







The treatment of realia in the translations of Smagul Yelubay's novel "Ak Boz Uy"

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Abstract

The purpose of this study is to identify the types and frequency of the techniques for translating realia. Uses and misuses of various techniques have been assessed from the perspectives of domestication and foreignization on the basis of a rich corpus compiled from the Russian and English translations of Smagul Yelubay's novel "Ak Boz Uy" in the Kazakh language. The novel contrasts the nomadic and sedentary lives of the Kazakh people, thus describing the shift from felt yurts to brick houses, camel caravans to automobiles, folk courts to Soviet prisons, from the poor men having 20 heads of cattle to the poor men begging for a slice of bread, from ideal marital life to endless divorces, from the society without orphans to orphanages. Therefore, the novel is full of culture-specific items, or so-called realia, which give cultural colour to the whole literary work. From the analysis of the achieved results, it can be concluded that along with well-known techniques discussed by various authors in the sphere of Translation Studies, procedures like cultural substitution, grammar transposition, and translation triplets can be applied to render realia. In the future we propose conducting such a corpus-based research on the treatment of extralinguistic realia, i.e. allusions, and translation of stylistic figures containing realia or references to cultural information.

Keywords: domestication; foreignization; translation errors; substitution; grammar transposition

1. Introduction

Smagul Yelubay's novel "Ak Boz Uy" is considered one of the most successful books describing the pre-Soviet life of the Central Asian nomads of the beginning of the XX century. The novel contrasts the nomadic and sedentary lives of the Kazakh people, thus describing the shift from felt yurts to brick houses, camel caravans to automobiles, folk courts to Soviet prisons, from the poor men having 20 heads of cattle to the poor men begging for a slice of bread, from ideal marital life to endless divorces, from the society without orphans to orphanages. Therefore, the novel is full of

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culture-specific items, or so-called *realia*, which give cultural color to the whole literary work. The novel consists of three parts, all of which were translated into Russian by two prominent Kazakh translators Lina Kosmukhamedova and Aslan Zhaksylykov at the beginning of 1990s. The English version of the first part only was translated by Catherine Fitzpatrick in 2016. The novel has also been translated into Turkish and Spanish. In this paper we will consider solely the Russian and English translations (Issakova et al., 2020; Kassymbekova et al., 2017; Konyratbayeva et al., 2021).

The matter of *realia* has been studied in translation studies since the middle of the XX century. The matter arose due to ubiquitous tendency to study the relation between language and culture. As translation is a process of rendering the text created in one cultural environment into another one, it was clear that the cultural information must be rendered along with denotative one. However, the historical and cultural features of one linguocultural community are different from the features of another one. This difference was described in Edward Sapir's theory: "The worlds in which different societies live are distinct worlds, not merely the same world with different labels attached" (Sapir, 1929). So, moving from one culture to another may result in certain "culture bumps" (Leppihalme, 1997). The reason for culture bumps in Translation studies is *realia* or culture-specific items.

The word *realia* derived from the Latin word "realis" meaning "real". It is used to name the words which denote objects and phenomena having relation to a certain culture. But the terminology is not limited to this word. The term *realia* are more popular in the Kazakh and Russian Translation Studies. It was used by A.V. Fedorov (1983), V. S. Vinogradov (2001), N. A. Fenenko (2006), A. S. Yermagambetova (1971), A. A. Aldasheva (1999) and others. In the Translation science of far abroad we can see a range of terms starting from P. Newmark's "cultural words" (1988), R. Leppihalme's "allusions" (1997) to Franco Aixelá's (1996) "culture-specific items", etc. Despite being quite different in terms of names, these terms more or less mean the same. In this article, these terms will be used interchangeably.

The western scholars usually put forward the untranslatability as a main feature of *realia*. For example, Aixelá defines culture-specific items as following: CSIs are items in the source text that are problematic for the translator, either because they do not exist in the target language or because they have different functions and/or connotations for TL readers (Franco Aixelá, 1996; Aubakirova, 2015). The Kazakh and Russian scholars usually pay more attention to the semantic components of *realia* by relating them to a certain language or culture, giving thematic classifications (Vlakhov & Florin, 1980), differentiating between extralinguistic *realia* and *realia*-words (Vinogradov, 2001), and offering translation procedures. The scholars have different views in terms of what lexical units must be considered as *realia*. Thus, Franco Aixelá (1996) makes a fundamental distinction between two categories of culture-specific items: proper names and common expressions. Vinogradov differentiates between proper names, pure *realia*, which correspond to Aixelá's common expressions, and also puts forward a new category – associative *realia*, which, in its turn, more or less correspond to Leppihalme's (1997) allusions. Vlakhov and Florin (1980) treat only the names of culture-related objects and phenomena as *realia*, considering proper names and objects of extralinguistic reality as absolutely different linguistic category. In this article we shall consider the translation of common expressions only, not because we support Vlakhov and Florin's theory, but because we believe that translation strategies and techniques for rendering proper names, common expressions and associative *realia* are quite different, and thus, they must be studied separately in the frame of another article or bigger research. Concluding the previously mentioned, we can say that the main problem the *realia* pose in translation studies is their untranslatability. Despite the existence of the latter term, all the words in one language are anyway rendered in another language, i.e. translation is actually done. So, the question that arises here is how the *realia* are actually rendered (Issakova et al., 2021; Tussupbekova et al., 2019).

The purpose of this study is to identify the types and frequency of the techniques for translating realia. Uses and misuses of various techniques have been assessed from the perspectives of domestication and foreignization on the basis of a rich corpus compiled from the Russian and English translations of Smagul Yelubay's novel "Ak Boz Uy" in the Kazakh language.

2. Materials and Methods

The scholars have proposed various translation strategies and techniques for translating culture-specific items. The techniques are aimed at two translation strategies. The first is keeping the features of the source text despite the target text looks exotic and unclear. The second is adapting the target text in order to make it as much understandable as possible. These two strategies are considered two ends of one stick, and are known under various names such as adequacy and acceptability (Toury, 1980), retention and re-creation (Holmes, 1988), foreignization and domestication (Venuti, 1995), chunking up and chunking down (Katan, 1999; Utelbayeva, 2020), conservative and substitutive strategies (Franco Aixelá, 1996). Despite different names, these strategies more or less mean the same.

Having chosen the strategy, the translator needs to opt for one of the techniques providing the implementation of the strategy. Vinogradov (2001) classified realia translation techniques into four groups. First is transcription (or transliteration) which is about transferring sound (or graphic) form of the realia into the target text. The second is called periphrastic which is explicating and describing the meaning of the culture-specific word. The next is hyponym translation, in which the source text word is rendered with its semantically general word. And the last technique is called assimilation, in which the source text realia are rendered with a functional or cultural analogue so that it "looks" like realia, but still is understandable by the recipient. In Vlahov and Florin's (1980) taxonomy we can find more techniques such as *qalque* or creating a new word and a contextual analogue. Along with abovementioned techniques Newmark (1988) specifies recognized translation, in which the cultural word is rendered with pre-translated versions of the word fixed in dictionaries, as well as translation couplets, which mean using two techniques for transferring only one realia. Another popular taxonomy is of Aixela which consists of 11 items (Franco Aixelá, 1996). Despite having different names, Franco Aixelá's (1996) techniques are more or less the same as of other authors. The novelty is in specification of the above mentioned techniques. For instance, he mentions synonymy, naturalization, universalization as separate techniques, which, in our opinion, are types of abovementioned assimilation and hyponym techniques. There is also the procedure of omission included in the taxonomy.

Having analyzed the taxonomies proposed by various authors, we can summarize the realia translation techniques as follows:

1. Recognized translation. This technique means using the translations of realia applied by other translators, and which are listed in translation dictionaries. Recognized translation usually happens between cultures having close relationships, so that the translated word quickly immerses into speech of the target audience. As a result, the realia turn into borrowing in the target language.

2. Preservation. This is a technique of "keeping" the word the way it is by applying transliteration or transcription. This way of translating helps to save the cultural and historical color of the word making it look exotic in the target text, but it may hinder the reader's understanding.

3. Generalization or specification are probably one of the most popular techniques, as they help to render at least the denotative meaning of realia. However, the cultural connotations stay behind.

4. Cultural analogue is a technique which supposes using the target text realia as a translation of the source text realia. The drawback of this procedure is that the cultural color blurs, and the text loses its cultural identity.

5. Substitution. It is a technique when the realia are substituted for by a neutral word semantically meaning a completely different thing or phenomenon, but helping the reader to understand the context.

6. Explication. Though uneconomical, this technique assists in rendering all the denotations and connotations of the realia, as the translator describes, explains the realia by means of simple, i.e. non-cultural words known to the target reader. The description, explanation or the reference can be put within the target text, or out of the text in the form of footnotes, glossaries, etc.

7. Qalque. In such a translation procedure, the culture-specific item is translated literally, so that it has exotic color in a certain degree.

8. Translation couplets. The technique supposes using two abovementioned techniques to translate one culture-specific item.

9. Omission. It is a technique of non-translation of the realia, i.e. deliberate deletion.

We think that recognized translation, preservation, explicitions with preservation, cultural substitution and qalque are more foreignizing techniques, while generalization, specification, explication, cultural analogue, contextual substitution and omission are more domesticating techniques.

In the present article we will consider the treatment of cultural realia in translations of Smagul Yelubay's (2005) novel "Ak Boz Uy". By treatment we mean translation techniques used for rendering the culture-specific items found in the novel. We would also like to identify what factors could have affected translator's choice of a specific technique, what errors have been made by the translators in rendering realia, and if there are any newer types of translation techniques.

A rich corpus of 350 realia and their 2432 occurrences have been collected in a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet. The corpus represents the sentences from the source text containing realia, their translations into Russian and English, translation techniques, and references (Table 1).

Table 1. Corpus of realia from Smagul Yelubay's "Ak Boz Uy"

Realia	Source text	Page	Russian translation	Page	Technique	English translation	Page	Technique
Ымырт	Сөйтiп жүргенде ымырт жабылды.	241	Сумерки	247	CA	Evening set	270	H
Екiндi	Екiндi элетiнде ғана жақындады кешегi ауыл маңында iркiлiп өтетiн көлденең белге.	214	Во второй половине дня	223	E	In the afternoon	235	H
Тұсау бойы	Күн жерден тұсау бойы көтерiле қоржынды иыққа салып,	227	солнце поднялось над землей на длину лошадиных пуг	234	Q	To the length of a horse hobble	251	Q

ТАҒЫ АЛҒА
қарай
қозғалған.

For the purpose of responding the research questions we have applied comparative method, componential analysis on the basis of a rich corpus. The method of statistical analysis has been used to reach the quantitative results. We suppose that foreignization was the strategy the translators followed during translation choosing transcription or transliteration as the most often techniques. We assume that the translators tried to preserve the cultural color of the source text as much as possible. But we presume that contextual function of realia must be the main principle in translating culture-specific items. We expect to come across not only errors in realia translations due to misunderstanding the cultural specificity of the source text, but also translation techniques that have not been specified in previous scientific works on translation studies.

3. Results and Discussion

As we have analyzed the translation of 350 realia in 2432 occurrences, conducting the statistical analysis can be quite troublesome. The reason for that is that not all culture-specific items are rendered one and the same way throughout the whole text. For example, the realia in Kazakh “қырғи”, which is a Kazakh national coat made of animal skin covered with fabric, in its 15 occurrences throughout the source text has been rendered by means of 10 techniques in the Russian translation, and in its 11 occurrences in the source text has been translated with 6 techniques in the English target text. There are a lot of such examples. Therefore, we assume that identification of frequency of translation techniques must be based on translations of all occurrences of the realia in the source text (Garipova et al., 2019; Aubakirova, 2016; Hnatik & Lizak, 2020).

Nevertheless, with the help of our rich corpus containing 2432 occurrences of realia we were able to identify the frequency of translation techniques applied in the Russian and English translations independently of the number of occurrences of each realia (Fig. 1 and Fig. 2). This quantitative information can help to identify the approximate level of domestication or foreignization of the target texts.

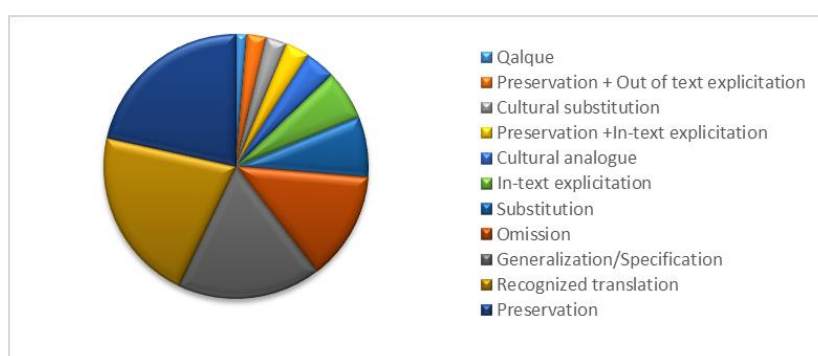


Figure 1. Techniques applied in the Russian translation of “Ak Boz Uy”

For instance, the frequency of the techniques in the Russian translation such as preservation (22%), recognized translation (21%), preservation and explicitations (about 5%), cultural substitution (3%) and qalque (1%) amount to 52% of all the procedures applied. Therefore, we can conclude that the translators followed the strategy of foreignization.

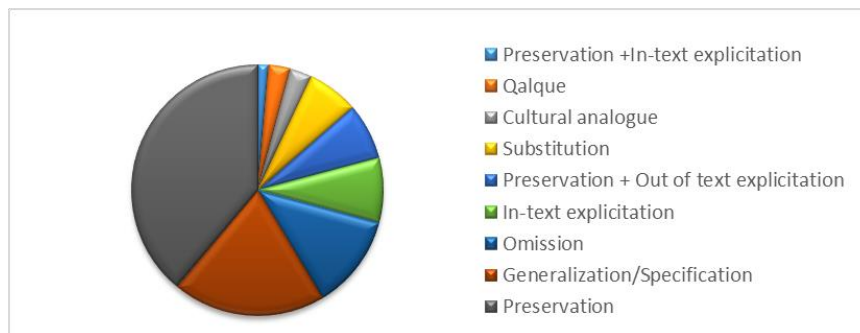


Figure 2. Techniques applied in the English translation of “Ak Boz Uy”

In the English translation the frequency of procedures such as preservation (39%), preservation and explications (8%), including qalque (3%) amount to 49% of all the techniques applied, and prove that the translators fancied both the strategies of domestication and foreignization, though it is questionable, whether the technique of omission should be taken into account in identifying the strategy. If we consider domestication and foreignization as degree of “culturalness” in the target text, then omission will not have any degree of “culturalness”, thus, must be considered neutral (Balkhimbekova et al., 2016; Zyubina et al., 2020; Vrabel, 2020).

Preservation. This is the most popular technique applied in both the Russian and English translations. Such a popularity may be generated by the fact, that in their first occurrence most realia are transcribed along with an in-text or out-of-text description, and in all the following occurrences are just transcribed as the translator assumes that the reader is already familiar with the item. However, as we have mentioned above, the disadvantage of this procedure is that it hinders understanding and leads to “hitting upon” the culture bumps. Moreover, it might be troublesome to get appropriate transliteration or transcription as in the following Example 1.

Example 1. Source text: “Әзберген өмірге өлердей ызалы. Әсіресе, “байлардың күні батуға таяу” деген, кеше жәрмеңкеде есіткен әңгімеден кейін ызалы” (Yelubay, 2005). English translation: “Azbergen could not fall asleep; he was seriously worried about the conversations he had head yesterday at the bazaar, that supposedly the sun was setting for the bays...” (Yelubay, 2016).

In the example (1) the culture-specific item “бай”, denoting the rich Kazakh people owning a lot of cattle, has been transliterated as “bay”. The problem about this translation is that the reader will have associations related to a geographical body. Moreover, the word “бай” is pronounced differently from the English “bay”, which will also lead to incorrect pronunciation of the word in case of its borrowing by the target language.

According to our corpus, there are some realia transcription errors. As Catherine Fitzpatrick translated from Russian into English, she didn’t transcribe the realia from the original Kazakh text, but from the Russian intermediary text. Transcribed words ending in the letters –и, –ы were considered the plural form of the words in the Russian text, so that the English translator “identified” the stem of the word, and pluralized it in the target text. As a result, “шолпы” in Kazakh has become “sholps” (Yelubay, 2016), “асық” has become “asyki”, “уық” (Yelubay, 2005) has become “ууки”, “жыршы” has become “jyrsh”. The same has happened to the words in the Russian text ending in the letters –а, –е. They were considered the words in genitive case, and the English translator “translated” them in nominative case omitting the necessary endings like –а, –е. As a result, “кебеже” has become “kebez”, “алаша” has become “alash”.

Errors in preservation may also be due to “translators” false friends as in the following Example 2.

Example 2. Source text: “Басында үкісі бұлғақтаған кәмшат бөрік, үстінде – қырмызы қамзол”. English translation: “Her red silk camisole was held snugly to her slender waist with a fine clasp...”.

We consider that in (2) the “camisole” is a transliteration of the Kazakh “қамзол”, which is women’s vest worn over the dress. The translator probably wasn’t aware that the word camisole in English has totally different meaning. It is used to denote women’s underwear. Thus, the translation of a description of a girl in (2) is distorted as it is unethical for a girl in the Kazakh society to go out in underwear. And contextually, there is a girl going somewhere on a horseback (Prokopovych & Kyrylo, 2018).

Recognized translation. The presence of this technique depends on the level of relationship between cultures and languages. In the language pair Kazakh-Russian we can see a quite large number (21%) of recognized translation, which means that many Kazakh realia have already immersed into the neighboring Russian culture. But this is completely opposite for the language pair Kazakh-English, and we can see that there is no any example of recognized translation in the novel under consideration (0%). Such a technique helps to fully render the denotative and connotative semas of the culture-specific item, because the translation will have a cultural and historical color, and will be understandable to the target reader (Panferova & Kim, 2021; Zharylgapov et al., 2020).

Generalization/Specification. Another technique applied a lot in the translation of the novel under consideration is generalization or specification, which suppose using a semantic hyponym or a hypernym to render the culture-specific items. In spite of the ability to make the target text acceptable, this procedure really erases the national, cultural and historical color of the source text. This is especially evident in the case of the names of camel types in “Ak Boz Uy”. According to our corpus, there are 11 names related to gender, age, status, breed, etc. of the camels. However, in the Russian translation we can see only 4 cases, and in English we can see only 3 cases in which the cultural color and denotative meaning of the names are kept. This has been achieved by the use of the techniques as preservation along with the explicitation. Almost 64% of other cases within this thematic field has been generalized in the Russian text (Atabekova, 2009).

Generalization may also be the reason for so-called anachronism in the Example (3a). The Kazakh realia of measurement “шақырым”, which literally means a distance a human cry can be heard of, denoting approximately one kilometer, was rendered with the help of the generally accepted term “километр” in the Russian translation, which we consider the procedure of generalization. The communicative function of the message has been transferred. However, the term “километр” is not appropriate in the context (3a), because the message is told by ordinary uneducated people of the Kazakh society of the beginning of the XX century, when there were even no schools to learn a word like “километр”. So, the anachronism here is that a more modern word has been used to render an archaic item. We would suggest using the cultural analogue “верста” in Russian, which is an archaic unit of measurement, also denoting a distance of about one kilometer.

Example 3. Source text: (a) ““Ойпырмай, оннан енді асқан шиеттей нәресте жетпіс шақырым жерге қалай жаяу барды екен, жолда өліп қалмай” деп жұрт аңыз қылады” (Yelubay, 2005); (b) Мен жатқан Леуштың үйіне екі шақырымдай жерде, қырқа үстінде онаша бір алаң бар еді. (Yelubay, 2005). Russian translation: (a) “Народ удивился: “Ойпырмай, как это подросток едва достигший десяти лет, один прошел семьдесят километров по бездорожью?”” (Yelubay, 2009); (b) “В километрах двух от дома Леуша на возвышенности была небольшая площадь” (Yelubay, 2009).

The different case is presented in the Example (3b), where the same Kazakh realia of measurement “шақырым” was translated with the term “километр”, but this procedure is contextually correct, as

the message is told by an educated writer of the end of XX century. The examples in (3a) and (3b) prove that the realia translation depend not only on the translator's desire to render the microcontextual function of the culture-specific item, but also the fact, that macrocontextual factors need to be taken into account as well (Manapbayeva & Seidenova, 2018; Atabekova et al., 2018).

Omission. The translation of culture-specific items should take into account the function of the realia in the micro and macrocontexts. Thus, it is possible if the translator decides to omit the realia in translation if their function is not so important. It is not by chance that Russian scholar Alexeyeva (2007) classifies realia into two types such as important and non-important. The term might not be suitable as all realia in the source text have specific denotative and connotative meaning, and the author have chosen them to render certain degree of cultural and historical color. However, in the target text microcontext the repetitive usage of the preservation technique can hinder reading, as the reader will come across “unknown-shaped” words continuously. Therefore, the translators can choose to omit the realia provided their absence is compensated in the microcontext (Kucheryavaya et al., 2020).

Explicitation. Explicitation procedure is usually uneconomical, but this really depends on the length of the given description or explanation. Having analyzed our corpus with translations, we have come to an assumption that explicitation can be economical if the added information is not detailed. This is especially relevant in translation of the names of camel types. For instance, in Example (4) the Kazakh culture-specific item “нар”, which denotes a thoroughbred one-humped camel, is transliterated as “нар” into Russian and “nar” into English, and explicated with a word “camel” in both translations. The context does not require the semas of the culture-specific items about breed and number of humps. Moreover, the information about breed is already compensated in the context with the words “strength and beauty of the aul”. So, addition of just one sema “camel” has made this translation economical, and has rendered all the contextual functions.

Example 4. Source text: “Ауылдың айбаты мен сәніндей нарлар жоқ. Аттар да жоқ” (Yelubay, 2005). Russian translation: “Верблюдов-наров, грозы и красы аула, нет” (Yelubay, 2009). English translation: “The nar camels, the strength and beauty of the aul, were no more” (Yelubay, 2016).

Using the in-text explicitation as in (4), thus, can be better than additions in the footnotes, because, usually the information presented in the footnotes may not be necessary, as the function of literary texts is not mainly informative, but aesthetic.

Example 5. Source text: “Қолдарында жез құман, шапандарының шалғайын қаусыра түсіп ауыл сыртындағы жусан арасына таман балпаң-балпаң басқан Пахраддин мен сырықтай ұзын арық шал Лабак ахун барады” (Yelubay, 2005). Russian translation: “Взяв в одну руку кумган для омовения, а другой захватив край чапана, степенно удалялись к зарослям полыни дородный Пахраддин и длинный и сухой, как шест, Лабак-ахун” (Yelubay, 2009). English translation: “Taking in one hand a kumgan for washing and picking up the edge of his chapana with the other, Pakhraddin and the lanky Labak-akhun, dry as a stick, disappeared into the overgrown wormwood. A kumgan is an Asian pitcher with a narrow neck and spout used for washing”.

The Kazakh culture-specific item in (5) “құман”, which is a special vessel used for washing, was translated with preservation “кумган” into Russian and in-text explicitation “для омовения” that means “for washing”. The same procedure was applied for the English translation except for an addition of a footnote, which is an example of a triple technique. We suggest not including the footnote, because preservation and in-text explicitation are much more enough to render the functions and color of the culture-specific item. Moreover, the word “kumgan” does not have important cultural gravity in the context (5).

Substitution. This technique supposes using a word with a completely different meaning than the culture-specific item in the source text. As we see in our diagram, it is also quite a popular procedure comprising 7% of all cases in both translations. This technique can be used when the cultural connotations of the realia are not important in the context as in (6).

Example 6. Source text: “... ашуға мінген кемпір лақша ыршып, секіріп, келсаппен үйді төмпештеуге кірісті”. Russian translation: “Прыгает возле юрты, как козленок, и мотыгой по ней молотит” (Yelubay, 2009). English translation: “... the old lady shrieked and went crazy, jumping around the yurt like a goat, banging on it with the hoe”.

In the example (6) the source text cultural word “келсап” meaning a special tool for grinding grain was rendered with a word “мотыга” into Russian, and “hoe” into English, which mean a garden tool used to remove weeds and break up the surface of the ground. So, it is clear that the source text cultural word and the translations are completely different. But if we look at the context in (6) the cultural connotations are not important as “келсап” is used a tool to beat the yurt. So, substituting the cultural word for a “hoe”, which can also be used to beat something, makes the rendering of the function possible. However, the translator hasn’t taken into consideration the fact that the Kazakhs were actually cattle-herders, and were far from growing plants, and tools like hoes might not have been used by them. This kind of error can be called analocism, i.e. using a word inappropriate by place. This error is evident in the following example (7).

Example 7. Source text: “Кебеже қарын кәрі маяның ық жақ тасасында отыр екеуі” (Yelubay, 2005). Russian translation: “Прятели обосновались с подветренной стороны большого стога...” (Yelubay, 2009). English translation: “The friends settled down on the leeward side of a great old haystack, watching Balkiya’s otau attentively” (Yelubay, 2016).

In (7) the Kazakh culture-specific item “мая”, which means a type of a female camel, is rendered with a word “стор” in Russian and “haystack” in English meaning a pile of hay stored to feed the cattle in the winter. In the context the active sema of the cultural word is a large thing people can hide behind, so the technique of substitution was applied. But if we look at the macrocontext, we will face the fact that nomads didn’t collect hay for stack, as the nomadic life required continuous movement, and in the winter the nomads used to move to warmer part of Kazakhstan to feed their cattle. The examples (6) and (7) mean that the realia must be substituted very carefully.

Cultural substitution. In this procedure the source text cultural word is substituted for by a source text cultural word which is supposed to be known to the target reader. In (8), for example, we can see that the Kazakh national drink “айран” was substituted for by another Kazakh national drink “қымыран” both of which are made of milk and used to quench thirst.

Example 8. Source text: “Айранды ішіп болып та о жақ, бұ жаққа қарады”. Russian translation: “Покончив с кымраном, кинул по сторонам настороженные взгляды” (Yelubay, 2009).

We consider that the translator did so to contract the number of exotic words in the target text. The number of occurrences of the substituted word “айран” is only one, while the substituting “қымыран” in its previous occurrence was translated with a preservation and out-of-text explicitation (Yelubay, 2009). Thus, the translator has been able to render both denotative and connotative semas of the source word. We have not found any examples of cultural substitution in the English translation.

Cultural analogue. One of the most foreignizing techniques is cultural analogue, in which the translator uses the target text cultural word. According to our corpus, this technique was applied in all thematic fields of realia, but especially popular with the realia of measurement, money, and time. The only advantage of this procedure is that the communicative effect of the source text message can be rendered at the highest level possible as the target reader will be familiar with the word of his own culture.

Example 9. Source text: “Кіләсі 2 сомға көтерілді”. Russian translation: “Кило – два рубля”. English translation: “A kilogram was more than two som. Som is a Turkic word for currency meaning "pure", as in gold. It was used to describe currency in the Soviet era in Central Asia” (Yelubay, 2016).

Choosing the right cultural analogue could be challenging, because right this kind of analogues are the reasons for analogisms. In (9) we can see that the Kazakh cultural word “сом”, which is the national currency, was translated as “рубль” into Russian, which is the currency of Russia. The translation technique is very economical, but the problem is in analogism again. The story in the context in (9) is happening at the beginning of the XX century, which means that the Russian currency was not yet used in the territory of Kazakhstan. The English translator transcribes the realia in (9) and gives a reference in a footnote, which, in our opinion, is not appropriate. We assume that the reader of (9) can guess the meaning of the realia, and extra help for him would be too didactic.

Qalque. According to the corpus we have compiled, there are some realia in the form of collocations, and qalque is the most common technique to translate such realia. This procedure takes up only 1% of all the translation techniques. Its advantage is that it can render the cultural color of the source text, because the literally translated collocation seems unusual for the target reader.

Example 10. Source text: “Осындай жайбарақат торғын кешті ду-ду сақылдаған күлкіге толтырып, ауыл арасында бір топ қыз, бозбала "соқыр теке" ойнап жүр” (Yelubay, 2005). Russian translation: “Наполняя хохотом безмятежный вечер, резвилась молодежь: играли в "слепого козла". В Хансулу проснулось детство, тоже захотелось поиграть, пошла на голоса” (Yelubay, 2009). English translation: “Filling the serene night with laughter, the young people were having fun playing "blind goat". Blind goat is a version of blind-man’s buff” (Yelubay, 2016).

A good example of the qalque is given in (10). The name of the Kazakh national game was translated literally, i.e. with the technique of qalque. The reader can actually understand that the message is about a game, because there is a helping word “play” as well. The footnote given in the English translation gives the target reader extra help, which, in our opinion, might be necessary, because in the following paragraphs the game is described in more details.

Grammar transposition. Though this technique is not specified in any of the taxonomies that we have reviewed, we have found some examples of grammar transposition in our corpus. This technique is represented in the form of couplets along with recognized translation, generalization or specification, or preservation, and take up about 2% of all the techniques applied. Grammar transposition can assist in forming the syntactic structure of the target sentence, when using a specific part of speech is impossible due to syntactic peculiarities of the target language (Hoque et al., 2021; Moldagali et al., 2017).

Example 11. Source text: “Үлкен деп тілді алсаңдар, мен сендерді бітістіргелі отырмын, жекжат еткелі отырмын”. Russian translation: “Если вы прислушиваетесь ко мне как к старшему, хочу я к согласию вас привести, хочу породнить” (Yelubay, 2009). English translation: “I would like to bring you to consent. I would like to make you relatives”.

In (11) the Kazakh cultural word “жекжат”, which is a name for very distant relatives, was generalized in the Russian translation, and grammatically transformed, i.e. a noun in the source text has become a verb in the target text. The word in the Russian “породнить” literally means to “make somebody relatives”. It would be unusual to render the cultural word with the literal “make somebody relatives” in the Russian, because this type of collocation is uncommon, so the translator chose grammar transposition.

4. Conclusions

Having analyzed a rich corpus containing 2432 records, we have identified the following:

1. The foreignization strategy was followed in the Russian translation of Smagul Yelubay's novel "Ak Boz Uy", while the English translation was both foreignizing and domesticating.

2. The most popular translation techniques in Russian were preservation, recognized translation, generalization, omission, and substitution. In the English translation the techniques of preservation, generalization, omission, and in-text explicitation were the most common.

3. Along with translation techniques offered by scholars, culture-specific items can be rendered by means of grammar transposition, translation triplets, and cultural substitution.

4. In translating realia translators can make such mistakes as inappropriate transliteration or preservation, anachronism, analocism, etc.

5. The technique of explicitation may be too didactic if unnecessary information is given in additions, so it is better to choose more foreignizing explicitation techniques as preservation with a short addition.

6. The technique of omission is appropriate for the purpose of avoiding repetitions, and *qalque* is more used to render realia in the form of collocations.

In the future we propose conducting such a corpus-based research on the treatment of extralinguistic realia, i.e. allusions, and translation of stylistic figures containing realia or references to cultural information.

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