 | The fourth was packed with crates of bananas |
| Tuwim/Loco/Line018 | The fifth one contained – six large grand piano |
| Tuwim/Loco/Line019 | In the sixth a large cannon, cor! what a whopp |
| Tuwim/Loco/Line020 | Each of its wheels chocked up right proper! |
| Tuwim/Loco/Line021 | The seventh, oaken wardrobes and chairs. |
| Tuwim/Loco/Line022 | The eighth an elephant, giraffe and two bears. |

Fig.10
An example of a XLS spreadsheet with line identifiers

Everything is now sorted in the correct order, and we receive contextual information describing the origin of the text. Here, for example, in addition to numbering the lines, which enables proper sorting, we are presented with information on the author of the poem, which can later facilitate the search for an existing translation. It is precisely the lack of similar contextual information that is one of the biggest problems when translating software.

***Desperately Looking for Context***

While working on the translation of novels, poems, articles, movies, or comic books, the translator almost always has all the information at their disposal. They know who is speaking to whom and what the gender of the speaker is, they are aware of the context in which the words have been used and what register to apply. It is not quite as straightforward in the case of video games, and there are several reasons for that. First of all, video games are an interactive medium in which the user can influence the development of the story. In addition, the textual layer is only one of many elements of the whole, preventing the translator from forming a complete overview of the situation. The translation spreadsheets often contain individual words or expressions that have multiple meanings depending on the context. Only after implementing the texts in the game can one truly see if they are properly translated. Here are a few excerpts from a variety of games that will help analyze some of the problems faced by translators:

| String ID | CharName | English |
|---|---|---|
| CS_02_L11 | Engine Driver | There… Up there, patrol |
| D_PlaneEsc | Merlin | You have to leave the plane! |
| Str_10 | Tuesday | I did not know you killed it! |

Fig.11
Examples of in-game strings without context

In the first example, taken from *Battlefield: Bad Company 2*[22], the string ID tells us nothing, apart from showing the possible sequence of expressions. We know who the speaker is (Engine Driver), but lack information on their gender. However, we can quite safely assume that the speaker is a man. Unfortunately, there is a problem concerning the phrase "up there". It can mean "ahead" or "on top". If we do not have any additional information, we have to take the risk and choose one of those options. The translator decides to pick "Tam.. przed nami, patrol" [patrol ahead], because this version seems more probable, and similar texts have appeared in other games in the series, almost always denoting something that is ahead of the speaker. Ultimately, though, after verifying this line in-game, it becomes clear that the patrol in question is located quite literally above the speaker. The characters are sailing in a dinghy and passing under a bridge which is patrolled by enemy soldiers. The translator could not have guessed that from the original text, and needed the situational context, which was unavailable at the time of translation.

The second example seems deceptively simple. We know the name and gender of the speaker, and the phrase they utter – "You have to leave the plane!" – apparently does not contain any potential traps. But when we look closely, it turns out that we do not know to whom Merlin is speaking. When reading this sentence out of context we cannot determine whether he is addressing a single person or a group of people. In this case, it is safest to assume that he is speaking to one person. There remains the matter of the word "plane". Although the initial assumption would be to translate it as "samolot" [aircraft], Merlin's name, as well as the game's fantasy setting seem to point to the alternative option: "płaszczyzna" or "sfera egzystencji" [plane of existence]. Very similar wording appears in the game *Icewind Dale*[23], where it would be quite difficult to find any aircraft, but it is far easier to travel between worlds. However, without knowing the context for this line, the translator might be tempted to make the mistake of translating "plane" as aircraft, despite the fact that the final

[22] *Battlefield: Bad Company 2*. (2010). DICE, Electronic Arts.
[23] *Icewind Dale* (2000). Black Isle, Interplay, CD Projekt

version should be: "Musisz opuścić tę sferę!" [You must leave this realm!] or even "Musisz opuścić ten wymiar!" [You must leave this dimension!], depending on the adopted convention.

### *Gender Problems*

The translator's task becomes a little more difficult in the third example. The string ID does not contain any additional information and the name of the character – Tuesday – does not help determine their gender. Also, similarly to the previous example, we do not know who is addressing whom. It can be assumed that the addressee is the character controlled by the player, and that Tuesday is one of the cast of NPCs (non-player characters). In many games, the gender of the protagonist can be chosen by the player. Therefore, the translation must be appropriate for both male and female versions. The phrase "killed it" alone can also be problematic: if taken literally, it means "to kill some creatures", but as an idiom it denotes the successful conclusion of some activity. So, if the translator does not have any additional information (and such is often the case), the sentence "I did not know you killed it!" can be translated in several ways. Let us assume, though, that we know from other sources that Tuesday is a woman, and she is addressing the player's character. But the question of the addressee's gender still remains. Thankfully, sentences in the present tense are not problematic in Polish. Unfortunately, in the case of past and the future tenses, Polish verb forms are different for women and men. Assuming that Tuesday is a woman, we can translate "I did not know" as "Nie wiedziałam", while the rest of the sentence can be rendered in two different ways:

"Nie wiedziałam, że go **zabiłeś**." (female subject, male object)
"Nie wiedziałam, że go **zabiłaś**." (female subject and object)

The point is that regardless of the selected version, there will be situations in the game where the chosen translation will be incorrect. That is one of the many problems encountered in game localization that stem from the fact that games are an interactive medium and, ultimately, it is the player who decides the final form of many of its aspects, including, for example, the gender of their protagonist.

There are at least three ways to solve this issue, although some require intervention on the part of the programmers, as well as adequate preparation of the source material and creation of additional tools. The simplest method is to duplicate all the texts in the game (or, at least, dialogues and descriptions), so that they can be translated in two versions – male and female. Those alternative versions need to have different identifiers, so that the software "knows" which one to choose, depending on the player-controlled character. This method is used, among other games, in *Deus Ex: Invisible War* [24] and *Diablo III* [25]. However, it is

[24] *Deus Ex: Invisible War* (2003 [2004]). Square-Enix, Cenega
[25] *Diablo 3* (2012). Blizzard Entertainment, CD Projekt

generally rarely applied because it causes a considerable increase in the amount and size of textual data, and above all – an increase in the localization costs.

The second method is a little more complicated, and its application also requires the support of the game's programmers. It involves placing special tags specifying gender within the translated text. When the program encounters a tag, it appropriately adjusts the text that follows, for instance – by assigning to it a particular gender. Such translated sentences containing markup elements might look like this:

"Nie wiedziałam, że go [m:{zabiłeś}][f:{zabiłaś}]."

Depending on the character's gender, the program will display the initial text (not containing tags) normally, and then supplement it with the words found in tag brackets "[m: {}]" or "[f: {}]". Unfortunately, apart from the obvious advantages of the tag system, tags have a fundamental flaw: it is very easy to make the mistake of not closing the brackets properly or using the wrong syntax, which, at best, will only lead to the game displaying some strange-looking text (like: "Nie wiedziałam, że go zabiłeśzabiłaś."), and at worst – to crashing the game. During the translation of such texts it is necessary to exercise extreme caution or use scripts that check the translation's syntax after its completion. The tag method is quite widespread and can be encountered in games such as *Guild Wars*[26], or the *Dragon Age*[27] series.

Still, even today there are game developers who do not provide any supporting tools for translators. In such cases, the only available option is to create a target text that will be suitable for both male and female versions. Handling the endings of Polish verbs (which are marked for gender) alone can cause quite a headache, and it often can result in sacrificing the characteristic register of the original in order to convey the content of the message. The passive form or expressions such as "udało się" [someone managed to do something – in Polish this expression does not require a subject], or "zdarzyło się" [it happened that...] are used. When utilizing this approach, our example would look like this:

"Nie wiedziałam, że udało ci się go zabić!"
or
"Nie wiedziałam, że zginął z twojej ręki!"

"Unisex" translation has many limitations. Although it most often manages to convey the meaning of the original, this usually happens at the expense of style. Such translation strategy should be applied only as a last resort measure, when there are no other options available. Its use was required in the case of the more "voluminous" titles such as *The Elder Scrolls: Oblivion* or *Fallout 3* [28](each contained over 1,000 pages of text), because the engine of these games did not support other methods.

[26] *Guild Wars*. (2006-2012). NCSoft
[27] *Dragon Age: Origins*. (2009). BioWare, Electronic Arts
[28] *Fallout 3* (2008). Bethesda Studios, Cenega

**Variables**

Of course, the search for context and solving the problem of gender are not the only challenges facing translators. There are numerous pitfalls to be found in gaming-related texts, which often take the form of the already-mentioned tags and variables. Variables are used in programming languages. They are inserted into the text to provide a reference to the software's database. They can replace any part of the text, and are used primarily for the sake of convenience, and also to save time and space. It is easier to write "In order to prepare this spell, find %s", where "%s" stands for one of the many ingredients needed to cast spells, than to repeat the same sentence a few or dozens of times, replacing the individual ingredients. Variables can be stored in many different ways – the simplest is "%n" (n stands for "number") for numerical variables, and the aforementioned "%s" ("string") for textual variables. One might ask: what, then, is so difficult to translate when dealing with texts containing variables? The answer is simple – the problem is caused by inflection in Polish (and the lack thereof in English). As a rule, words taken from the database have only the nominative case, and it is difficult to create a sentence in the Polish language without applying inflection. It will be easier to demonstrate this phenomenon by using an example:

> Gather %n1 %s1, %s2 and %s3 and then use them to craft %s4.

Some textual variables and one numerical variable can be seen here. Let us then translate this sentence as if there were nothing special about it.

> Zbierz %n1 %s1, %s2 oraz %s3 i użyj ich, aby wykonać %s4.

The layout of the text and the original order of the variables have been preserved. To see how the sentence would appear in the target form, we need to substitute the variables with words. This is a possible result:

> Zbierz **2 materiał**, **dratwa** oraz **igła** i użyj ich, aby wykonać **czapka kolejarza**.

Although we more or less understand what the sentence means, it is completely ungrammatical because of the absence of inflected noun endings. It becomes clear that we need to adopt a different approach to avoid this problem.

The best solution to this conundrum would once again require intervention on the part of programmers, and also translators. Developers must prepare additional variables for inflection, and translators have to translate each entry in the database using the most commonly-occurring Polish cases. As a rule, however, developer assistance is not possible in similar cases. The problem of inflection has to be dealt with differently – by modifying the syntax of the sentence, so that nominative-case nouns can be used. For example:

> Zbierz te składniki: %s1 (%n1), %s2, %s3. Następnie użyj ich, aby stworzyć następujący przedmiot: %s4.

Here, the variables have been rearranged in such a way as to form a kind of list, and the numerical value is shown in parentheses to avoid compatibility issues with different cases. After substituting the variables with words, the text reads as follows:

> Zbierz te składniki: **materiał (2)**, **dratwa**, **igła**. Użyj ich, aby stworzyć następujący przedmiot: **czapka kolejarza**.

The grammatical correctness and the meaning of the original have been preserved. Such an approach works well in the case of purely utilitarian, informative texts. When technical restrictions make it impossible to introduce elements of inflection into the translation of variables, the translation in the form of a list appears to be the most practical solution. However, there are situations when the translator needs to count on their intuition and rely on blind luck, because it often happens that texts from video games consist of nothing BUT variables. For example: %s1 %d % s2 %n %v. When the translator encounters such a passage, their first order of business is to determine where the message is displayed in the game, and only then should they try to rearrange the order of variables. During the translation process, one must also be very careful not to make a mistake while typing in the variables, as this can cause problems with the operation of the program. Fortunately, most CAT tools have options to disable the ability to edit selected elements of the source text, which is especially useful for long descriptions that combine the use of variables and tags whose role is, for instance, to change the color of the displayed text, like in the following example:

| Super Pistons |
|---|
| {c_gold}Cost:{/c_gold} {c_green}{Resource Cost}{/c_green} Coal^n{c_gold}Cooldown:{/c_gold} {c_green}{Script Formula 23}{/c_green} seconds^n^nPut extra pistons in your locomotive.The pistons add {c_green}[{Script Formula 2}*100%]% {/c_green} to you speed. Lasts {c_green}{Script Formula 17}{/c_green} seconds.You may have {c_green}{Script Formula 22}{/c_green}extra pistons active at a time. |

This description is more like a math equation or HTML code, which is used in webpages. The passage is not particularly clear, and consists of a multitude of variables and tags, such as "c_gold {}", which stands for the color of the letters. Also visible are "^n" characters, which are used to determine the beginning of a new line. Once translated, the description reads as follows:

| Super Tłoki |
|---|
| {c_gold}Koszt:{/c_gold} {c_green}{Resource Cost}{/c_green} węgla.^n{c_gold}Czas odnowienia:{/c_gold} {c_green}{Script Formula 23}{/c_green} s.^n^nUmieszczasz w lokomotywie dodatkowe tłoki, która zwiększają twoją szybkość o {c_green}[{Script Formula 2}*100%]%{/c_green}. Czas działania: {c_green}{Script Formula 17}{/c_green} s. Liczba dodatkowych tłoków, jakie możesz mieć zamontowane jednocześnie wynosi {c_green}{Script Formula 22}{/c_green}. |

Only after implementing the texts in the game can one really see the final layout of text and verify the correctness of the translation (Fig. 12).

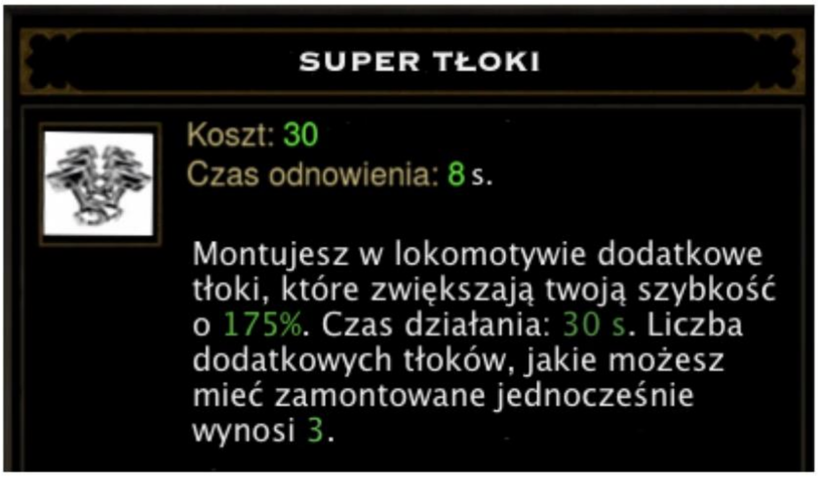



Figure 12
Onscreen version of translated text

## Conclusion

In the light of the above examples, it is clear that the localization process differs significantly from other branches of the art of translation. It requires a different approach and presents the translator with a completely new set of challenges. I have touched upon only a handful of aspects included in the process – there still are plenty of issues to be discussed, such as the question of translating proper names, concatenation – or creating texts from random elements, and many other topics. I hope this article will help the Readers understand the essence of localization process, and increase their interest in this subject. Localization of video games is a very interesting area that is constantly changing and evolving. As a craft, it demands creativity, a passion for discovery and innovation, and often requires the adoption of the unorthodox approach.

## Review

***Public Relations: A Revolutionary Discipline***
**by Adela Rogojinaru**
**Editors: Raluca Moise & Adrian Săvoiu**
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The volume *Public Relations : A Revolutionary Discipline* includes the majority of conference papers held by professor Adela Rogojinaru (1963-2014) to specialized scientific events. Some of these texts have already been published in various conference proceedings (five of the 13 papers that comprise the present volume), but most of them are unpublished. One notable and interesting fact that can be easily observed is the substantial dimension of almost each lecture; most of the lectures are valid studies in Public Relations. The editors (R. Moise and A. Săvoiu) also chose to publish two lectures in power-point format, because the content is highly relevant regarding ideas and realities presented.

The book ecompasses, in a suggestive manner, Adela Rogojinaru's trajectory of becoming a theoretician and a well-known scholar in the field. Two terms can define best Adela Rogojinaru's vision and interpretation on Public Relations: critical and revolutionary. Thomas Kuhn's influence is assumed by Adela Rogojinaru since one of her first books, *Fundamente interdisciplinare ale Relațiilor Publice* [Public Relations: Interdisciplinary Foundation] (Tritonic, 2005) and it is present throughout the author's full analytical and theoretical approach. Readers will be therefore able to identify the author's major research interests: from studies that ground the Public Relations discipline in a theoretical and metacritical way, to a national historiography of Public Relations and analysis of Public Relations process and practices (risk communication, crisis communication, internal communication, corporate branding and storytelling).

The volume is structured in three parts. First chapter, intitled ”Paradigm Shifts in Public Relations. Towards a Critical Theoretical Model of Public Relations”, includes studies that analyze and interpret the process of paradigmatic change of Public Relations: from the relevance of introducing new scientific fields in the effort of defining the discipline and the analysis of current social practices (*popular culture*, cultural studies and cultural history), to the influence of new media onto theoretical models and dominant practices of Public Relations. This first chapter comprises studies which reflect dominantly the in-depth metacritical and theoretical attitude, with historiographical roots. The volume begins with what we consider to be a programmatic study, written and presented in 2013 at the

*International Public Relations History Conference*, Bournemouth University: "Epistemic tensions of the public relations disciplines: transgressing the paradigm". Our main argument for considering and diagnosing this study as programmatic is the author's explicit and declared intention of "reconsidering the «public» roots of the relations, namely the power of the public man and his public history (…)" (Rogojinaru, 2013), an intention which "enriches the theoretical interpretations of the public sphere as well as the fields of applications of public relations." (Ibidem)

The study develops both diachronic and synchronic perspectives of and on Public Relations as a changing and revolutionary discipline. Analyzing the theoretical and paradigmatic becoming of Public Relations as a social discipline, Adela Rogojinaru identifies and structures its trajectory into three stages: the *pre-paradigmatic stage* (between the decade of 1920s and the 1980s of the last century), the *paradigmatic stage or the creation of the dominant paradigm* (the period of the 1984 and the 2002) and the *post-paradigmatic* (de)construction of the discipline (started probably with 2004, the Facebook year, with effects up to the present date and beyond). Each stage is thoroughly described and interpreted in a forensic way: Adela Rogojinaru highlights the main process that led to identifying the poles, being either the influence of a theory or a social phenomenon, she reconstructs, by explaining the most relevant factors of evolution, each stage, and finalizes her analysis with a national cultural landscape (the Romanian case).

This trajectory of Public Relations discipline is constantly marked by the epistemic tensions between the instrumental role and a broader societal value, or, as Adela Rogojinaru states, between the emphasis put on *Relations* and the relevance given to the *Public* concept. She therefore analyzes and interprets two diachronic axes of Public Relations discipline which are reconstructed in a theoretical and metacritical way. The first dominant perspective, whose impact is also reconstructed, links Public Relations to the business sector, more specifically in the corporate practice of the private industrial trusts or companies. At the level of its applied legitimacy, "PR always served as an instrument of the liberal economy and private business, being meant to assess the business performance in society or in particular public spheres (by means of different types of profitability: financial, social, relational etc.)." (Rogojinaru, 2013) A second perspective is brought to light, and that is the perspective of Public Relations as discipline that investigates publics, public sphere and public opinion. Rogojinaru states that the process of appropriating Public Relations as a tool for business as singular and dominant paradigm in understanding its role impoverishes the interpretation of any public event of interest for our discipline.

The synchronic analysis that the first study develops is programmatically entitled "Transgressing the organizational boundaries: from organizations back to publics" and states author's theoretical position regarding the role of Public Relations as a discipline. Adela Rogojinaru explains this paradigmatic shift first of all from an intrinsic disciplinary perspective, retracing the relevant changes as the influence of learning theories in organizations and the innovation theories, the impact of sociologists as Bauman, van Dijk, Castells or Ritzer who theorized the concept of *cognitive capitalism*.

These interdisciplinary influences prepared the ground for the societal impact of another phenomenon which Adela Rogojinaru considers to have shifted the theoretical emphasis from organizations to public(s): social media, especifically Facebook. She argues this position by highlighting what she considers to be the dominant characteristics of the (New) Public Man: multiple rationalities, the incapacity of the publics to focus on specific issues, an incapacity defined by fluidity or fragmentation, or lack of cohesion. The immediate impact on reconfiguration of relations is, accordingly to the author: "The assessment of these relations is no longer related to the degree of publicness or publicity but to the level of recognition of *otherness*." (Rogojinaru, 2013)

The archeology of the new network society leaves the place for paradigmatic questioning; Adela Rogojinaru also proposes, in the last part of the study, interdisciplinary paradigms between Public Relations and cultural disciplines (Popular Culture, Cultural Studies and Cultural History), finding legitimate theoretical linkages and new research objects. At this point also, she advances provocative ideas and theoretical positions. She opts for redefining the public sphere, long time viewed from Habermas rational perspective, under the profound influence of social media and proposes a more constant and in-depth attention given to emotions and public positions for whose analysis the dominating theories do not apply anymore. She considers necessary the shift of the research interest and theoretical emphasis from class perspective and Public Relations as a soft power or vertical instrument to cultural production, cultural practices and local histories of places and spaces.

We chose to present this study in detail in order to explain the structuring logic of the present volume. We therefore think that this study and the theoretical positions grounded and presented here irradiate in the volume as a whole. This is the reason for which we continued the first part with a paper ("Digital Publics and Stakeholders. Theoretical Perspectives on the Notion of Publics") that questions the role of digital publics and explains the systemic and structural transformations which impact the Public Relations theories and practices in an essential way. The study also emphasizes the need to reconsider the way that Public Relations researchers and practitioners define and address digital publics and she advances an optimal anthropological perspective, one which is „oriented towards capturing the discussion themes around various forms of public engagement (as expressed by the public themselves) and applying the communities' specific protocols in communication (contrary to the centrality of the persuasive models which remain limited in their multi-relational scope of action)" (Rogojinaru, 2015, p. 64). This particular study is completed by the ones entitled "Using Benchmarking to Evaluate Public Relations Effectiveness through Social Media", "From Writing the Memoirs to Electronic Biography: Exposure through Personalised Media", and "Risks and Crises: How to Manage Them in Different Culture, Communities and Democracies?", each of them provising Adela Rogojinaru's theoretical position and choices: from innovative evaluation methods of social media campaign (from publics perspective), the analysis of cultural biographical writing practices to a rhetorical analysis model of crisis management. The second study which emphasizes the critical approach on social media is „Using Benchmarking to Evaluate Public Relations Effectiveness through Social Media" (in co-authorship with A. M. Zaharia & R. Moise); this study is relevant for proposing a tool for analyzing the online Public Relations campaigns, the functional benchmarking, and a complex analysis grid.

The second part of the volume („Public Relations in Transition and Post-Transition Romanian Society") represents a socio-cultural analysis of the development of Public Relations in Romania: from the critical aspects that define Romanian public sphere as being into a continuous stage of transition and the transitional Public Relations, to the role of Public Relations in the Romanian post-recession society as managing narcissist markets. The current chapter offers an integrative and broad perspective on the development of Public Relations in Romania, highlighting the critical moments and phenomena which changed the discipline and its practices. This part therefore highlights the main societal changes in Romania after the 1989, the author analyzing the nature of practice and the theory of practice in transitional public relations (Ławniczak, 2005). Adela Rogojinaru has always tackled upon the historiographical dimension in her studies, beginning with 2005 when she presented her first study in this field. She therefore integrated herself in a broader movement in Public Relations research, supporting a European Model of Public Relations based on cross-national comparisons and international studies. This socio-cultural turn movement, developed by Krishnamurthy and Verčič, who edited the first Global Public Relations Handbook, and Günter Bentele and Tom Watson by founding the European Public Relations History Network (EPRHN), develops analyses of public relations in different regions by identifying the contextual variables external to organizations (such as culture, political system, economic system, and media system) and the complex ways they influence public relations activities in various parts of the world.

Adela Rogojinaru adds in an original way to the current literature not only a relevant analysis of national evolution of Public Relations, but she also creates a history of Public Relations institutionalization and professionalization. She therefore explores and interprets the role of media in Romania after the 1989, the main changes in the Public Relations practice and theoretical evolvement, providing an in-depth analysis of the way Public Relations have been perceived and constructed by different actors. This historical and contextual analysis represents, at this moment, the fundament for a new direction in Public Relations historiography research, as a group of researchers (coordinated by Professor Tom Watson from University of Bournemouth) conduct currently an intensive and cross-cultural study on Public Relations in dictatorships. "

The last part of the current volume, "Strategic Communication: from Critical Practices to Legitimacy Discourses", is dedicated to the strategic communication and integrates analyses and interpretations of the dominant methodologies in Public Relations: the history of Corporate Social Responsibility (as key-concept and practice), the informal dimension of internal communication influenced by the new technologies, the storytelling as key instrument for the corporate branding. This last part of the volume highlights the research interests in the methodology of Public Relations, the author proposing an analysis of structural changes of Public Relations. The "Corporate Responsibility and Sustainable Development. Policy Concepts" lecture develops the corporate altruism concept and emphasizes the relevant key-issues of the problematics. The study entitled "Communication organisationnelle et réseaux informels internes: les effets des TIC sur la culture interne de l'entreprise" describes in an almost ethnographical way an internal communication practice, the grapevine, the author analyzing its structural and systemic changes in the electronic era of using Information & Communication Technologies (ICTs) in the organizational environment. The last study, entitled “Corporate Narrations and Brand Palimpsest” is also a unique and original approach: the poetics model used to analyze the brand discourse through common corporate books; a seductive interpretation gives the possibility to the reader to understand the complex layers of branding, such as it is explained and understood by Adela Rogojinaru.

Using a straightforward perspective, Adela Rogojinaru presents a high-level theoretical speech, cutting through the details and highlighting the essential. Her critical thinking also relies on methods of analysis which are not specific for Public Relations, her studies being strongly influenced by literary and anthropological methods of analysis. Adela Rogojinaru’s studies are full of substantial ideas and positions towards subjects and topics she tackles on; her thinking is highly architectural and we can see all levels of interpretation being presented in her own perspective. We strongly think that every reader will find “a key of comprehension” which could suit his/ her expectations.

## Notes for contributors

***STYLES OF COMMUNICATION*** is a journal whose main purpose is to show the unity existing within global diversity. The European Year of Intercultural Dialogue (2008) has been the starting point of our joint research and it will continue with the European Year of Creativity and Innovation. Communication is closely connected to creativity because it implies the production of meaning within (non)verbal texts/ objects.

It will mainly include papers of promising young researchers. The aim of the journal is to include different perspectives on cultural studies, coming from different fields, such as linguistics, semiotics, literature, political and sociological studies, communication, public relations, anthropology, translation studies etc.

### STYLE SHEET

1. Contributions in English, French, German and Polish should be submitted to the editors-in-chief: Camelia Cmeciu (camelia.cmeciu@fjsc.ro) and Piotr P. Chruszczewski (piotrchruszczewski@poczta.onet.pl) by **October, 15, 2016**.
2. Manuscripts must be typed double-spaced throughout with a 3 cm margin, including all quotes, foot-notes and references. The first page contains title, the author's full name, affiliation and the mailing and e-mail addresses. The second page should contain an abstract of about 200-250 words and up to 6 keywords which should not repeat the title of the manuscript. The abstract should reflect the structure of the manuscript (background, material, methods, results, conclusion). The manuscript should not be less than 10 pages.
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